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TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

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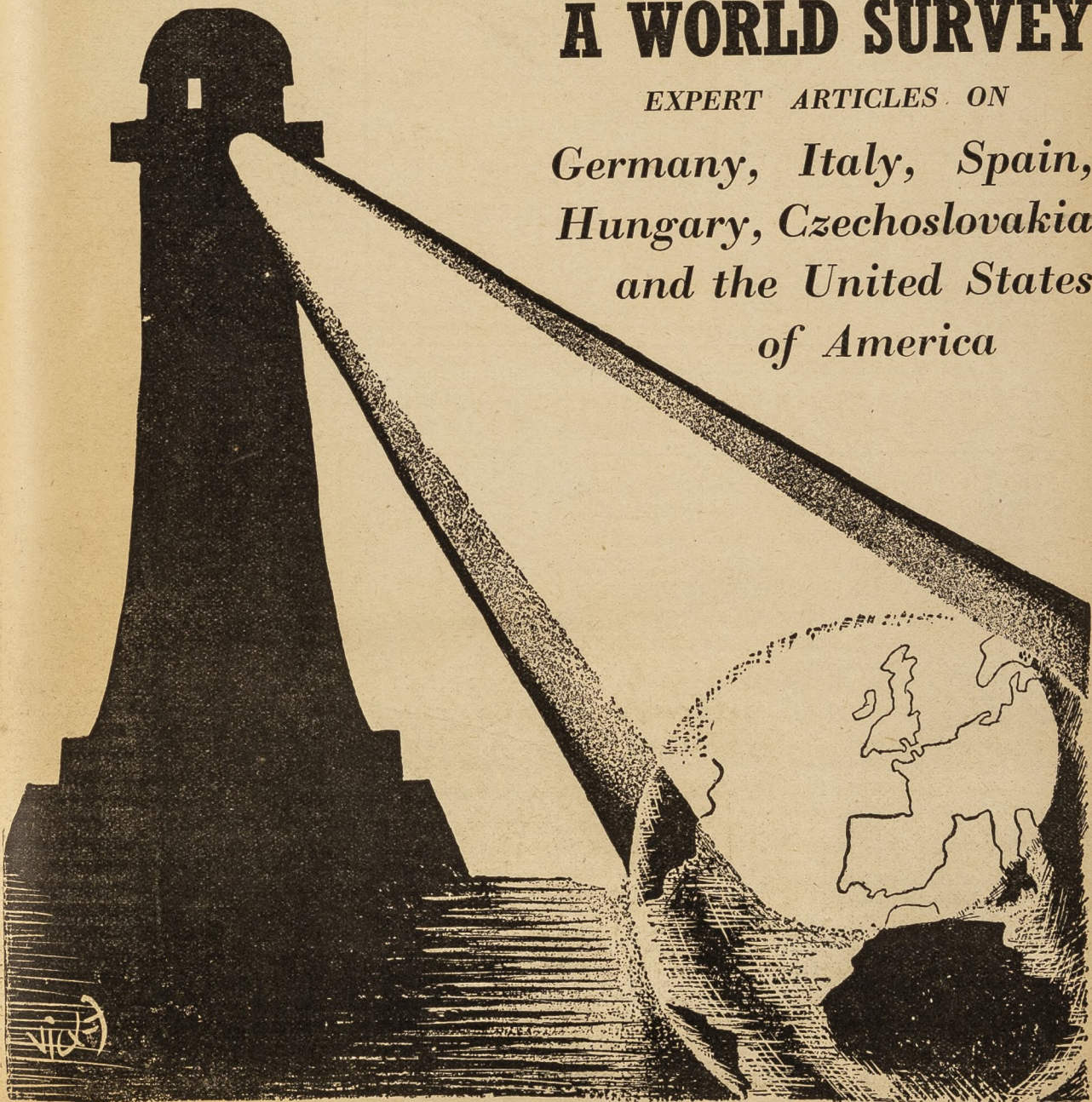
FEBRUARY, 1939

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HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

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

VOL. 1

FEBRUARY, 1939

No. 5

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WORLD SURVEY

FEBRUARY HEADWAY is a special number. In January, at the beginning of a new year, HEADWAY indicated the policy which Great Britain must follow if she is to do her part in helping to make 1939 a peace year. That policy has two main objects: to defend democracy and to build a democracy worth defending. Social reform is no less necessary than arms.

Unhappily, important as it is that Britain should follow the right course, British influence on world events is not now decisive. Forces released elsewhere are sweeping the nations onwards, perhaps to disaster. Great Britain is involved in the common fate. If she were to lose courage or to resort, however innocently, to provocative action, she might hasten a collapse. But since Munich and Rome it is by others that the word will be given for peace—or war. At the end of January there is no assurance that the men with whom the choice rests will show mercy to mankind.

In such a situation it is more than ever important and urgent that the British people should understand the policies of other nations, and the tempers, desires and interests to which those policies give expression. Hoping that it may help towards such an understanding, February HEADWAY devotes a large part of its space to articles on Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia and the United States of America. All the authors are experts on the subjects they treat; with their previous knowledge, corrected and supplemented by recent inquiries on the spot, they describe January, 1939.

The United States of America, Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Hungary: the reports all confirm one another. The general likeness is the more impressive because the observers are not concerned to prove a case. They set down what they have seen and heard. That the times are dangerous they leave no doubt. They do not, however, tell their readers to abandon hope. Resolution in the cause of peace,

second-thoughts in the camp of aggression may still avert disaster. There are factors in the situation working insidiously, persistently, powerfully against conflict and for co-operation. If these factors are given time they will prevail.

Even under the most militant dictatorship the people must live. They must have food and clothes and house room. The material needs of life must be supplied. Production must go on. If a vast output of arms is demanded, for that again production must be continuous and swift. And production, both for arms and for use, depends upon trade across national frontiers. Raw materials must come from foreign sources. Even the United States, Russia, the British Empire are not economically self-contained. No other country is able to meet its full requirements either of peace or war from its own resources. An economy which is breaking down under an excessive burden cannot stand the immense additional strains of military adventure. Exclusive economic nationalism is an excessive burden. Economic soundness is an essential element in lasting national strength.

Even under the most authoritarian régime the people feel and think. Propaganda has narrower limits than the present fashion assumes. A rigidly controlled Press can suppress inconvenient facts and circulate calculated distortions. It cannot forever persuade plain men and women to go on believing fables which, bit by bit, they learn are untrue. Nor can it delude them indefinitely into asking for what they are told they must have instead of for what they want. In all countries the people want peace. Evidence is accumulating that grandiose political projects are not popular. Conquest, Imperial rule, military glory may be cheered as words; as things to be bought with torture and poverty they have little appeal. Slowly the insistence of millions of prospective victims who have hitherto been dumb is making itself heard that war must not be provoked.

ROOSEVELT : AN INTIMATE SKETCH

By BASIL MAINE

Author of "Franklin Roosevelt: His Life and Achievement," recently published by John Murray

I HAVE many mental pictures of Franklin Roosevelt, as host of a large family supper-party, for example; sitting by a log fire with his stamp albums; presiding at one of his unique Press conferences; interviewing a delegate in the Oval Room at the White House; having tea with his grandchildren on Sunday afternoon, and so on. But the clearest image of all and the one that most frequently recurs is of the President after having been wheeled into the lift at the White House. The President's private room is on the first floor; the dining-room is on the ground floor. At meal times his negro attendant wheels him from his room to the lift. Mrs. Roosevelt and one or two of the guests who happen to be staying there enter the lift and stand by his side. His attitude is nearly always the same; hands upon his knees, fingers moving as if he were a pianist keeping in practice, the massive head thrown back, a cigarette in its holder sticking up at a sharp angle from the mouth. During the few seconds while the lift carries him from floor to floor he will make quick, good-humoured inquiries of one or another of his companions. No time or words are wasted; yet I look back on those brief intervals as being uniquely intimate.

Lively Eyes and Ready Smile

It was on one such occasion that I realised just how magnificent were the President's head and features. His good looks, of course, have always been the family's pride. As a young man fond relations likened him to a Greek god, and a bust of Prince Paul Troubetskoy (reproduced in my biography of Roosevelt) justifies the comparison. Franklin was about twenty-eight when that bust was done.

Since then the features have grown heavier, physical suffering has left its marks, and, as his mother will sadly remark, his hair is beginning to go grey. But the eyes are as lively as ever in their expression, and the smile as ready. (A word as to that famous smile. It lends itself readily to caricature, but for all that it is one of the most reassuring smiles that has ever greeted me.)

Another of the President's impressive features is his voice, as many in this country know through the medium of radio. About a year ago I was the President's guest at the White House, and at his country home at Hyde Park, on the Hudson River. He allowed me then to accompany him to a room called "Diplomatic Reception," whence he was to broadcast to Poland. It was Pulaski Day, a day set aside to commemorate General Casimir Pulaski, the Polish hero of the American Revolutionary War. Roosevelt's broadcast was a tribute to this hero and also a confirmation of the views he had expressed the previous week in a speech in Chicago. Saluting Poland's struggle for freedom, he compared the spirit of it with that which inspired the American ideal of free peoples. The words which he made the keynote of his talk were these: "We as a nation seek spiritual union with all who love freedom.

Of many bloods and of diverse national origins, we stand before the world to-day as one people united in a common determination. That determination is to uphold the ideal of human society which makes conscience superior to brute strength, the ideal which would substitute freedom for force in the Governments of the world."

Heart-to-Heart Talks.

The occasion was comparatively private, or as private as anything can be in America. A few Press photographers were working as though this would be their last chance of taking pictures of Roosevelt; and there was a little group of radio people. The talk was being taken by two companies, and to one who is accustomed to the orderliness of London's Broadcasting House it was confusing to hear two announcers at two microphones introducing the President at the same time. One made a longer introduction than the other, yet both finished at about the same moment. But the President was used to all this busy-ness. While he was being announced he lit a cigarette and arranged his manuscript. Then, quietly, he began. He put aside the orator's manner. This was to be a heart-to-heart affair, like his famous fireside talks. I thought it an attractive piece of reading. Though art and skill were used, they

were subservient to the message. Pause, variation of pace, emphasis—these things, it seemed to me, sprang from Roosevelt's feeling for the words. His speaking voice can be described as agreeably baritone, and, in this broadcast, he played mostly upon his upper register, and played upon it without a moment's stridency. (That is one of the secrets of his huge success as a broadcaster.) To his eloquence, diction and intonation contributed equally. If ever Americans decided to use the term "President's English," as we speak of "King's English," they could not do better than to make records of Franklin Roosevelt's outstanding speeches and to preserve them as high examples.

Interested in the Arts.

To conclude this article I would like to set down a point that is not generally known, namely, that, although President Roosevelt makes no pretensions about his knowledge of the arts, he yet is genuinely interested in their progress. At dinner one night he asked me whether any progress was being made in the appreciation of the arts in Great Britain. Then he told me of a plan he had been thinking about, a plan to provide every town of 30,000 people with a weekly event through the winter to keep ordinary people in touch with cultural values.

"But, Franklin," said his mother, "we have some good concerts, you know, even at Poughkeepsie."

"Ah! yes," said Franklin Roosevelt. "I don't mean that kind of thing. I don't mean the sort of concert where provincial society goes to show off."



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.

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BEHIND THE NEWS

THE END IN SPAIN

THE end is near in Spain. The Government armies having failed to save Barcelona, it is idle to believe that they can now defeat the Insurgents. They are much weaker; the enemy is much stronger.

HEADWAY has always stood for a Spanish settlement in accordance with the wishes of the Spanish people. What the Spanish people wish to-day no one knows. They are little likely to have the chance to declare their will freely in the near future. The Civil War would probably never have begun without foreign approval and foreign supplies. Certainly it would not have continued so long, nor have come to its actual result unless foreign troops and foreign arms had been poured into the country.

Now the non-intervention victors and Totalitarian volunteers are expected to withdraw amidst cheers and carrying the gratitude of their Spanish friends. They will ask for no other payment: a generosity strangely at odds with the usual Fascist way of thinking and acting.

FEBRUARY HEADWAY

is a Special Number. It contains expert articles on present policies and popular feeling in several European countries and in the United States of America. The authors are recognised authorities and have recently visited the countries of which they write.

ITALY'S EXCUSE

SIGNOR MUSSOLINI has pledged himself not to ask for any sacrifice of political or territorial integrity or independence by Spain. Mr. Chamberlain believes that he will honour his promise. Recent official and semi-official statements in Rome do not help Italy's friends to maintain such simple confidence.

Nearly a month ago, at the time of the first Fascist clamour for French surrenders at Nice, in Corsica, Tunis, and East Africa, HEADWAY was warned from a well-informed quarter in Rome that one object was to perpetuate a state of unsettlement in the Mediterranean, and to create an excuse for a continued Italian occupation of the Balearic Islands.

Italy would say to British protests: "Of course we must evacuate all Spanish territory. But evacuation must be part of a general Mediterranean agreement. France delays what we all desire by refusing to recognise our rights." Mr. Chamberlain would be trusted to recognise how reasonable that attitude was.

Withdrawal from the Balearics is now being linked by Italian Government spokesmen with concessions from France.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN POPULAR

RECENT private conversations in Berlin with several not unimportant Germans show that there has been a striking falling-off in the popularity of the Nazi régime within the last few months. With the exception of the Führer himself, Mr. Chamberlain is now a far more popular figure to the majority of German citizens than any of their own leaders. There are innumerable stories about Dr. Goebbels—described by some as the best-hated man in Germany—and no one would be surprised if his present illness were the prelude to his dismissal, in which case his

post as Propaganda Minister is likely to be taken by Dr. Dietrich, the present Press chief.

CRISIS EXPECTED

THE removal this summer of over 200,000 workmen from their families to work on the fortifications in the West and their retention there in camps over a period of months created an immense amount of ill-will which will not easily disappear.

The recent campaign against the Jews was organised by the German Government, and instructions were sent out to all the Gauleiter. A striking fact is that the three Gauleiter of Baden, Hamburg, and the Saar district paid no attention to these instructions and refused to take any action. There was a very real feeling of disgust over the whole campaign, and Dr. Goebbels' broadcast in which he attributed the attacks on the Jews to the spontaneous uprising of outraged

Germans was regarded not only as a lie, but also as an insult to the decency and humanity of the German people. One German said that out of perhaps a hundred people to whom he had spoken on the subject, only one approved of the Jewish pogrom, and that one was the local Nazi Blockwart, who could not very well have said the contrary.

Industrialists were unanimous in saying that the internal economic situation was rapidly approaching a serious crisis and that far too great a proportion of the national production was being devoted to non-productive ends, such as armaments. The recent removal of Dr. Schacht seems to show that this crisis has already arrived.

AFTER DR. SCHACHT

HERR HITLER'S dismissal of Dr. Schacht from the Reichsbank has caused consternation in influential pro-German quarters in the City of London. Until mid-January it had always been possible for them to take a lenient view of the Nazi Government's actions and support a policy of concession to Germany on the ground that the presence of Dr. Schacht, a trusted banker, in the counsels of Government was a guarantee of financial integrity. Admittedly, Dr. Schacht had not treated the City too well in the matter of the 40 million of bankers' loans still locked up in Germany, but minor concessions on the Young and Dawes Loans had at least kept the matter open.

Now, however, the German Government has decided upon a policy of Funk finance, Dr. Funk being looked upon in Berlin as a party man who can be trusted to find all the necessary money for the continued prosecution of rearmament and public works without either inflation, taxation or a further depression of the standard of living of the German workers. Dr. Schacht said it simply could not be done, and, as leading banker, his views are likely to be nearer the mark than those of Dr. Funk, whose earlier experience was that of journalist.

The immediate result of the new policy will be a further intensification of Germany's trade drive. How long this

could, if successful, postpone the process of inflation remains to be seen. It is not the last expedient, however; the capital of the Churches, industrialists and the foreign investors still remains in reserve as a source of penal taxation.

BRITISH SHIPOWNERS COMPLAIN

BRITISH shipowners have recently been complaining about the underhand tactics adopted by the German Government in competition for cargoes from the River Plate. According to the minimum freight rates scheme, which governs this traffic, boats are not allowed to proceed in ballast from Europe to the River Plate, for the reason that they would create excessive competition and so endanger the scheme. However, boats which carry cargoes out to the River Plate can apply for fresh cargoes for European destination. As there is a scarcity of cargoes, the Argentine grain supplies being somewhat short at present, boats have to wait their turn—perhaps up to four or five months—before they secure a charter. The German Government although abiding by the scheme and obtaining all the benefits of minimum freights, sends out a vessel in ballast from Hamburg whenever a shipment is due for Germany, ignoring the claims of all other shipowners who have been waiting their turn.

B.B.C. BULLETINS WELCOME

THE news bulletins in German of the B.B.C. are doing exactly what was intended. They are supplying a great number of German listeners with news which they feel they can trust. This is the report from Germany of a contributor to HEADWAY. He says many of his friends have told him that they tune in regularly to London, anxious to know what is happening in the world. They believe the same habit is followed in thousands upon thousands of other homes. A Press controlled by Dr. Goebbels' Propaganda is suspected of systematic suppression and distortion.

HEADWAY'S contributor has been asked to convey to the Director-General of the B.B.C. the thanks of his German informants. He adds that he was surprised by the frankness with which the merits of the B.B.C. and the defects of the German Press were discussed. Men encountered at haphazard would make bitter comments, without first glancing cautiously over their shoulders.

BAD GRAMMAR HELPED

A FOOTNOTE to this report about the B.B.C. is supplied from another source. The first German broadcast at the time of the Munich crisis was decried for its bad grammar and its faulty accent. Circumstances made his task almost impossible for the announcer. He was handed his text in scraps, which were not always complete sentences, and had to translate at sight word by word. A neat version was impossible. These facts are worth recalling for the sequel. Evidence has come to hand from many quarters that the bad German was not a disadvantage, as was at first supposed. Rather was it a help in winning attention and belief. Many Germans said: "That man is a foreigner. Let's listen. He is, perhaps, telling the truth."

SWISS ALARM

THERE is considerable evidence that public opinion in Switzerland is increasingly alarmed by the infiltration of Nazi propaganda, particularly in German Switzerland. Even official Switzerland has been moved to protest in Berlin against a recent article in the *National-sozialistischen Monat-*

sheften, the main tenour of which is that no neutral country, particularly a country whose neutrality is guaranteed by other States, has any right to allow within its borders any sort of comment on proceedings in another State, particularly, of course, in one of the guaranteeing States. This thesis is tantamount to a demand to centre the control of the Swiss Press in Berlin, and it is hardly surprising that Dr. Froelicher has been ordered to ask for explanation from the German Foreign Office.

OPINION DEEPLY STIRRED

IN A SENSE Switzerland may be said to be coming up against the rough end of the stick in connection with her much-desired "integral neutrality." When in May last Switzerland contracted out of her political obligations under the League Covenant she "took the smooth." Now she is "taking the rough." When the Federal Government communicated its decision to resume integral neutrality to the Governments of Berlin and Rome, it was not perhaps anticipated that these Governments should interpret their acquiescence in such neutrality almost in the terms of a Protectorate.

Meanwhile the Federal Government does its utmost not to offend its powerful neighbours. A recent Federal Decree enacts that anyone who publicly recommends an economic boycott of a foreign State should be punishable with imprisonment or a fine. One wonders what the position of the League Council would have been had they accepted Dr. Wellington Koo's recent proposal for an economic boycott of Japan.

But Swiss public opinion is deeply stirred, and its anxiety has not been allayed by recent revelations concerning large-scale espionage in Geneva.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

THE United States is not suspected, anywhere outside a madhouse, of intending an attack on another nation. Yet official opinion in America is doubtful whether peace will be preserved throughout 1939. The United States is arming as never before. Germany and Italy also continue their feverish piling up of weapons. Appeasement has not induced their dictators to adopt more conciliatory attitudes; indeed, successive surrenders seem only to have stimulated their appetites. After Abyssinia and Spain, Austria and Czechoslovakia, they are preparing ostentatiously for further advances and are crying out for "More, more!"

What, then, is to be done? It is possible even now to build up a world peace front; to offer conference and the removal of genuine grievances; to announce a common resolve to resist any country or alliance which chooses the way of violence. If mobilised throughout the world, the forces of order would still be stronger than the forces of anarchy.

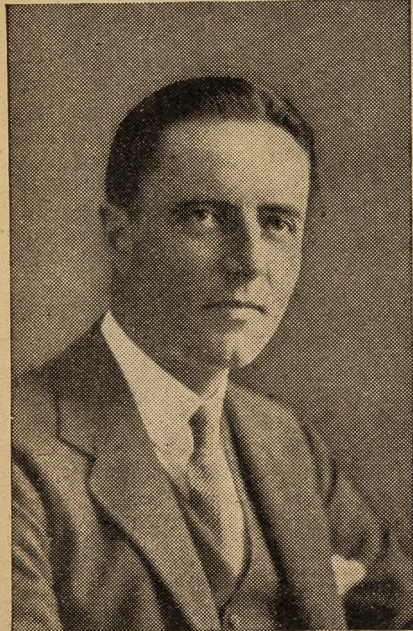
ECONOMICS OF THE REFUGEE

HEADWAY published last month a forty-eight page booklet by Mrs. C. R. Buxton on "The Economics of the Refugee Problem." It had an introduction by Sir Norman Angell. It was the first serious attempt to deal with the protest that the refugee who found a livelihood in Great Britain took away the work and wages of a British competitor. The booklet has had a remarkable success. Already 20,000 copies have been bought. Orders come from all parts of the country, many of them for dozens, scores, or hundreds. Quiet citizens, troubled by what they felt was a real problem, have rejoiced to have their doubts set at rest. The way in which Mrs. Buxton's work has been studied is one further proof of what the world has often been shown before, the genuine, helpful kindness of the British people.

PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE—No. 4.

By RONALD CARTLAND, M.P.

"There are dangers; the position is grave; we have got to make tremendous sacrifices; if we do, we can win; if we don't, we shall be defeated"



R. S. HUDSON, M.P.,

Parliamentary Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade, who has recently expressed in the plainest terms the resolve of the Government not to submit to trade aggression

JANUARY this year has followed in the March tradition. Nothing could have been more consoling and reassuring than the pictures published in the early days of Sir John Anderson sporting himself in Switzerland. Here, people argued, was the man in charge of the most pressing of all our defence needs, quite obviously without a worrying thought, except how to get through a figure of eight in a vertical position. A direct challenge to all the pessimists! True, Germany's new naval requirements were a trifle disturbing, but, after all, they were her right; only the method and the time of announcing them were unreasonable.

"Wolf, Wolf!"

Before the end of the month the balmy airs had vanished; the gales were on us. January went out in a storm of rumour and apprehension. The Rome visit had done nothing to lessen the oppressive atmosphere. The bomb outrages had done something to increase it. It was Germany, however, who controlled the barometer—and does. Some people have jeered at the City for believing so readily the rumour of German aggression in Holland. The readiness to believe is a symptom of how near the truth we

think such a rumour to be. Many people outside the City would have had no hesitation in believing it if they had heard it—nor will they when they do. Let everyone ask themselves, is it beyond the bounds of possibility? Is it beyond the limits of probability? The greatest danger I see is from the crying of "Wolf, Wolf!" It strengthens the blindness of those who deliberately will not see, and the deafness of those who resolutely refuse to listen.

All Aware of Danger

The number who are not aware of the dangers must now be very small. There is certainly no enthusiasm; perhaps that is hardly to be expected. But immediately after Crisis Week there was a real spirit of sacrifice in the hearts of men. One could not but be aware of it. That seems to me to have gone. The feeling now is of the inevitability of Fate, and of the impotence of ordinary men and women to direct their destiny. Ministerial speeches have not given the answer to the everyday questions which people are asking. Of inspiration there has been not a word. If we have a great cause, our leaders are strangely silent about it. We say "Ditto" to Mr. Roosevelt—it is splendid that we do—but it is not Britain's traditional way of conducting her affairs.

Mr. Eden was Right

Mr. Eden was absolutely right when he said, in his constituency in the middle of January, that the present and the future are infinitely more important than the past. One wishes that some of the keenest supporters of the Munich Settlement believed that, too. Munich is not a talisman; nor does incessant harping on the Prime Minister's personal endeavours at that time provide either the solution or the armament for the immediate difficulties. What is the use of answering criticism that is nowadays never made? We have moved a long way from Munich. It remains a political gambit only with those who apparently choose to live in the past, in a world of their own.

Differences Narrowing

Mr. Eden was right, too, when he suggested that the differences on foreign policy were narrowing. "There is a growing appreciation of the forces with which we have to deal." That is a very, very polite way of saying "I told you so"; to which most HEADWAY readers

can supply the echo. There is no doubt at all of that growing appreciation, in the House of Commons and in the country. More and more one hears the statement: "Well, at least we've gained time." Munich is now generally justified on that score. The "Peace with honour" line is démodé. But time can seldom have been purchased more dearly, and never have been more wantonly wasted afterwards.

British Trade Defended

The Board of Trade deserve every encouragement, not only for the steps they are taking to defend British trade, but for the language in which they announce their intention to do so. Mr. Hudson has been consistently vigorous; his speech on the Spanish ships question will long be remembered. Nowadays, when courage is considered one of the lesser political virtues, it is heartening to find someone who has such a goodly store of it. The old saw about whistling to keep one's spirits up has been transformed into whistling your opponents' down. The proper answer to that form of propaganda is to speak out. Nothing is to be gained by suggesting that dangers do not exist, or that one's enemies are not as bad as they are made out to be. There are dangers; the position is grave; we have got to make tremendous sacrifices; if we do, we can win; if we don't we shall be defeated. Let it all be said again and again. No one is saying it today better than the Board of Trade, and Mr. Hudson in particular.

Bitterness Over Spain

Bitterness over Spain shows no sign of diminishing. If anything, I think, in the last few weeks it has increased. Not that I am surprised. The open violations of non-intervention are enough to make all decent-minded, humane people lose their belief that decency exists and their faith in humanity. If this country is to turn the blind eye to such violations because the consequences of recognising the truth must be grave, where will blindness lead us? It seems to me, though one is nervous of drawing any general conclusions from purely personal experience, that the out and out Franco supporters are less in numbers, and far less strident; but most people are now aware that Germany in Spain is of far greater danger than Italy, and that even die-hard Conservatives wonder if the Government's "dare not"

waits upon their "would" from necessity or inclination.

Youth Awake

I had the good fortune to visit the annual conference at Bristol, last month, of the Universities' League of Nations Societies. If anyone supposes that the League ideal is defunct, let them make inquiries of these young men and women, who represent not merely Oxford and Cambridge, but London and all the so-called modern Universities.

That freedom—above all, freedom—does mean something very real, something worth fighting for and dying for is their common faith. How to put this faith into practice, how to persuade Governments that this is their faith, is their common problem. I am convinced that the energy and enthusiasm for a great cause is there. The trouble is that nobody seems to bother about harnessing it for the common good. Perhaps the Youth Pilgrimage to London on February 18-19 will shock some people? I hope so.

HUNGARY

By JOHN A. KEYSER, the well-known publicist who is an expert on Danubian affairs

THE preservation of an independent Hungary is a British interest, for, the loss of that independence would still further tilt the European balance to the disadvantage of Great Britain. It must, however, be freely admitted that, in the post-Munich situation, the help which this country can give to Hungary is restricted. Yet, it is important to recognise that, if we deliberately throw away, as we seem to be doing, the friendship of the Danubian and Balkan States by procrastination and indifference, we shall considerably prejudice the chances of recreating any sort of collective security.

What is the internal position in Hungary to-day? In that country, as in all the States of South-Eastern Europe, there is a Nazi movement.

The army is sometimes computed to be 80 per cent. Nazi. Although that is probably an over-statement, it is undoubtedly true that, particularly among the younger officers, there is support for Nazism in military circles. The probable reason is the high esteem in which the Hungarian soldiers hold their German brothers. The efficiency of the Reichswehr is constantly brought to their attention, both through the cinema and in the German military literature, of which they consume large quantities.

There is complete unanimity in parliament and the country as to the need for reform, but there has recently been an unfortunate split on method. The Government will probably drop their plan for accelerating what the Prime Minister has referred to as the "technique of law-making."

Although the new frontiers with Czecho-Slovakia were determined by the arbitrament of Germany and Italy at Vienna, mainly to the satisfaction of the Magyars, one important exception to their claims was made. The right to form a common frontier with Poland,

which would entail the cession of the whole of Carpatho-Ukraine (whose people are Ruthenes) to Hungary was prohibited by Germany. The Hungarian view is that, as the all-important strategic and economic Southern plains of Carpatho-Ukraine, including the two most important towns, have been given back to them, the remaining portion, which consists of barren rocky mountains is not capable of separate existence, and should be given back to Hungary.

Admittedly the Ruthenes would look upon this as the least of several possibly evil solutions. Moreover, since the cession of the Sudeten lands to Germany the economic link between Prague and Carpatho-Ukraine has been destroyed. It must not be forgotten that for centuries past, the existence of the Ruthene people has depended upon their ability to float their timber down into the Hungarian plain towards which all their rivers flow, nor must the historic claims of Hungary be altogether overlooked. The common frontier with Poland would give Hungary an outlet from the ring of opponents who surround her through

the Polish port of Gdynia. From a general point of view this common frontier would be of considerable importance. Firstly, it would connect two States who might well form the basis for Middle European co-operation. So long as a corridor separates Poland from Hungary no satisfactory "confederation" can be constructed. Secondly, a common Polish-Hungarian frontier would upset Herr Hitler's plan for an advance into the Ukraine. It could not finally bar the way, but would certainly form a temporary barrier to German expansion which might be of considerable advantage.

The formation of this common frontier could not be considered as an attempt to encircle Germany, because in any case the Western half of the circle is now missing, and it is impossible to "encircle" Germany from one side only, even if it were so desired, which it is not. But if any lasting security in Europe is to be sought, some active steps must be taken to prevent the complete domination of Europe by Germany. Otherwise, all the lessons of the past and the whole direction of British foreign policy for at least the last half century have no meaning. In building up a dam against the Nazi flood Hungary is an essential part.



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BRITAIN DOES NOT NEGLECT HER COLONIES

By SIR HARRY LINDSAY, Director of the Imperial Institute.

In the eager discussion of the Colonial Problem which goes on continuously in all parts of the world, Great Britain is often accused of doing nothing for the development of her overseas possessions. Written specially for "Headway," the following article shows how baseless is such a charge.

THE Imperial Institute was founded in 1887 as a memorial of the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria. Its functions are twofold. First, it is a central clearing house of information about the development of the natural resources of the Empire; secondly, it is a centre for visual instruction in the life, scenery and industries of the Empire overseas.

These two functions, the technical and the educational, are complementary to each other. For example, the knowledge which our technical staff (between thirty and forty in number) gains about the economic products of the Empire is of no little importance to us when we face the task of telling the story of each item in the long list of animal, vegetable, and mineral products which comprise the material resources of the Empire.

Specimens and Samples

On the technical side we have difficulty in keeping pace with the many inquiries which come to us from all parts of the Empire. They emanate from importers, distributors, and industrialists of the United Kingdom, who want information about particular raw materials or foodstuffs of Empire origin, their sources and qualities, their availability in commercial quantities, methods of handling, processing, transport, etc.; or from Governments, producers, and merchants of the overseas Empire needing information about the United Kingdom or other markets, qualities expected, prices offered, and so on. Quite a lot of the inquiries we receive take the form of specimens or samples or trial consignments of goods which are sent to us either for analysis in our laboratories or for testing a market by actual sales. Then follows the report to the authority or company or individual concerned—advice as to local market prices, the strength of competition, methods of processing, packing, and transport. The range of the products about which we are consulted is so vast, and the problems so complex, that great care is necessary to get to the heart of each particular inquiry.

Expert Advice

Fortunately there are many factors in our favour. Some fifty years' experience is of inestimable value to us in this work. In fact it is no exaggeration to say that there is practically no product of any genuine economic value which

has not at one time or another passed through the laboratories and intelligence offices of the Institute.

Another most valuable asset is the assistance we receive



in the shape of technical information and advice from our two Advisory Councils; one, under the chairmanship of Sir Frank Stockdale, K.C.M.G., Agricultural Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, deals with plant and animal products, and the other, under Sir William Larke, K.B.E., Director of the British Iron and Steel Federation, with mineral resources. Under these two Councils are grouped fifteen Consultative Committees, of which eight deal with plant and animal products, vegetable fibres, timber oils and oilseeds, essential oils, hides and skins, tanning materials, gums and resins, and insecticide materials of vegetable origin—and seven with groups of minerals, precious metals, base metals, iron and ferro-alloy metals, coal and petroleum, chemical industries, miscellaneous minerals, and mining law. The chairmen of these committees are ex officio members of the two Advisory Councils. The personnel of the councils and committees consists of scientists and technical experts, business men, nominees of the High Commissioners, etc. Their wide experience is of the utmost value in helping us to solve some of the difficult technical problems which we are called upon to answer.

Reports in Many Languages

Another asset on the technical side is an indexing staff capable of reading and indexing the numerous scientific journals which we receive from all over the world in many different languages. Our library comprises not only standard works, but also reports and journals published by technical departments of every Government of the Empire and of many foreign Governments as well; and a Statistical

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Office. The results of our investigations of major importance on both the plant and animal and mineral resources sides are published in our quarterly Bulletin, which circulates to all technical departments of all Empire Governments.

The vital question to us is the development of Empire resources. This prompts and stimulates the whole of our scientific work at the Institute. Can such and such a raw material, hitherto only obtainable from foreign sources, be produced within the Empire? Is there any prospect of the successful exploitation of Empire resources hitherto undeveloped? Can new uses be found for known raw materials? Can new machinery or new processes or new methods of packing or transport be applied to improve the quality of Empire products or to reduce their landed costs? These are the sort of problems with which we most commonly have to deal.

The Primary Producer First

If we are asked in whose interests we work we answer "In the interests chiefly of the primary producer of the Empire, for he is the base of the whole gigantic edifice of Empire resources. We cannot create resources which do not exist, but we can stimulate their production on improved lines; and for this we must arm the producer with accurate and up-to-date information."

Consider our task from this point of view. It will be admitted on all counts that the primary producer is the one person, in the long line of agents responsible for production and marketing, who is suffering most severely under the present world economic régime. This is due to a number of reasons; chiefly, perhaps, to the fact that primary producers all over the world are generally incapable of combining for their mutual protection. There are ex-

ceptions, of course, as the histories of the tea, rubber, tin and copper industries go to show. But, in general, the small producers in any single industry, especially in the agricultural industries, are not susceptible to control. They are therefore compelled, in all conditions whether of the seasons or of the markets, to produce the maximum of which their fields are capable. If they are to succeed, in face of the extremely rigorous conditions underlying modern markets, they can only do so by marketing products which give better value than their competitors. In other words, the secret of their success can only lie in the adoption of improved scientific methods.

That is where the Imperial Institute comes in. We are not a research body, and if problems involving scientific research are put to us we can only refer our inquirers to the research organisation best qualified to help them. But we are equipped, and well equipped, to undertake the normal tasks of technical investigation and advice; and that is just the kind of help which the primary producers of the Empire demand.

Export for Better Living

In conclusion, it is an axiom of our Empire that the maintenance, and if possible the improvement, of the general standard of living of its primary producers depends on their capacity to export. Local markets are rarely capable of accounting for all local production to the satisfaction of local producers; and better prices are usually obtainable abroad, unless (exceptionally) production is inadequate to meet local needs. It is for this reason that a healthy export trade is so vital to a rising standard of living; and the application of improved scientific methods is the key to both.

On Playing the Game.



THE game of life has its victories and its code of conduct. If you value honesty and fair play you will seek to apply those principles in your daily life. As for instance in the purchasing of your daily needs—food, clothing, etc.

Have you ever considered the influence of the collective wage packet—its potentialities for good?

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THE ROME MEETING AND AFTER

At the request of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union the following statement has been prepared by Viscount Cecil and Dr. Gilbert Murray, the Joint-Presidents of the Union:—

At the League of Nations the meetings of statesmen took place as matters of routine and without advertisement. It illustrates one of the many disadvantages of Europe's general relapse into pre-League methods, that the Rome meeting had to be an exceptional enterprise, widely advertised and watched by different nations with conflicting hopes and fears. We are assured that no request was put forward by either side and consequently none accepted or refused. Such a purely negative result is no doubt, in view of what might have happened, a matter of congratulation, but makes a poor impression after so much advertisement.

On the other hand, from the point of view of the League Cause, which is all that concerns the Union, there is much to be regretted in the meeting. It took place at one of the most critical moments of the Spanish struggle. It was common knowledge that Italian troops and Italian munitions had been in the forefront of the late drive against the friendly Government of Spain. The Italian Press had gloried in the fact, in spite of the many assurances given to the Non-Intervention Committee, that if the Spanish Government dispensed with outside assistance, Italian help to the Spanish insurgents would cease. Nevertheless, our Ministers went to Rome and treated the Italian Government, to say the least of it, as if they were without reproach in international affairs. Our Prime Minister proposed the health of the head of that Government, expressly naming him as Emperor of Ethiopia, though the people of that country, by all accounts, are still rightly struggling to be free.

Even these advances, however, did not produce any cordiality from Signor Mussolini. His speech in reply was cold. His interviews with the British Ministers were so brief as to be almost perfunctory, and he markedly absented himself from Rome for the second day of their visit. His object had been, no doubt, to make it appear that the British Empire was an accessory to Italian international crime and a suppliant for Italian favour.

We feel that in this case, as in others, recent British policy has not been based on any clear principle. It has consisted of a series of opportunist expedients for avoiding temporary difficulties as they arise, often with little regard to our international obligations or even our

ultimate interests. So it was in the case of Czechoslovakia: so it still is in the case of China. In both these cases we were pledged as members of the League of Nations to do our best to secure their independence and integrity, and we did little or nothing. Czechoslovakia has been surrendered. But Spain and China still carry on their heroic efforts for freedom against ruthless and unprovoked invasion.

In Spain, where we have deprived the Spanish Government of its normal right to buy arms, on the principle that no foreign Power should intervene in the civil war, the Italian Government no longer even pretends to keep its pledge of non-intervention, while the Spanish Government has sent away all its foreign volunteers. It follows obviously—not that any nation should intervene in

“HOW SHALL WE HOUSE OURSELVES?”

By GEOFFREY BOUMPHREY

the well-known writer on architecture and town planning



It is surely time for a little clear thinking to be given to the question of how and where we wish to live. The answer that would apparently be given by ninety-nine people out of 100 at present is “In a beautiful, romantic (yet convenient) house in the depths of the country, but within five minutes of shops, cinemas, and so on, and not more than half to three-quarters of an hour from my work.” This is clearly absurd. Eighty per cent. of us live in or closely round towns, driven to do so either by our work or by our desire for those benefits which only town life can give. Yet in our attempts to combine the

Spain against Italy, but that the ordinary rights of the Spanish Government should be restored. Incidentally, this seems to offer the only chance now left of securing that Armistice and Peace by Agreement which almost all Spaniards and men of good will outside Spain are united in desiring.

To China, we ought to give financial help, and at the same time diminish the war strength of Japan by declining to buy her goods or to sell to her war materials. In other words, we ought to base our policy on the principles of the League of Nations, on respect for treaties and co-operation with other countries against aggression. We believe that it is only by a foreign policy of this kind that we can hope to secure continued peace, national security, and in the end international friendship.

CECIL.

GILBERT MURRAY.

irreconcilable opposites of town and country we are losing the best of both.

Almost Victorian

The towns remain almost as ill-planned, uneconomic, and inconvenient as in Victorian days, while round them sprawl ever-increasing rings of suburbs, themselves no more convenient or economic, and devoid of almost all those conveniences which give town life its charm. These points have passed almost unnoticed; but a considerable amount of attention has been drawn to the plight of the countryside. This is being quite definitely decouraged, either by conversion into suburb, by the sporadic erection of dormitory-houses for town workers, or by the provision of various dubious attractions designed to get money out of townfolk.

If all this continues unchecked, within a comparatively short time almost the whole countryside will be suburbanised, except for a few artificially preserved or remote areas, which will be overrun by townfolk seeking real country—and the towns will continue in their present unpleasing condition, the result of their unprecedented expansion during the past 200 years.

Time for Clear Thinking

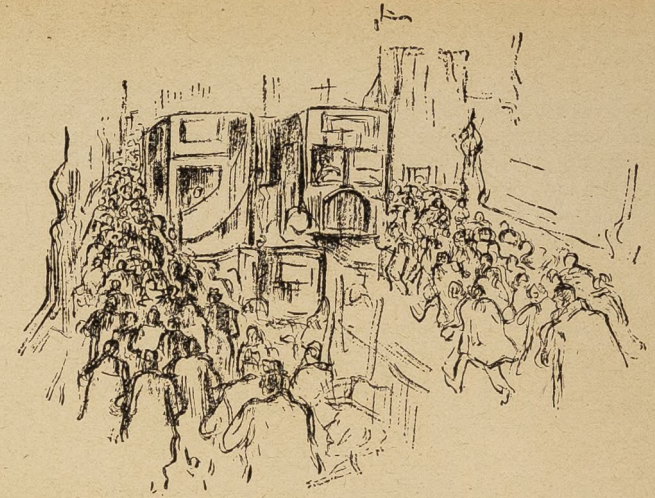
It is time, I said, for a little clear thinking. Since four out of five English people are townfolk, it would surely be more reasonable for us to concentrate, in our planning, on getting the utmost out of our towns to begin with—and to put the soft pedal on the delights of the

country as a place to live in. By this means we should not only improve the towns, but also preserve the country to a certain extent by lifting some of the weight of urban intrusion off it. The present wild desire for Arcadian bliss coupled with urban comforts is quite a new thing in history: it is no more than a phase of reaction against the appalling towns bequeathed us by the Industrial Revolution.

Once Proud of His Towns

Up to the early part of the nineteenth century man had always been proud of his towns, regarding them as symbols of his success in the fight against nature. We shall see no great improvement in either town or country until this traditional pride has been revived. Our chief help in reviving it should be the fact that never before has it been possible to build such towns as we could build to-day, and never before has town life been able to offer a tithe of the advantages we could derive from it if we would. Not the least of these advantages would be the power of quick and easy access to real, unspoiled country, since, however perfect town life may become, there is no doubt that most human beings have an additional need for the solace and inspiration of the country.

It is not difficult to decide what we should ask of the perfect town. The first essential—that which forms the chief dif-



ference between town and country—is quick access to work, friends, shops, and cultural and recreational facilities. We should ask, also, optimum conditions of sunlight and air, and, in our houses, “every modern convenience” and privacy. Finally, the town itself should be beautiful and within easy reach of unspoiled country.

Quick Access Vital

The realisation of these demands, at least in the case of our larger towns, may seem impossible. How can quick

access within the town and to the country outside be attained without concentration? And if our overcrowded towns are to be concentrated yet further, what is to happen to our plea for more sunlight and air, and for greater privacy? The answers are to be found in the one word “order.” No one who has not actually gone into the figures could believe the amount of valuable space that is wasted in our present unplanned towns.

A box of child's play-bricks, tumbled out on a table, take up so much space

21st BIRTHDAY OF THE L.N.U.

1939 is the twenty-first birthday year of the League of Nations Union.

One way in which members are asked to celebrate the occasion is to wear at all times the birthday button. This button has been manufactured by a well-known English firm in the Union's colours, blue and silver. It is small and free from lettering. Its designers hope it will induce the curious to ask the purpose for which it is being worn and what it stands for. That will be its main objective—to provoke comment. If the Union's 300,000 members wear the button every day there will be afforded to each of them opportunities for conversation upon the League and conversion to League principles.

Another means of attracting the attention of the general public will be birthday stamps. Supplies of stamps will be sent to L.N.U. branches at the end of February; they are being designed by well-known artists. It is proposed to have stamps of the value of 1d., 3d., 6d., 1s., and 2s. 6d., and an exclusive stamp of the value of £1 1s.

Every member of the Union is asked to consider it his or her duty to buy at least one stamp; many, no doubt, will purchase the complete series. The stamps are to be used as receipts for donations to the birthday fund and not as receipts for the ordinary yearly subscriptions.

The birthday stamp will, it is hoped, afford an opportunity to re-enlist the support of former members and also to approach others who, while not wishing to become members of the Union, have some understanding of its work.

Artists who are generously giving the Union their help are:—

PERCY JOHN SMITH, etcher, letterer, painter. Founder and Director of the Dorian Workshop. Works purchased by Victoria and Albert Museum, National Museum of Wales, U.S.A., Canadian and Budapest Art Galleries.

GEORGE SCHOFIELD DIXON, Portrait Painter, book illustrator and commercial artist.

FERDINAND VICTOR BLUNDSTONE, sculptor. Principal works—War Memorials and others in England, New Zealand, Ceylon, Belgium, etc. A bronze head purchased by Queen Mary, 1931.

ERIC GILL, sculptor and engraver, A.R.A., R.D.I. Stations of the Cross at Westminster Cathedral. Designer of present postage stamps (George VI).

Europe's Post-Munich Problems

Danubian Destiny

by GRAHAM HUTTON. With 3 maps. 7/6 net

This important book assesses the current and prospective changes in Central and South-East Europe brought about by the Munich Agreement, and examines the military, racial, economic, and political problems which now face the Great Powers in that region.

The author, formerly Assistant Editor of the *Economist*—a man whose first-hand knowledge of Danubia is exceptional—also examines two major questions: Can Germany's economic system stand the strain of organising her vast new sphere of influence? Will the smaller states play her game? In short, what are Germany's aims and how far can they be realised? This book is unique in its field and is essential for all students of foreign affairs.

A HARRAP BOOK

that it would seem impossible at first sight for so small a container ever to have held them. This is not to suggest that human beings should be as closely packed in their towns as bricks in a box—but, within certain strict limits, there seems no good reason why their dwellings should not be. These limits are defined primarily by our demand for optimum conditions of sunlight. Without going into technical details it is possible to give a good idea of the sort

of development that would answer all our requirements. Flats would be called for, of course; but flats to a plan that has never yet been put into effect—so that prejudice should be held in check for the moment.

The average density of London's population to-day is about sixty persons per acre; in Birmingham the figure is only twenty. But a gross figure of 250 per acre is easily realizable by housing in blocks of flats no higher than ten storeys

(lower than those flanking Park Lane) and leaving no less than nine-tenths of the ground entirely unbuilt on. In this huge proportion of unencumbered land is to be found the answer to the urban traffic problem and to the increasing demands for garden space, recreation grounds for children and adults, parks, pools and all the amenities which a full urban life would require.

Flats and Open Spaces

Where life in these flats would differ so greatly from that in most flats to-day would be in the great distance between the blocks: no window would look into another at a closer range than 100 yards. Surely privacy enough as compared with that of the ordinary housing estate or town street! Moreover, every flat would enjoy every available hour of sunlight on either its east or its west face from dawn to dusk. Construction costs and upkeep would be less than those of open development if incidental economies, such as the saving on fares, and various communal economies were included. The saving on water-heating alone would suffice to run the lifts.

In some such development as this, then, lies the definite possibility of reducing our big towns to a quarter or less of their present size and at the same time increasing their comfort, beauty and efficiency beyond all computation. In all of them, of course, areas of cottage development would have to remain for those who insisted on the "garden round the door"; but it is certain that the number of these would decrease as the advantages of the new dwellings became apparent. Even to-day in London those who can afford to choose their homes are flocking into our poorly planned flats in ever-increasing numbers. How much more would they do so into the sort of buildings I have outlined? The saving of wasted time and money and unnecessary traffic to and from work would be immense; so, too, the increase in the pleasure of urban life.

Rebirth of Pride

A most important result would be the rebirth of pride in our towns and a consequent great improvement in their administration. They would no longer lose a great proportion of their daytime population every night—a proportion which cares little about their improvement. The country, too, would be the better for being rid of its dormitory inhabitants, who can add little but cash to its real life. It is surely time for us to recognise that we are mostly townfolk, and to make up our minds to make our towns fit to live in. By doing that we shall save not only the towns but the country.

HEDGEROWS

By A COUNTRYMAN

SOON the hedges that divide the face of rural England will be bursting into leaf—"bread and cheese" we used to call those first green shoots.

There may be wars and rumours of wars, crises, and elections that will hold up the orderly progress of our lives and plans, but at the appointed time the little brown buds will burst as merrily as ever and clothe the hedges and trees throughout Britain in every shade of green.

Motoring through the country one passes mile after mile of hedges, and we are rather apt to take them pretty much for granted—just hedges; but what an essential feature of England they are!

What the Traveller Sees.

One of the first things to catch the eye of the traveller returned from abroad is the English hedge. Who has not paused on the brow of a hill and gazed at the country spread out below like a patchwork quilt and felt that this was indeed home? Hedges give that neatness and orderliness to the countryside so dear to the heart of the Englishman.

Although the watchword of the

hedge, backed by its myriad sharp thorns, is "Keep in" on the one side and "Keep out" on the other it is kindly by nature, giving shade to grazing stock in summer and protection from the shrewd winds and driving rain in winter. It is the home of countless birds that nest so snugly in its twiggy depths, while a host of small beasts and insects find sanctuary in and around its roots.

The real country hedge, in contrast to the formal or garden edge, is as democratic as the country it grows in. What a variety of wood one can find woven into some of the older hedges! One old favourite of mine in Gloucestershire contains hawthorn, blackthorn, beech, holly, hazel, elder, ash, and wild rose. That hedge, at some stage, must have been neglected; saplings sprang up in it unchecked until the skilful hand of the hedger came along, cut and laid all the wood, indiscriminate of variety, and wove it into the warp and woof of the fence. That hedge is a delight to the eye at any season of the year.

Is it the End?

It is hard to imagine England without her hedges—one feels, somehow, that they have always been there, but before the land enclosures England was as open as any other country. Will she revert to her hedgeless state again? She is showing signs of it already. With the depression in agriculture so acute, farmers are desperately cutting down overhead expenses. Many arable farmers are rooting up hedges, throwing the fields together, and cultivating by tractor. The grass farmer is, in many cases, replacing the hedge with wire—a wire fence wastes less space, is movable and cheaper to keep up.

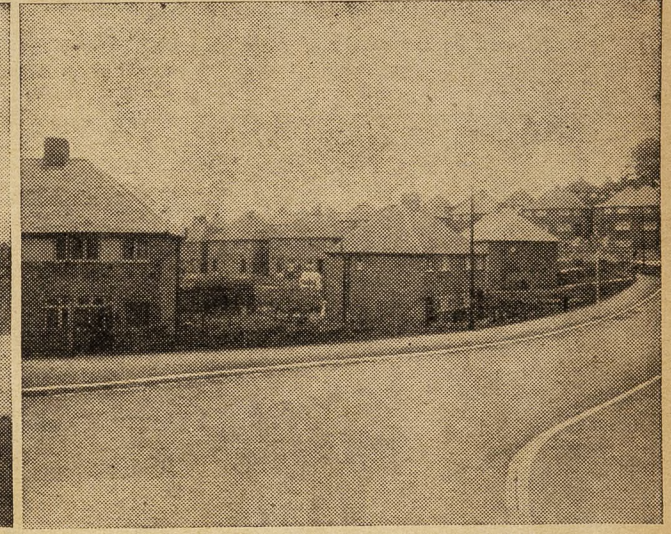
Will the hedge survive this cost-cutting, severely efficient age? I think it will, for, apart from its many practical advantages to the farmer, it has become an intrinsic part of the beauty of the English countryside, and the Englishman's love for his countryside is deep-rooted—so is the English hedge.



THE FACE OF ENGLAND



Must the beauty of rural England (1)



give place to the ugly suburb of 1930 (2)?



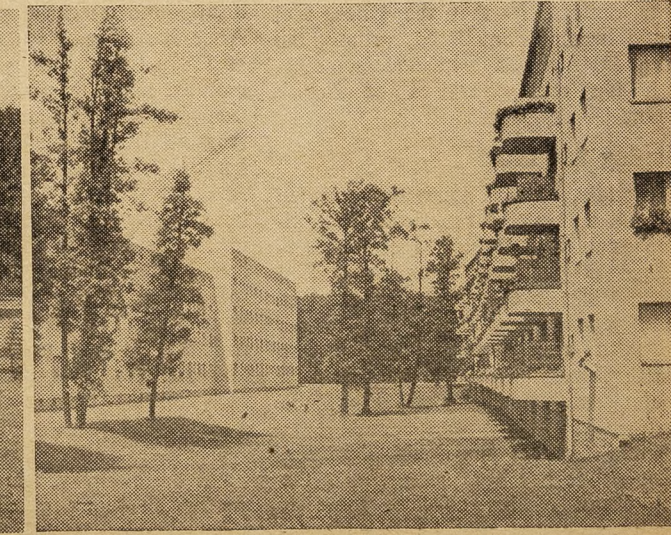
The grace of the Eighteenth Century Terrace (3)



was followed by the squalor of Nineteenth Century industrialism (4)



The 1940's can offer park lands (5)



and planned homes (6)

WHAT HAPPENED IN ROME

By ALFRED BRADFORD

A high authority on the affairs of Italy, in which country he lived for many years. Because of the Fascist censorship he works under an assumed name.



Mr. Chamberlain places a wreath on the Tomb of Italy's Unknown Soldier.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN undertook his journey to Rome with two distinct purposes.

In the first place he hoped that by establishing personal contact and by a frank exchange of ideas with the Italian Dictator he would better understand the Duce's views on the main international questions and learn directly from him his ultimate aims. He was also anxious to give Signor Mussolini a first-hand account of the British Government's view of the present situation and immediate outlook so that the Duce, too, would become acquainted, without the possibility of any misunderstanding, with the real objectives of British policy.

Hoping for Help

Secondly, Mr. Chamberlain hoped that, as a result of the mutual confidence established by this friendly interchange of thought, Signor Mussolini would willingly co-operate with him in his "appeasement" policy, and thus back, in one way or another, the British Government's efforts to secure a greater sense of stability and security in Europe.

While there is no doubt that Mr. Chamberlain has been successful in the first object of his mission, there is equally no doubt that he failed completely in the second and more im-

portant of his tasks. In Rome Mr. Chamberlain's policy of appeasement suffered a new and possibly fatal check which was perhaps graver than any of the previous setbacks because, although in the circumstances the blow was not entirely unexpected, it came from that very quarter which alone could have transformed the Premier's efforts into positive action.

Bitterly Disappointed

In this respect Mr. Chamberlain's disappointment must have been bitter. After his extremely tolerant treatment of Fascist Italy during the past twelve months, and the very easy interpretation given to the Spanish clauses of the Anglo-Italian Agreement shortly after his first meeting at Munich with the Duce, which allowed Italy to reap immediately all the political benefits of its ratification, the Prime Minister was confidently expecting from Signor Mussolini a responsive attitude that would have shown at least the readiness of the Italian Dictator to make some contribution to European appeasement. No such contribution was offered in Rome.

Italian Attitude Stiffens

On the contrary, after his talks with the British Ministers, Signor Mussolini stiffened his attitude on the most pressing and most dangerous of all

the European problems—Spain. From Munich Mr. Chamberlain returned home with the "no-war" declaration signed by Herr Hitler. From Rome Mr. Chamberlain not only returned with empty hands, but left behind him a situation far worse than that which had existed since the September crisis.

Britain Makes Stand

In fairness to Mr. Chamberlain, it must be stressed that in spite of Signor Mussolini's insistence on the immediate granting of belligerent rights to General Franco, the Prime Minister stuck to his guns and refused to make any concession to his host. It is not certain whether, in his forecast of European developments, the Duce succeeded in convincing the British Ministers that the Spanish War was now rapidly approaching its end, but it appears that Mr. Chamberlain made it plain that the British Government had no intention of departing from the policy of non-intervention which had been observed in the past. It was with this knowledge, and also in the certainty that France, for obvious reasons, could not and would not pursue in Spain a policy different from the British, that Signor Mussolini performed one of his favourite theatrical gestures, threatening to resume liberty of action if France intervened on the side of the Spanish "Red" Government.

Assurances About Spain

In spite of his conviction of the good faith and good will of the Fascist Government, Mr. Chamberlain felt it necessary to ask once again fresh and solemn assurances of Signor Mussolini regarding his future intentions on Spain. For the past two years the Duce had repeatedly pledged himself to withdraw all his men from Spanish territory after General Franco's victory, giving at the same time the formal undertaking that he would respect the territorial and political integrity of Spain. In view of Signor Mussolini's past record, it would, perhaps, be unwise to be too sanguine about the Dictator's promises. He may, when the civil war is over, discover some new danger in Spain which still requires the presence of at least his airmen at Majorca. The Prime Minister, however, seems to have great confidence in the Duce, and future events must show whether he is right or wrong.

Many people in Great Britain are less optimistic than their Prime Minister.

In Italy the Fascists, aware of the heavy sacrifices in men and money imposed upon their country by intervention in Spain, speak openly of the advantages—strategic, political and economic—which Signor Mussolini will obtain from General Franco as a reward for the support given him.

The British Ministers are stated to have been impressed by Signor Mussolini's evident anxiety and determination to do nothing which might disturb European peace. But the Fascist Dictator's conception of peace, especially since the Munich Agreement, is altogether different from that held in Britain and other democratic countries. Here again, the Rome talks have revealed, or rather confirmed, the existence of a fundamental divergence of outlook between Great Britain and Italy, a divergence which, originating from opposite doctrines, is actually fed by sharply conflicting interests that seem to be irreconcilable.

What Munich Meant

Nothing can better illustrate this divergence of outlook than the interpretation given in the totalitarian countries to the Munich settlement, its implications and its logical and inevitable consequences. The Munich accord was welcomed by the ruling classes in those countries not because it averted at the eleventh hour a European war, but because it fulfilled the ambitions of Germany on the one hand and paved the way for the fulfilment of the so-called national aspirations of Italy on the other.

At Munich the two Fascist dictators realised that after the capitulation of Great Britain and France to all their demands a new chapter in European history had been opened, and that the initiative for settling alleged grievances and injustices had passed into their hands. Henceforth, claimed the Italian Press, the problems of Europe in general and of Italy in particular, must be regulated in the "spirit of Munich," that is, according to the Fascist ideas of international justice. The world has been given samples of this justice in Austria and Czechoslovakia, in Abyssinia, and in Spain.

Demands on France

It is significant that the Duce's invitation to Mr. Chamberlain to visit him in Rome was made at Munich. And to remove any possible doubts as to his future plans, Signor Mussolini, before the Prime Minister's journey to Rome, presented the world with two *faits accomplis*, consisting in the denunciation of his own accord with M. Laval of January, 1935, and the revival of the dormant Italian "national aspirations" to French territories.

The French mistakenly attributed the

unexpected Italian irredentist campaign to a Macchiavellian move by the Duce to induce Mr. Chamberlain to intervene, as a mediator, in the Franco-Italian dispute. Afraid lest the British Prime Minister should be tempted to prepare a "Mediterranean Munich," the French Government and people raised an outcry against a possible mediation by Mr. Chamberlain. What the French failed to realise was that Signor Mussolini was the last person who desired British mediation in his quarrel with France. The Duce no doubt desired to discuss the Franco-Italian differences with Mr. Chamberlain, and as a matter of fact he did discuss them. But he did not go too deeply into the matter, since Mr. Chamberlain left the Duce under no illusion about the attitude of Great Britain should France be the victim of Italian aggression.

Courting Great Britain

Signor Mussolini is now courting Great Britain, stressing his desire to develop an harmonious collaboration with the British Empire, and his determination to respect both in the spirit and in the letter the Anglo-Italian agreement of April 16, 1938. As far as Anglo-Italian relations are concerned, the visit of the British Ministers to Rome may have beneficial results. The Italians are grateful to Mr. Chamberlain because last September he actually extricated them from a situation in which they had been unwillingly placed.

But the re-establishment of friendly relations with Great Britain will not deter Signor Mussolini from pursuing

the policy he has chosen or induce him to renounce claims to which he feels entitled. Friendship with Great Britain now appears to be of paramount importance to Italy if she is to proceed further in her expansionist programme.

And Then—

A situation is gradually being created which in many respects is similar to that built up by the Duce before embarking upon his adventure in Ethiopia. In 1935 the Duce was able to carry out his ambitious schemes in East Africa because he succeeded in gaining the tacit diplomatic support of France. In 1939 the Duce seems to think that his no less ambitious schemes in the Mediterranean can only be pushed forward if he secures British neutrality.

Quite likely he will not hesitate to throw overboard Great Britain, say, in 1942, and denounce the Anglo-Italian agreement of 1938, if it suits him to do so, just as he has thrown overboard France in 1938 and 1939 by denouncing the agreement concluded three years previously. It is the same old game being played over again with masterful skill. Perhaps Signor Mussolini, encouraged by the support which his axis-partner has promised him, may consider that a similar favourable opportunity to settle old accounts with France and establish Italian hegemony in the Mediterranean—which is his final goal—may not present itself again. But will Great Britain watch indifferently the events which Italy is preparing in the Mediterranean?



Mr. Chamberlain attends an Armed Parade of Fascist Children.

GERMANY AFTER MUNICH

By F. ELWYN JONES, Barrister-at-law and author of several books on Central Europe during the crisis years

"We want to live as free German men! We want—instead of war propaganda, suppression, and exploitation—to have peace, freedom and honourable work once more for ourselves and for all the peoples of the earth."—Daily Telegraph, September 21, 1938.

THIS proclamation, which was circulated illegally in Germany last autumn, represents the feeling of a great many German people. The acquisition of Sudetenland has not diminished their numbers.

Millions of Germans, weary of Nazi bombast, fearful of Nazi violence, long for peace, for a return to a civilisation of butter instead of guns. There is abundant evidence of a growing *malaise* in Germany despite the acquisition of Sudetenland. As the Berlin Correspondent of the *Sunday Times* reports, all the time the *Gestapo* (secret police) finds itself compelled to arrest persons who fail to "understand" the new creed, while the Press rages against the "detractors of the régime who must be punished by exemplary means." Nazi Party officials admit that "increased police work is necessary until the nation has been trained to Nazi ideals."

Living Conditions the Key

The key to German discontent is the condition of the people. Not long ago a German industrialist told me, "if we went to war now, we should not enter it in the conditions of 1914 but of 1918." General von Fritsch's warning comment was, "You may be able to end up a war on ration-cards, but you can't start one on them."

Each section of German society—except a few armament manufacturers—is suffering grievously from economic distress. The standard of living of the middle class has fallen by as much

as 20 per cent. since 1933. Salaried employees and civil servants cannot, in the nature of their employment, add to their salaries by working overtime, and they are, therefore, subjected to the full impact of the rise in the cost of living. The shopkeeper suffers a considerable reduction in his profit margin.

Middle Class Reward

The lower middle class was the mainstay of the Nazi Party. Fearful of being depressed into the proletariat, they rallied to Hitler and, under the Nazi flag, attacked the workers' movement. Their reward is the very fate they sought to avoid—being forced into the proletariat.

On October 31, 1938, Dr. Ley, leader of the German Labour Front, said that thousands of petty officials, clerks, and similar persons, would be discharged from their present employment and made to learn some new trade regarded as nationally important—particularly coalmining. Three days later, Dr. Ley said that over a million and a-half workers would be combed out of the trades and professions to supply the German labour shortage.

The Farmer is Critical

The German farmer is also critical of the Nazi régime. He has lost his former freedom and gained neither economic security nor increased income. He is told what he must sow and plant. He may no longer sell his produce in the free market. He is subject to the orders

and supervision of arbitrary farmers' "Leaders," officials appointed by the Nazis. Demonstrations of the farmers against the agrarian laws are frequent in Germany to-day.

In the Factories

What of the factory workers? Unemployment has certainly disappeared, though it should be noted that since 1933 not less than 1,500,000 men have been enrolled in the Army, the Air Force, the Labour Corps, the S.S. Guards, and other Nazi organisations. It is also interesting that if the employment figures—the figures of those who are doing work—for 1937 are compared with those of 1929, there has been a much larger increase in Great Britain than in Nazi Germany.

Since 1933, as a result of the tremendous activity in armaments, the gross income of German wage-earners shows an average increase of 15 per cent. The actual wage scales have declined, however, for 4½ million unemployed have been absorbed into industry, while those workers who were in employment before 1933 have increased their income only as a result of working longer hours.

What Can the Worker Buy?

The question which interests the workman is: what can he buy with his wages? The answer to this is the key to his dissatisfaction. For prices have risen far more than the income of the wage-earner; and the quality of products has deteriorated. Food costs since 1932 have risen by approximately 35 per cent., those of clothing by approximately 40 per cent. The *Telegraph* and *Morning Post* correspondent reported from Vienna at Christmas that food prices have increased by more than 50 per cent. over those charged last Christmas. Food has not only increased in price. It has become more scarce. The same correspondent reported a shortage of milk, eggs and fruit. Fresh eggs were altogether unobtainable. Salami—favourite dish of the Viennese—was also unobtainable. Milk had been noticeably adulterated. Butter was so scarce that Viennese families requiring half a pound at the Christmas week-end had to accept two ounces or less. In the Saar 58 grammes is the weekly ration of butter. German bread is not only getting darker, but also inferior in



quality and less digestible. Potato meal is being added to the bread to eke out the supplies. Germany is still waiting for the "crisp white rolls" General Goering promised at Nuremberg.

State and Party Levies

Moreover, even with higher prices for scarcer provisions, by no means all the wages the worker earns find their way into his pocket. A big percentage is impounded by the State and Nazi Party organisations in the form of compulsory and "voluntary" contributions. The net result is that for the German working class the standard of living has fallen 10 per cent. or more—and the fall is continuing.

Coupled with this goes the terrific speeding up in the factories, and extension of working hours to ten, twelve, fourteen hours a day, with its resultant 10 per cent. increase between 1936 and 1937 in the frequency of industrial accidents. Finally, the regimentation of the workmen, the espionage that prevails in the factories, and the heavy-handed Nazi system in which everything which is not forbidden is obligatory, these all intensify discontent among the German workers.

Leaders Make Admissions.

Even the Nazi leaders are now admitting the existence of opponents to the régime. Dr. Goebbels dismisses them as "men of possessions and education who trust more in the power of pure and cold understanding than in those of a glowing idealistic heart." Those "men of possessions and education" include members of the German General Staff—the "Pacifists Club," as the Nazis describe it; senior officers of the army—of whom a considerable number has been arrested; German aristocrats—next on the list of Nazi victims; scientists who seek free development for research; priests and preachers who are imprisoned for praying for peace; school teachers, artists, working men, like those arrested in the Moabit district of Berlin for distributing secretly copies of the letter Thomas Mann addressed to the University of Bonn after his expulsion from the University. Eloquent of the existence of these opponents of Nazism was the stormy applause which greeted the words "Give us freedom of thought, Sire," during the performance of Schiller's "Don Carlos" at Frankfurt-on-Main on October 17, 1938.

Contrary to expectations the social tensions in Germany have not diminished as a result of the Sudeten triumph, though it is probable that hope of overthrowing or moderating the Nazi régime has dwindled. The *Gestapo* is well aware of the existence

of deep and widespread discontent. The need for distraction by perpetuating a belief in a national and international danger partly explains the appalling excesses against the Jews.

The Jew a Convenient Scapegoat

The Jew is a convenient and defenceless scapegoat. One of the grimmest commentaries on the Munich settlement is that made by the organ of the S.S. Guards, on November 21, 1938. It states that a "solution" of the Jewish problem by brutal means was favoured by "German quarters" as far back as 1933. But Germany had not then the military power it now possesses and the Jews might have provoked other nations to start a war of revenge. "To-day, however, the worst democratic shouters will think more than twice about this." Germany will now bring about a complete solution of the Jewish problem "because Germany does not any longer take notice of the world's shouting, and because, finally, no power in the world can prevent Germany from doing so."

Pogroms a Warning

Distraction was not the only purpose of the pogroms. The confiscations which accompanied them, and the consequent "fine," brought millions into the Nazi coffers. Even more important, they were a warning to the Roman Catholics, to the Confessional Church, to the aristocracy—who are now being ominously classified as "White Jews." Nazi leaders like Gauleiter Jure have already announced: "We shall solve the Catholic problem with the same consequences as the Jewish question."

WHAT THEY HAVE DONE TO THE CZECHS

By MARTIN BLAKE, who knows Czechoslovakia and Germany well, and has just returned from a visit to those countries.

THE right of self-determination of peoples, proclaimed by President Wilson in 1918, was resuscitated to justify the cession of the Sudeten territories to Germany. The Munich settlement was only accepted by British public opinion on the ground that by it the Sudeten Germans were able to exercise their right of self-determination to join the German Reich. How closely did the Munich Agreement follow the principle of self-determination and, secondly, what effect has the self-determination of the Sudeten Germans had upon the similar right of the Czechs, for presumably a majority in a State possesses this right as well as a minority?

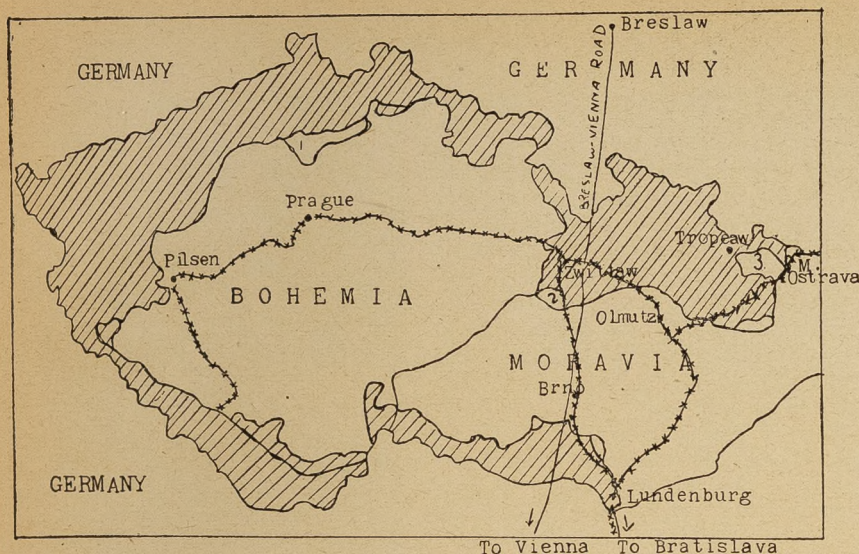


The preparations for a national offensive against the Catholics are virtually complete. "Hang the Jews. Shoot the priests." is the slogan. The anti-Semitic pogroms were meant to warn the Catholics of the fate of those whom the Nazis choose to persecute.

These grave tensions inside Germany constitute a danger to peace. Their Jewish scapegoat is on the way to being exterminated by the Nazis. More and more will the Nazi régime be forced to find distraction abroad. As the discontent deepens, the Nazi dictatorship grows increasingly uneasy and resolved to hasten on its next adventure abroad. For Europe, as for Germany, there will be no respite.

As a result of Munich 2,850,000 Germans were united with Germany. At the same time 850,000 Czechs were included in German territory, not to mention the 180,000 Czechs who were annexed by Poland and the 200,000 Slovaks and Ruthenians who were handed over to Hungary.

At Munich it was agreed that the 1910 census should decide what territories were "predominantly German," and were therefore to be handed over, as the German Government maintained that the position since 1918 had been deliberately altered by the introduction of Czechs into German areas, and thus the recent Czech census of 1930, which was a scientific one based



Shaded area Godesburg demands; thick line on inside of shaded area, frontier after Munich settlement; No. 1, 2, 3, surrenders beyond Godesburg demands

on the mother tongue, could not be used.

A Notorious Census

The Austrian census of 1910 was notoriously unreliable. It was based largely on the language of every-day use, which was, naturally enough, in most cases the language of the ruling element, that is to say German. Everyone who was not 100 per cent. Czech was thus entered as a German.

But the use of the 1910 census does not alone explain the results of the agreement. The International Commission at Berlin—consisting of representatives of the four Munich Powers and a Czech—was left to decide the exact boundaries. What actually happened was that, after the first four zones had been occupied by the German army, and with them the famous Czech fortifications, the demand for zone 5 was presented to the Czech Government by the German military authorities on the night of October 5, and after five hours' deliberation the Czech Cabinet accepted it as an ultimatum. The International Commission approved the agreement, and on the 7th the German army marched in. On October 13 the International Commission decided that there was no need for a plebiscite—small wonder, as when the new boundaries were published it was seen that they were practically those of the Godesberg Memorandum.

More Surrenders

In some cases the results were even worse for the Czechs. But this is not all. Two sets of further demands were made, and accepted by the Czechs, who had learnt from experience that it was no use looking to the Commission for help. On November 20, 100 more places were ceded to Germany and

twenty-five given back to Czechoslovakia. The second demand was for the now notorious motor road direct from Breslau to Vienna. This road cuts Czechoslovakia in half, and the Czech sector—forty miles long and sixty yards wide—is to be regarded as German territory. Both these additional agreements were approved by the International Commission.

The effect of Zone 5 has been exactly what the Germans wanted. There is not one double-tracked railway from Prague to a frontier which is not cut more than once—all told the railways are cut in fifty-eight different places—and not one railway or motor road from Prague to Brno which does not pass through German territory. Only the use of the 1910 census made this possible. The cession of the area north of Zwittau, which is certainly not justified by present population, cuts the main line from Prague to Brno; that of Ludenbourg cuts direct communication between Bohemia and Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia.

No Racial Excuse

In many cases there was no ethnographic justification, even in 1910, for the annexation of towns and villages, though, needless to say, there were other non-racial reasons. For example, in N. Moravia Trebovice has a large Czech majority, but also a new power station; Koprivnice has 4,000 Czechs to 700 Germans, but an automobile and wagon factory as well; Sternberk has a 90 per cent. majority of Czechs, but also Portland cement and lime works; Hodslavice has 1,900 Czechs to one German, and Policka 4,900 Czechs to 90 Germans, but also a munitions factory. All these have been appropriated.

So much for the principles upon

which the Munich settlement was based. What is its effect upon the right to a free existence of what remains of Czechoslovakia?

Economic Losses

I was in Prague at the beginning of January, and was struck by the universal feeling that the country was politically and economically at the mercy of Germany. The fortifications are now all in German hands; and in any case it is impossible for less than 10,000,000 people to hope to stand up against a State of over 80,000,000.

Economically the position is desperate. Ninety per cent. of the lignite and 55 per cent. of the hard coal have been lost, the latter to Poland. Practically the whole of the china and porcelain industry (around Carlsbad) and about two-thirds of the glass (centred on Gablonz) have gone. More than half of the great textile industry, employing nearly 400,000 workers, and based on Reichenberg, is lost and about one-third of the timber and chemical industries (including the great Aussig chemical works).

It is true that the bulk of the heavy industrial equipment remains, and in particular the famous Skoda works, the greatest armament concern in Europe outside Germany. But although the equipment remains, most of the coal has been lost and half the valuable iron fields west of Kosice have gone to Hungary.

Cities Dominated

The chief cities are in a particularly serious position. The waterworks and electric power stations for both Prague and Brno are now in German hands, not to mention the Pilsen power station.

It was understood that the Munich settlement would include a right of option for all those affected by the transfer of territory, but the actual Options Treaty between Czechoslovakia and Germany signed on November 23 presents a very different aspect as far as those of German race are concerned. If the German refugees now in Czechoslovakia opt for Germany they can be evacuated at any time. If they opt for Czechoslovakia their position is equally bad, for clause 2 of paragraph 2 of the treaty provides that all persons of German nationality who were Czech citizens until now and who immigrated into the present territory of the Republic since January, 1910, may be requested at any time until July 10, 1939, to leave the Republic within three months, whereby they lose their Czech nationality, and the German Government will accept them in its territory.

It is to be feared that the Czechoslovak Government will make full use of this clause, if only for the reason that their main wish is now to have as small a German minority as possible within their borders. There are still

over 300,000 Germans in Czechoslovakia organised on Nazi lines under Kundt's leadership. They are instructed by Berlin to remain where they are and to opt for Czech nationality. The results of this feeling of

complete dependence on Germany's good will are only too clear. The former democratic Government in Prague has given way to a Government of reactionaries and Fascist sympathisers. The Communist Party has been banned and the other parties have been compulsorily amalgamated into two—the National Union, of 117 members, which supports the Government, and the Labour Party of 29—and it is generally felt to be only a question of time before the latter party disappears as well. Anti-Semitism is now rearing its ugly head, although the percentage of Jews in the country is a very small one, but it is certain that Germany will not be content until all Jews are forced out of political and economic life.

Self Determination

In September we were told that self-determination must be given to 3,000,000 Sudeten Germans, although it is far from certain that even half of them desired union with Germany. In order to grant 3,000,000 this right 10,000,000 Czechs and Slovaks have now become vassals of Germany, not to mention another 10,000,000 Hungarians who are in a similar plight.

Self-determination, what crimes are committed in thy name!

AMERICA WANTS ACTION

By FRANK KELLEY (*New York Herald Tribune*)

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S stirring message to Congress has made Americans sit up and take more notice of the world outside, but it leaves them fundamentally as mistrustful of foreign affairs as they were after the gloss wore off the shiny "peace with honour" achieved at Munich.

Economic security still means more to the mythical "average American" than events in Central Europe, the Mediterranean, or far-off China. It is work and bread at home that Americans want; they have no desire to meddle, unless provoked, in enigmatic quarrels which might embroil them in another world war as costly in men, money, and ideals as the last.

What Country Understands

It would be a mistake, therefore, to read into the President's words the promise of a new unanimity of American opinion bent on offering immediate battle to the "brutalitarian States," as Germany, Italy, and Japan are now known on the other side of the Atlantic.

On the contrary, the sense of Mr. Roosevelt's address accepted by most Americans is that the country must get its defences into order at the earliest possible moment and adopt an attitude of "watchful waiting" against the day of direct attack on the United States, her possessions, or commerce. When and if that attack comes, the United States will go to war, but not before.

Sympathy with Democracies

Americans know that Britain and France are up against it now, and they still have a great deal of sympathy for the efforts of Messrs. Chamberlain and Daladier, despite second and decidedly sour thoughts about Munich. Americans had hoped for more vigorous leadership from London and Paris. Not finding it, and not believing that the only alternative to Munich was war, they are convinced more than ever that the United States must be able to stand on its own while the other nations drift on a haphazard course with every danger of a final collision.

Arms for Defence

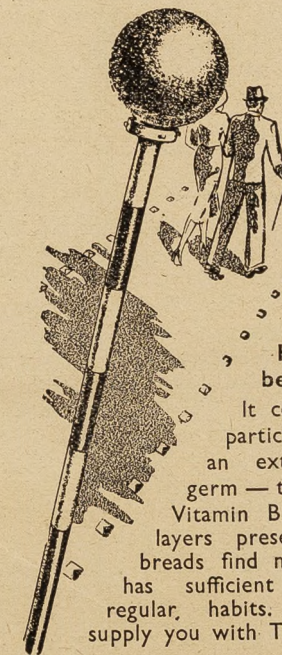
And so, on the morrow of Munich and President Roosevelt's message, America is rearming, but only to fight

her own and not other peoples' battles. Overwhelming sentiment for preparedness is disclosed in the latest survey conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion. That sentiment has increased steadily in the three-year period from 1935 to 1938, and to-day is about 20 per cent. greater than it was in 1935.

To-day, 86 per cent. of the American voters polled by the Institute want a larger navy; 82 per cent. favour a larger army, and 90 per cent. a larger air force.

A particularly sharp increase in preparedness sentiment has been found since September. This, reports Dr. George Gallup, director of the survey, is "undoubtedly related to the fact that . . . a large majority of American voters believe that Munich only

(continued on page 22, col. 1)



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heightened the chances of eventual war."

Yet this feeling does not indicate that America desires to go to war with any country. The Institute finds that 70 per cent. of voters think American participation in the last war was a mistake, and 95 per cent. say that if another war like the last one develops in Europe, the United States should not take part.

President Roosevelt's call to national unity has been powerfully reinforced by two American Ambassadors, Joseph P. Kennedy and William C. Bullitt, who went home from London and Paris to report on the state of Europe. Like Dickens's "Fat Boy," they have been making Senatorial flesh creep in Washington. The cynics believe they are only trying to get America into another war and to "build up" Mr. Roosevelt's arms programme, at the same time diverting attention in the country from deficiencies in domestic legislation under the New Deal. Anyone who knows Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Bullitt knows they are capable, clear-thinking observers who are doing their best to awaken minds at home to realities abroad.

President Wins Support

It is something of a struggle, as Mr. Roosevelt has found out. Nevertheless, his efforts have met with much success; even the most severe critics of the New Deal support his philosophy and methods in dealing with foreign affairs.

The President and his advisers realise that it may be America's turn next, after Britain and France, to come to grip with the dictatorships. The inroads of Fascist "culture" and com-

merce in South America provide a basis for genuine apprehension. If the warning is heeded in time, Washington feels, there should be no chance for repetition in America of the sorry spectacle of a Baldwin getting up in the House of Commons to confess that he had been misled about Germany's air strength. How he got away with it is still a mystery to Americans. If the British Diplomatic Corps could not supply the information, what about the British Secret Service, which eats up a good deal of hard-earned taxpayers' money each year?

Britain's Friends Dismayed

Such concrete evidence of "muddlin' through," which some Britons pass off as a virtue, dismays friendly Americans. So the performance on air-raid trenches and shelters, the production of military airplanes, and Captain Liddell-Hart's disclosures about the sad state of London's anti-aircraft guns. Americans resident in the British Isles who usually do all they can to aid a frank and free understanding between Britain and America naturally wonder how such things can come to pass; they pay income-tax and rates here, too, and want something for their money in addition to rural charm, a fleet, the privilege of drinking until 11 p.m., and the galling restrictions of the Shop Act.

Back home, Americans would like to see Britain and France do a little more plain talking to Germany, Italy, and Japan, as the President and other members of his Cabinet do. It is no longer a clever retort to point out that 3,000 miles of ocean separate Europe and the United States, for the Roosevelt Ad-

ministration has shown time and again by deeds as well as words it will not be bluffed or blackmailed.

The reaction to Nazi attacks on American politicians was prompt and vigorous: Ambassador Wilson was called back from Berlin, and the United States has made known that she will give as good as Germany sends. Through American initiative the distressing refugee problem was finally tackled. In the Far East, America is already putting £5,000,000 in credits at China's disposal; so far Britain has allocated only £500,000. At the Pan-American Conference at Lima, Peru, United States delegates took a strong stand against Fascist encroachments.

Welcome Noise in American Ears

These are some of the things America finds it possible to do to uphold democracy against totalitarianism without engaging in war or sacrificing the traditional American emphasis on life at home. Britain's threat to start a trade war with Germany in South-Eastern Europe, therefore, makes a welcome noise in straining American ears.

America is ready with economic retaliation, too; not only in China, but in Spain, where food is being sent to both sides, and perhaps against Germany, should relations become more serious.

There is a growing movement, too, for revision of the American Neutrality Act, which has not proved workable and might have prevented Britain and France from obtaining material aid from the United States if they were involved in war. The President himself favours changes in the Act, which has not guaranteed American neutrality, and has been found to contain much that might harm friendly nations.

There is no prophylactic for war, such as appeasement, or the existing neutrality law, Americans believe.

They feel that a strong defence and more vigorous and prompt retaliation are better safety precautions than polite diplomatic protests, followed by concessions granted to force.



104TH SESSION OF THE LEAGUE COUNCIL

From "HEADWAY" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

GENEVA, January.

THERE is little to be said about the 104th session of the League Council. It opened under the shadow of the Rome conversations, and continued under the ever-deepening shadow of the latest Franco drive against the Barcelona Government. True, there was also in the background President Roosevelt's now famous New Year address at Congress, and there were some who hoped that his references to the inadequacy of the U.S. Neutrality Act might nerve the Powers in Geneva to do a little more than merely to express their sympathy with China.

This was not to be. In the now unreal atmosphere of the Geneva discussions Rome carried the day against Washington. It was clear from the outset that this was likely to be the case. Lord Halifax treated Geneva as a convenience for having a talk with M. Bonnet, and, with the majority of his staff, left for London within forty-eight hours of arriving in Switzerland. M. Bonnet spent even less time here and, so far as the agenda of the Council was concerned, the two statesmen might just as well not have been in Switzerland, let alone Geneva. Their abrupt departure robbed the 104th session of any reality which it might ever have had the chance of possessing, and the main work of the Council was carried out in an atmosphere of resigned defeatism.

Bold Chinese Request

On the Chinese question Dr. Wellington Koo rightly pitched his demands high. He asked boldly for what amounted to sanctions against the aggressor, namely, an embargo on the import to Japan of aeroplanes and such necessary raw materials as petrol, and also for an international boycott on Japanese exports.

Of course, Dr. Koo had not the slightest hope of carrying these points. What he did hope to achieve was his third request, for the appointment of a special Co-ordination Committee for Assistance to China, on which Committee he hoped that the United States could be induced to sit. Dr. Koo did not even get as much as this. I doubt whether he even expected it.

What he did get was a Resolution of sympathy differing in little from the six preceding Resolutions of the League, with a vague additional reference to "consultation, should this appear appropriate with other . . . Powers" similarly interested in the Near East. As an offset to this boon, Dr. Koo was informed that one of the credits in the League's Budget which has had to be suppressed was the credit in connection with technical assistance to China.

Evidence from British Inquiry

Official Chinese circles express pleasure that this Resolution of sympathy was adopted unanimously. To this extent the Chinese were one up (or, strictly speaking, two up) on the Spaniards, since in the case of Spain the Council could not even be unanimous on a milk and water Resolution condemning in principle the aerial bombardment of civilians, and mentioning no names. When, after listening to the moving appeal in the Council by Senor Del Vayo, an appeal based on irrefutable evidence from the British Commission of Inquiry, I finally read the text of the Council's Resolution, I was inevitably reminded of an unpublished poem on a present-day statesman:—

"Untrammelled by fact,
He will fix up a Pact
Which says that what's wrong shouldn't be."

In sober fact, it is quite impossible to find any statement in the Council Resolution except that "what's wrong shouldn't be." But even this poor little cliché could not secure unanimity. Representatives of Bolivia and Peru regarded it as "not sufficiently objective." One wonders what "objective" they would have preferred. Anyhow, they abstained.

Not Carried Out by Spaniards

I prefer rather to dwell on the speech of the Spanish Foreign Minister and to carry away with me the remembrance of its unconquerable determination. I remember in

N.B.

Do you care for Peace, as they say in Lancashire. How much do you care?

Much talk runs to-day of National Service: Everywhere is manifest a desire to serve. Youth is astir and if the need should arise will give freely, ready for every service and for every sacrifice to defend Peace and Freedom.

The week-end February 18th and 19th will be historic; it will see a great adventure of British Youth. A National Youth Pilgrimage to London will be made by thousands of young people from all parts of Great Britain. The Pilgrimage culminates in a Mass Meeting at the Empress Hall, Earls Court, at which declaration of service will be made.

The young people are bearing their own expenses on the journey to and from London, but the costs in London are beyond the resources of youth.

A 20,000 Shilling Campaign Fund has been opened.

How much do you care? If every reader of "Headway" sends a contribution, small or large, the money needed will be raised at once.

You may be able to send 100 shillings, 50, 20, 10, 5 or only 1, a book of stamps or only one stamp. Every gift, large or small, will be gratefully received by the young people who, if war should come, will be called upon to make the greatest sacrifice.

Every donor of 2/6 or more will receive the Pilgrim's Badge in remembrance of a historic day.

Post to-day your donations:

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particular one moment when Senor Del Vayo, looking the Council squarely in the face, said: "I am a Spaniard and proud of being a Spaniard, and I refuse to believe that these unmentionable atrocities have been ordered or carried out by Spaniards." The remark was received by the Council with its usual frozen politeness, but I venture to think it will find an operative echo in the public opinion of the world.

Behind the scenes the Council's Committee of Three decided to do nothing about the Free City of Danzig. The German and Polish Governments had let it be known that they were in favour of the Swiss High Commissioner to the League continuing in office, presumably in order to be able to use him as an "Aunt Sally" whenever they are next minded to attack the League of Nations. The British and French delegations supported this proposal, against the

determined opposition of the Swedish representative (who in another capacity was President of the Council), who urged the necessity of facing facts and of getting the League as quickly as possible out of the Danzig mess. Result—no action. Professor Burckhardt remains in office, but not in Danzig, rather like a kind of absentee Bishop. Not a word in the *communiqué* vouchsafed to the public about the brutal anti-Jewish pogroms in Danzig or about the wholesale expulsion of all those who, Jewish or non-Jewish, are not prepared to bow down to Nazidom. The appeal of the World Jewish Congress to the three Governments might just as well not have been made.

So ends the saddest League Council I have yet attended. If there is a crumb of comfort, it is that the machine, though now turning in the void, is still there. It may yet be needed.

WHY YOUTH WILL MARCH ON FEBRUARY 19

By AN ORGANISER OF THE PILGRIMAGE TO LONDON

A MASS movement of the young generation is developing. The national Press is carrying stories of the doings and sufferings of youth. There is growing concern about problems of malnutrition, unemployment, national fitness, and delinquency.

From all quarters come explanations of what lies behind the state of mind of youth to-day, and they propose sectional schemes for remedying this or that failing.

Background of Discontent

The movement which is now developing, and promises to grow rapidly in the immediate future, has as its background the economic and social conditions in which six and a-half million young people of both sexes are earning their living. Another call to action is the breakdown of international co-operation and the advance of Fascism against democracy.

At the end of the last century revelations of the evil conditions under which young people worked and lived gave rise to various benevolent organisations to provide for their spiritual, mental, and physical welfare. To-day young people, facing a world beset by economic difficulties and in a period of perpetual political crisis, themselves express the protests and aspirations which are stirring thousands to thought and action.

Tasks to Grapple With

Out of this state of affairs, and the restlessness created by it, there has arisen on all sides a desire to grapple with the tasks which lie ahead. In 1935 the British Youth Peace Assembly was formed to bring together Christian, social, political, and

cultural youth and student organisations. This federation, through which the members themselves, both nationally and in local assemblies, can give expression to their ideas and develop a medium for democratic leadership, has a fine record of service.

It has been responsible for organising the British delegations to the World Youth Congress in 1936 and 1938. Through its affiliated organisations it has promoted a nation-wide campaign among young people to send relief to the victims of war in Spain and China, and to provide hospitality for refugees from Czechoslovakia and Germany. It is now engaged in the organisation of a hearing before a responsible commission on the conditions of youth in Britain.

Spirit of Service

This work has been carried on in the spirit of service which has inspired the free youth movement of this country. In almost every organisation discussion is taking place concerning Fascism and democracy. This is not surprising when the Scouting movement, first in Austria, then in Czechoslovakia, is suppressed as Fascism advances, and when the whole force of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in China is being devoted to the help of the Government in the hour of the people's need.

Another sign of the times is the Territorial recruiting. Many regiments are above strength, particularly the anti-aircraft units. Totals have rapidly increased since Munich, after each barbarous raid on the Spanish and Chinese cities the figures bound up. The spirit of the people's army is democratic. The boys who have joined think in terms of resisting Fascism. There is

only one enemy to hold back, and that enemy is not a people, but a tyranny.

United on League Principles

As Fascism has advanced and the foreign policy of Britain has retreated from the League principles of collective defence against aggression there has been a corresponding growth of unity within the youth movement.

Co-ordinating seven national youth and student organisations, the National Youth Campaign promotes service for freedom and for justice.

On February 19 the present campaign will culminate in a national pilgrimage of over 2,000 members of the youth movement to London. In the Empress Hall, Earl's Court, 15,000 young people will dedicate themselves to the service of their country and the freedom of humanity. In a pageant of pilgrims which recalls the historic struggle of the people for freedom will be demonstrated their determination to devote all their energy and initiative to a Government which will call upon them to serve the cause they have at heart.

Make Britain Strong

The manifesto which calls the pilgrims to London declares:—

We are ready to do everything that is necessary to make Britain strong in defence of international law. This will never be accomplished while a policy is pursued which sacrifices and demoralises our allies and fetters our liberty. Whatever is necessary to arouse and inspire the youth of this country can be carried out through the machinery of the free youth movement. We are prepared to play our part.

From the Pilgrimage a further call will go forth, a call to young people to organise their new forces under their

own leadership, and a challenge to the political parties to deserve confidence. The pilgrims will ask for leadership—to save democracy in Spain by sending more food and by enabling the Spanish Government to buy arms; to resist aggression by building a peace alliance of nations; to enlist the British people for democracy by making its values apparent in their daily life and future prospects.

In the Pilgrimage the youth movement finds its occasion to organise and mobilise itself on a national scale.

The organisers of the Fourth Pilgrimage to London, February 18-19, invite all readers of "Headway" to take part in this historic week-end.

- 1.—By offering hospitality to a pilgrim on the night of February 18.
- 2.—By coming to the meeting at the Empress Hall, February 19, at 6 p.m. (Tickets, 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d.)
- 3.—By subscribing to the Pilgrimage Fund to help the Youth Movement from all over Britain to attend.

NATIONAL YOUTH CAMPAIGN,
15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

It will be an answer to those who recommend compulsion and labour camps. In it will be set an example of unity in action for the defence of common interests and ideals. For every pilgrim at least one hundred supporters will be registered. In every town and constituency young people are aroused and ready to assist all that fosters freedom and to oppose all that fetters it. Reservoirs of power are waiting to be called into action. Let those who understand the need recognise the opportunity.

SPANISH MINORITY PROBLEM

By an Austrian Writer who has been exiled for his loyalty to the democratic cause.

FRANCO'S armies have now marched into Barcelona, and there are many who hope that peace will shortly be restored to Spain once again by the rebel sword. It must be remembered, however, that Franco's forces entered the suburbs of Madrid almost two years ago, and there they remain. The same may well happen in what remains of Catalonia, for the Loyalists have a well-trained and disciplined army.

But even should Franco capture Madrid and Valencia as well as Barcelona, and hold them by the machine-gun, this would not mean the beginning of an era of peace. It would merely represent an armed occupation of the country, a military dictatorship, which sooner or later, and more probably sooner, would break-up under the resentment and hostility of the peoples.

The reason why this prophecy can be confidently made is to be found in the fundamental conditions which made the present war possible. The difference between the two belligerent parties in Spain are not so simple as some would have us believe. Many of us had been led to believe that the Spanish conflict was between people of the same race, who disagreed only in their opinion of how they should be governed.

Not Two Spains but Four

After two and a-half years we now realise that there are not two, but four Spains. And the "nationalities" problem, which has played so important a part in modern history, is found to have as much significance in Spain as elsewhere.

Cries of "Home Rule for Spain" and "Spain for the Spaniards" have no unanimous ring. Spain is not all Spaniards; neither is the cause for which so many lives have been sacrificed common to all the inhabitants of Iberia.

In the Spanish state there are no fewer than four distinct nationalities, each differing not only in race, ideals and customs, but also in language, culture, appearance, origin, and constitution. They are the Castilians, the Galicians, the Basques, and the Catalans. A census taken shortly before the outbreak of hostilities in 1936 revealed that the non-Castilian nations represent no less than 38 per cent. of the total population of Spain and together inhabit almost one-third of its area.

One of the chief causes of unrest in Spain has been the desire and effort of these nationalities to regain their rights and liberties. The constitution of the Spanish Republic in 1931 made provision for at least some of their claims. Plebiscites were held in Catalonia, Euzkadi (the Basque

country) and Galicia. In Euzkadi, where the plebiscite was held on November 5, 1933, 84.05 per cent. of the population of the regions of Biscay, Guipuzcoa and Alava voted in favour of an autonomous government. The desire for separation from the Castilians and their problems was equally apparent in Catalonia, where 75 per cent. voted for autonomy, and in Galicia, where self-government was demanded by 73 per cent.

Spirit Not Broken

Statutes of Autonomy for Euzkadi and Catalonia were duly ratified by the Cortes, though the benefits which ac-

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crued to their peoples have been marred by the protraction of the war. Euzkadi, for instance, has since been overrun by insurgents, with whom they have nothing in common.

It will be appreciated that the insurgents, whose principal aim is to establish a single totalitarian Spanish state, would not be likely to restore the liberties of minorities. Yet it will hardly be expected that lasting peace will be achieved without full recognition of the rights and liberties of the Catalans, Galicians and Basques, who together comprise 9,155,000, or more than one-third of the total population of 24,000,000 in the Spanish state.

Of the three non-Castilian nationalities in Spain, the Basques, by virtue of their deep-rooted traditions and ancient history, are in many respects the most interesting. Their culture is so old that it cannot be traced back to its beginning. However, it is certain that the Basques existed

long before any of the other races known to-day and their inherent sense of liberty earns them the title of the world's oldest democracy.

We find considerable resemblance to English ideas in the Basques' deep reverence for the family tradition. Some of their other customs, however, are unique, as, for instance, their ancient laws of property, under which every private property became free for common use if it had not been used for a year and a day.

Another interesting feature is their long tradition of equality for women, accepted long ago without recourse to "war" by militant suffragettes.

Lady Mayors were no rarity in Euzkadi even a thousand years ago.

In the matter of marriage, Basque custom has always been against the union of two people for purely mercenary interests and, indeed, against all "improvised" weddings.

Unless one has studied their geographical and strategic position and considered their inbred national spirit, it must appear a marvel that through the centuries they have resisted Arabs, Normans, Goths and other invaders from north and south of the Pyrenees.

Their attitude to kings has been exceptional, too. Sometimes they have "engaged" one to supervise the army as a sort of chief of staff. For his services he received a salary, which was foreshadowed in their annual budgets. If his services proved unsatisfactory, he could be "sacked." And in peace-time they had no use for kings at all.

It is not unnatural that a people so conscious of their rights and liberties, who never knew slavery or serfdom and resisted rule by anyone but their own local governments, should recoil from the prospect of inclusion in a totalitarian state based on the modern idea of leadership. Their all absorbing aim is to preserve their ancient liberties and culture and the Basque language, which is so dear to them. They assert that it is not for them to choose between Communism and Fascism, but only to be allowed to enjoy their natural rights and centuries-old liberties.

And what can be said of the Basques can be equally said of the Catalans and the Galicians. The greater part of the risings and political troubles in Spain during the past hundred and fifty years have been directly due to the efforts of these peoples to regain their rights and liberties.

BREAD VALUES

By AN EXPERT

"IF he ask for bread will ye give him a stone?" Such a comparison is obvious, but suppose you were taken to a baker's shop window and shown white bread, wheatmeal bread, wholemeal bread, germ bread, French bread, Vienna bread, milk bread, slimming bread, and all the other varieties obtainable in the modern baker's shop, which would you choose as the best for him?

The raw material from which the flour used in these breads is prepared is the same in each case, namely wheat, but according to what is left in or taken out by the miller and added by the baker so does the nutritive value of the bread vary.

From the early ages before Christ and up to the present day bread prepared from wheat has been used as food by man. Bread making has progressed since those days, and we now have machine-made bread in place of the coarse, dark, hand-made bread of long ago. Has its value as a food also improved?

The milling process consists of taking the grain after cleaning and washing and then splitting up the wheat into

its three main components, viz., husk, endosperm and germ. This is done by passing the grain through rollers of different kinds and separating the crushed material by sieving through wires and silks. The miller then has at his disposal white flour from the endosperm; bran, the outer husk of the grain; germ, that portion of the grain which grows when the seed is planted under suitable conditions; and middlings, a mixture of fine specks of bran, germ and flour which have escaped the ordinary separations.

These four are the starting point for all the breads. White bread is made from white flour, French bread and Vienna bread from white flour with additions of milk and fat and special treatment in the baking oven. Wheatmeal and wholemeal breads are made from mixtures of white flour, bran and middlings. Wheat germ breads are a special class, inasmuch as the wheat germ must receive some further treatment before it can be mixed with flour. In the best known of these breads, the germ is cooked with salt by means of steam, the resulting germ being mixed with fine flour and sent out to the bakers to be made into the golden

brown coloured bread produced by this particular treatment.

If wheat samples from Canada, South America, Australia, England and the Continent of Europe were submitted to chemical analysis no striking differences would be found. The Canadian wheat would contain slightly more proteins than the others, the English wheat would contain more moisture, and so on, but no really striking difference in composition would be discovered. As British millers use a mixture of wheats from all over the world for making their flour, the chemical composition of bran, flour, and germ obtained remains at fairly constant figures.

Analyses of Flours

The analyses of the various flours obtained from these vary slightly with the method of milling and mixing, but the following may be taken as representative of such flours:—

	Finest White Flour	Medium White Flour	Wheat-meal Flour	Whole-meal Flour	Germ Flour
Water	13.8	12.3	12.1	12.4	12.2
Proteins.....	7.9	10.7	12.2	14.2	15.5
Fat.....	1.4	1.1	1.9	2.0	3.2
Mineral matter ..	0.4	0.5	1.2	1.5	2.3
Carbohydrates.....	76.5	75.4	72.6	69.9	66.8

Examination of the above figures shows a gradual increase from left to right in protein and fat content and a decrease in carbohydrate or starch content. When baked into bread, these figures are naturally altered by the amount of water, yeast, fat, milk, etc., added. The following are, however, analyses of typical specimens obtained by the writer:—

	White Bread	Wheatmeal Bread	Wholemeal Bread	Germ Bread
Moisture	40.6	47.1	46.1	45.3
Protein.....	6.5	8.0	8.9	10.0
Fat.....	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.8
Mineral matter	0.9	1.1	1.5	1.1
Carbohydrates.....	51.9	42.9	42.4	41.8

To judge the value of a bread by means of the analytical figures only is quite wrong, as will be seen later, but for a given purpose our bodies require more or less of each of the constituents.

Three Needs

To put on flesh or repair damaged tissues we require proteins, to supply heat we require fat, and to supply heat and energy, carbohydrates. We must, therefore, with due regard to the rest of our diet, choose a bread that will meet our requirements at the time, for example, there is nothing like a good crust of white bread and cheese to fortify one when on a long tramp or doing heavy work of a brief nature, but for ordinary daily life where the effort is not so intense but more maintained, a germ bread would be more suitable.

You may wonder why this is so. The answer is Vitamin B.

Cereals are the chief source of this particular vitamin, and it has been estimated that our daily requirements of vitamin B₁ are in the neighbourhood of 300 international units.

A little explanation is obviously necessary here owing to the B₁'s and international units creeping in.

Vitamin B, at first thought to be a single substance, has been found to consist of at least three and perhaps four different components. These components have been labelled B₁, B₂, B₃, etc. So far B₁ and B₂ are known. We have now a standard vitamin B₁, prepared by chemical processes and of known potency. This standard is the international standard referred to above.

Where a diet is deficient in vitamin B₁ a nervous disease occurs known in its most severe form as Beri-beri. In this disease the nerves of the limbs are affected so that

movements become stiff, sensation is impaired or lost, and as the heart becomes dilated death may follow. Absence of vitamin B₂ gives rise to a skin disease and also nerve troubles.

Now to resume with our breads, the vitamin B potencies of white, wholemeal and germ breads, when ascertained by means of feeding experiments on rats, are as follows:—

International Units of Vitamin B ₁ per 1-lb. loaf	
White Bread.....	65
Wholemeal Bread	420
Germ Bread.....	500

As stated above the daily requirements of vitamin B₁ are approximately 300 units per person. Most of this must come from the bread in the diet, as this is one of the main constituents of the diet. Assuming that 200 units of B₁ will be required from the bread portion of the diet, it is easily seen from the above figures why germ bread should be the bread for ordinary every day use.

The Test of Heat

Some of the vitamins are affected and even destroyed by heat, and it is of interest to note that the baking of bread has very little effect on the vitamin B content. The reason for this is that the actual temperature inside a loaf when it is baking never rises above the boiling point of water, whereas the crust temperature rises as high as 284 deg. F.

The toasting of bread is, however, a little more drastic in its effect on the vitamin B₁, the effect on a germ bread being to reduce its potency from 500 units per lb. to 320 units. The general chemical composition of the bread is not altered considerably, the chief result being a drying out of moisture, viz.:—

	Germ Bread	Lightly Toasted	Germ Bread Full Toasted
Moisture	45.3	36.2	29.2
Protein.....	10.3	12.1	13.7
Fat.....	2.1	2.3	2.5
Mineral Matter.....	1.5	1.8	2.1
Carbohydrates	40.8	47.6	52.5

These figures reveal one of the fallacies of the so-called slimming breads, most of which are prepared in thin, crisp, wafer-like pieces. In these the flour and water mixtures are baked out so that the moisture content is as low as 5 per cent. By eating 1 lb. of such bread 15½ oz. of bread and ¾ oz. of water are consumed, whereas with ordinary bread only 9½ oz. of bread and 6½ oz. of water would be eaten.

Summing up, bread is of supreme importance in the diet as a source of carbohydrate and vitamin B complex, the best forms for ordinary daily use are germ and wholemeal, whilst for occasional spells of intense physical activity, white bread supplies carbohydrates readily available for energy.

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"The Royal Commission on Lunacy and Mental Disorder, 1926, paid testimony to 'skill, devotion, and self-sacrifice of the nursing staff who, in circumstances peculiarly exacting, are rendering great service to suffering humanity.'"

A COMMENTARY ON BOOKS

By ROGER FORTUNE

IS G. D. H. COLE a syndicate? It is difficult to believe that he is not. He lectures, teaches, writes, edits, agitates. And when he is attacked he defends himself. Only the other day he retorted crushingly on the party-bound Press which had denounced him for his association with the Master of Balliol and other men and women of Left opinion who believe that all Progressives must co-operate to save Britain and the world from disaster. The incident itself was unimportant. But how could a man of so many and such continuous activities be so quick on the counter-stroke, if he were really only one man and not at the very least a partnership, in the legal style of Cole, Cole and Cole.

As a writer Mr. Cole is amongst the most prolific of his age. He has that mark of greatness, and the further excellent quality of clearness: he knows what he thinks and says what he means. His work, therefore, is always readable, whether it be a detective story, a political argument, an economic exposition, or a history.

One of his latest books is certainly one of his best. He has written in collaboration with Raymond Postgate; it is

"THE COMMON PEOPLE, 1746-1938." (Methuen. 6s.)

Here is a marvel of novelty, condensation, and cheapness. The authors have told in a new way, with an abundance of authentic detail, never before brought together, the story of how the Britain of Bonnie Prince Charlie has become the Britain of Mr. Chamberlain, the claymore changing into an umbrella. It is a sad reflection that just as the claymore had lost its edge two centuries ago, so to-day the umbrella has ceased to give any sort of shelter.

Messrs. Cole and Postgate are strong partisans; that simply makes their book a more stimulating experience for the reader who disagrees with them. The soundness of their method is a fact, whatever may be said of their opinions. At every stage they relate the trade of the country to the daily lives of the people and both to the political events of the time. A message of hope and a warning, they reveal the deep obstinate roots of British liberty and the close vital link between national strength, prosperity, and social justice. They show how much good sense there has been in successive popular demands for reform and how much Britain would have gained by more prompt concession. Constructive reform is the one sure guard against destructive revolution; happily Britain's delays at home have never yet been too long to permit recovery.

Of course the authors lay themselves open to challenge at many points. The

width of their sweep ensures that. For example, they minimise the Liberal achievements of the years before the World War, and emphasise the failure to translate the prosperity of 1900-14 into higher real wages for the workers. But even in the later, least convincing third of their 600 crowded pages they illuminate many important topics.

The Empire and Britain's world position are not tawdry assets in a policy of prestige; the suggestion that justice requires an equal share-out all round is stupid. National economic self-sufficiency would deprive half the present population of its livelihood. A less familiar truth is that throughout the Nineteenth Century a rapidly rising population supplied an always wider market for expanding industry. A falling population will mean that the individual must consume more if industry is to remain prosperous.

Because he is so productive and so various Mr. Cole has the air of being a little out of date. And this despite his up-to-the-minute doctrines. The Cole age seems to belong to a more spacious past. Present fashion favours a rigid specialisation. (Not that Mr. Cole cannot play the specialist's game with the best. Only he plays it on so many fields and on so many boards as to become a general practitioner.)

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The specialism of the specialists is seen in

"POLITICAL THOUGHT: THE EUROPEAN TRADITION." By J. P. Mayer in co-operation with R. H. S. Crossman, P. Kecskemeti, E. Kohn-Bramstedt, C. J. S. Sprigge. (Dent. 18s.)

Dr. Mayer, the editor, himself writes seven of the eleven chapters which conduct the reader from the beginnings of Greece to the end of Czechoslovakia. To his four contributors he allocates as their subjects the political thought of Britain, America, France and Italy. The result is a continuity of interest and a variety of treatment, which keep the reader alert and reward him for his wakefulness.

Mr. Crossman is brilliant on Britain. He has style and a point of view. British life, he says, is composed of a jungle of social anomalies. The Englishman's "political" activities express themselves naturally, not in "politics," but in the club and chapel, the "pub" and the "pool." For the first time for many hundreds of years the country is not only without a clear-cut philosophy, but in need of one. The great slump impressed on the Anglo-Saxon peoples the insecurity of the foundations on which their freedom and prosperity were based. Our problems demand a radical solution and cannot be shelved by kindly compromise.

The prime reason why electors will not vote is because they feel dimly but surely that the true alternatives are not presented to them.

Mr. Crossman is young Oxford, as Mr. Cole and Mr. Tawney, who honours "Political Thought" with a brief, pregnant introduction, are now, alas, middle-aged Oxford. That he should present a provocative case in such lively argument strengthens the evidence afforded by his seniors that in places where they teach they also think. It was not always so. The political life of the Universities to-day is an assurance against disaster to-morrow.

In his introduction Mr. Tawney has sentences not less worth reading than the most pointed of Mr. Crossman's. His many admirers are always confident that any time devoted to his work to be well spent. He does not disappoint them. The national state, he says, is to be judged by its practical utility in a particular environment; and the ruin which results when it acts on the full logic of its pretensions is a warning that, as a method of organising the world, it has played its part. "The task of the future is to bury once for all the monstrous doctrine of national sovereignty which, in 1919, was preserved by loving hands, like some rare and fragrant flower, but whose principle is murder. It is to attempt, whether the technique and terminology employed be those of the League or of some more closely knit structure, to lay the foundations of a European federal system."

Mr. Tawney proclaims "the Christian doctrine that institutions exist for men, and not men for institutions." Other of his maxims are, "Man is condemned to live in twilight; but darkness is darkness and light is light. What matters is the direction in which his face is set," and "In the collective affairs of mankind, bad doctrines are always and everywhere more deadly than bad actions," and "Till yesterday the high road to slavery seemed in Europe to be closed, to-day it lies wide open," and "Nations reap in storm what they sow in calm," and "The dictators are not unaware of the spectres which haunt the pillows of rich men; they work them hard, as trusty allies."

Once again, repeating the experience of twenty years, a review of Mr. Tawney's pages has turned into a series of quotations. The fact is comment enough. Few authors survive the test of many extracts; fewer still compel it to be used.

★ ★ ★

Mr. Graham Hutton sees, and thinks and says—all in a way of his own. A large public has been brought by experience to elect him its most carefully read and most completely trusted observer and commentator on world affairs. As assistant editor of the *Economist*, and as

a frequent traveller through the troubled lands of Europe, he has gathered a vast and varied knowledge; practice has sharpened his gift of pointed expression until, having more to tell than almost any of his fellow-workers, he tells it more compactly than any of them.

Mr. Hutton's books reward his readers with an illumination of the surrounding obscurity, in which ominous shadows thicken and assemble and disperse and fade. So evil are the times that to make the dance of death clearly visible is nearly all the immediate service any writer is able to do. Mr. Hutton, however, manages to go just a little further, and that little is expressly valuable. He provides a glimmer of reasoned hope drawn from a coherent argument.

"DANUBIAN DESTINY" (Harrap. 7s. 6d.),

which is Mr. Hutton's latest book, show all his qualities to the best advantage. His inflexible honesty dictates a refusal to pretend about Munich: that was something very different from a skilful turning of a difficult corner. A new volume was opened in world history. Germany, master of Bohemia, is driving forward to the mastery of Europe, built upon her domination of Central and South-Eastern Europe. She is using every economic and political weapon, and in the background is the threat, not veiled by any decent ambiguity, of military action. Success will give her irresistible strength; the

Nazi philosophy will press her to exploit her superiority to the utmost.

It is a black prospect, lightened only by Mr. Hutton's gleam of hope. He doubts whether the Nazi economy can meet the costs of so immense an effort; he doubts whether the victim peoples, who collectively are the equal of a very great Power, will submit without a struggle. To-day, despite appeasement, the sky is darker than the worst nightmare could have pictured in the years when the member States tried to work the League. Its depth is measured by the fact that the reader is grateful to Mr. Hutton for persuading him that the night need not be perpetual.

★ ★ ★

For HEADWAY readers some of the latest successes of that habitually successful series the Penguin Specials have a particular interest. Three of the authors have an association with the paper.

One is the Duchess of Atholl, whose

SEARCHLIGHT ON SPAIN

has gone into another edition. Her book will not be forgotten; it has permanent value as a first-hand record by one who has laboured tirelessly to save freedom in Spain, of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people. It is the work of a confessed partisan, protected by its candour from the common faults of partisanship.

Another is Mr. Wickham Steed, Editor of *The Times*, in one of its most effective periods, and for many years the leading

English authority on Central Europe. Writing on

THE PRESS

he brings together into a 200-page volume more authentic information and more instructive comment on a great topic than can be found anywhere else. Most adroitly Mr. Steed has combined technical information with social criticism. Checked at several points by independent inside information, he is found consistently accurate. His is the book on the Press.

The third is Sir Norman Angell. His

GREAT ILLUSION—NOW

is convincing proof that good sense remains good sense, despite the passage of time and the change of fashion. Politics is part science, part art; it is not a hubbub made by the contradictory clamours of ignorance. If the analysis of a problem is approximately exact and the measurement of the factors correct, then the solution is valid. Sir Norman's demonstration thirty years ago that modern war must be a disaster for victor and vanquished alike was tragically borne out by events. Events are bearing out to-day his contention that the nations must build an ordered world under penalty of ruin. They are also showing every month more clearly that he is right in insisting upon third party judgment in all international disputes as the only escape from disaster.

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Letters to the Editor

AGREE TO THIRD PARTY JUDGMENT NOW

Headway Aboard

Sir,—May I, through your columns, thank all those members who are sending me their used HEADWAYS so regularly? I can assure them that every one is put to good use, as they are sent aboard nearly all British passenger ships that pass outward bound through this busy port.

People have more time and inclination for reading afloat than ashore, and they are more apt to talk about what they have read and to pass on to others papers and periodicals that have interested them. At this Branch we feel that we are doing good work in sending HEADWAY to sea, and we are very grateful to those of your readers who are helping us.

We should like to cover cargo ships too; but that would need many more HEADWAYS than we are getting now. Dare we hope that they may be forthcoming? It is rather inspiring to think of HEADWAY working its passage to ports all over the Middle and Far East, in Australia, and along the East Coast of Africa. Who knows what they may find on the way?

J. R. KINGSFORD,

Joint Hon. Secretary, Port Said Branch,
76, Chareh Ibrahim, Port Said, Egypt.

The Vital Formula

Sir,—It is very far from enough to tell us, as many of our leaders do, that we must be prepared to resist aggression and refuse to be browbeaten and bullied into acceptance of the dictators' aims. We must go further, and, before war comes, tell them and the world what method of settlement we will accept. Only by such action could we avoid a recurrence of the real tragedy of the Great War—the prostitution of our war aims.

For many of us, if we thought that we were heading for another great war in which, after a tragedy of universal sacrifice, our leaders would saddle us with another "settlement" arrived at in seething hate with bare lip-service to the ideals for which we fought, there would remain only one hope—that of a world-saving international revolution.

Many of us feel that, though the dictators' methods may be intolerable, this does not prove their peoples' claims to be unworthy of attention. If the methods were convincingly changed the claims could be the subject of fair settlement. Alas, our spokesmen said this before, and after the Armistice of 1918 our leaders broke the promise. We cannot expect a promise of our own liberality to be again accepted.

But can we not, before any war comes, accept the condition that Sir Norman Angell has so often urged—agree to be bound by third-party judgment? If we let it be known that, if forced towards war, we should pursue that principle and

the rule of equity as our war aim, we should lift our cause straight on to a different plane, with two vital results: first, that of ensuring that our victory, if attained, would be followed by a just and therefore lasting settlement; and, second, that of gaining and keeping the support of every worthy element in our own and neutral nations and the sympathy of many even of our opponents.

Surely no task is more crucial than, in the short time that may remain, to find and state this vital formula.—Yours, etc.,

C. E. W. BEAN.

Sydney.

December.

R.S.P.C.A.

Sir,—In the most interesting article, "How the Jew Has Helped the World," it was surprising to find the founding of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals accredited to Lewis Gompertz.

The fact is that the founder of the R.S.P.C.A. was Richard Martin, M.P., whose Act ("Martin's Act," 1822) was the real starting-point of the long struggle for the defence of animals.—Yours, etc.,

W. CAMPBELL SHEARER,
(Member, R.S.P.C.A.)

Oswestry,
Shropshire.

Treaty Revision

Sir,—In December HEADWAY there is a fair all-round survey of the international situation, which, although the points of view are different, should be helpful to appeasement.

Helpful in the same direction should be the speech which Dr. Temple, Archbishop of York, made at a national demonstration against religious and racial persecution, held in London.

While condemning such persecution and admitting the difficulty and danger of transferring subject African races to a Government that permitted the recent attacks on the Jews, he declared: "We must hope for the day when we can discuss that question with an altered Germany which stands again for those principles on which rests every civilisation worthy of the name."

That hope, alas, has not been conspicuous recently in the discussions on the colonial question in the House of Commons and elsewhere. So much so that suspicion has been strengthened that Britain wishes to "cash" anti-Nazi indignation by postponing indefinitely and unconditionally the consideration of the colonial problem created by Germany's demand for the return of her colonies.

The Archbishop, in his speech, gave good reason why that should not be.

Referring particularly to the post-armistice blockade and the occupation of the Ruhr, he said: "By the sufferings and indignities inflicted upon Germany we have prepared for the reaction which confronts us now, and we have our share of responsibility for the suffering of Jews and Christians in Germany."

But that should not keep us, he insisted, from protesting against cruelties which have repercussions throughout the world, and he indicated the worst feature of the Nazi persecutions, their being proclaimed as a kind of justice. There is a preaching of what is practised—that is, an elevating of cruel repression into a principle of action. "Yet," said the Archbishop, "we must not become self-righteous. There are dark pages in the story of the British Empire." And among the wrongs we have done, he added, was the taking from Germany of her colonies.

This warning by Dr. Temple should be placed beside what the Prime Minister said in the notable speech he made on September 28, immediately before his visit to Munich.

"I cannot help reflecting that if Article 19 of the Covenant, providing for the revision of treaties by agreement, had been put into operation, as was contemplated by the framers of the Covenant, instead of waiting until passions became so exasperated that revision by agreement became impossible, we might have avoided the crisis that now confronts us. For that omission all members of the League of Nations must bear responsibility."

Nothing that has happened in Germany or elsewhere since this honest confession was made should slacken the endeavour to make revision by agreement yet possible.

WM. ROBERTSON.

Milltimber, Aberdeenshire.

Agricultural Policy

Sir,—I was very glad to read Viscount Astor's most interesting article, and think that your readers will agree with most of it. However, it is as well to recall that real, and not nominal wages are what matter. Consumption can be subsidised by removing all restrictions on imports of food, clothing, boots, household implements, building materials. This would raise everybody's income and not that of wage-earners only. Of these latter, farm labourers would benefit more than most, because their wages are so small.

Of course there are objections to subsidies, but their cost is borne by the general taxpayer, while quotas and tariffs press heavily on the unemployed, the disabled, and pensioners, and the pressure is in direct ratio to the poverty.

The removal of restrictions on the imports of necessities would increase our overseas trade, and this, according to our leading bankers, is most important at this juncture.

I suggest that help should be given to farmers in the form of subsidising the erection on the farms of granaries, Dutch barns, potato stores, etc., so that in the event of war our food reserves would not be concentrated at the ports.

BIRKENHEAD MEMBER L.N.U.

Surplus Wheat

Sir,—On reading that there is a surplus of wheat and a possibility of a great quantity being destroyed in order to prevent disturbance of the world markets, it has occurred to me that the following might be a solution, which would serve other purposes as well.

All the States members of the League might combine to buy up the surplus, through the League, and distribute it to the peoples desperately in need of food, in China, Spain, and anywhere else where the need might arise. The League would have charge of the store and to arrange for the distribution, with help from the U.S.A., if she would give it. In this way three great objects would be achieved.

- (1) The world's markets would be stabilised by preventing a surplus.
- (2) Suffering and starvation would be prevented.
- (3) The prestige of the League of Nations would be greatly increased.

RURAL ENGLAND.

The Victorious Sword

Sir,—Under this heading Mr. Wickham Steed writes: "Have we no debt to our forefathers who, at the risk and often the cost of their own lives, brought us so much freedom that some of us can say that we will never approve of or take part in war again?"

Is there any historical evidence that our forefathers won freedom by the

sword? This appears to be Mr. Steed's contention. The Germans made pretty free use of the sword, too; what freedom have they won by it? Without writing a historical treatise, we may at least see enough to ask Mr. Steed to reconsider his judgment. The 1914-19 wars resulted in no increase of our freedom, and in a terrible loss of it in Europe; the South African War ended in annexations; the Crimean War prolonged Turkish rule over subject peoples; the Napoleonic Wars were fatal to Continental liberties and established the curse of conscription over us all. Wars bind the peoples under loads of debt and produce a moral degradation which is itself a slavery. The military mind is well illustrated by Admiral Nelson, who supported the slave trade in the interests of the British Navy. Cromwell's wars ended in the rule of major-generals, followed by religious persecutions.

The martyr, rather than the soldier, won our liberties. Without the martyr of peace humanity will settle down to wear these heavy chains of war, forged by Napoleon and his followers, as the becoming uniform of the human spirit. Therefore, though their voice is not much heeded, let the witnesses to the evil tree and its evil fruit never keep silent, lest we fall into Mr. Steed's heresy against humanity and attribute the fruits of the spirit to colossal folly and crime.

WILFRID ALLOTT.

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