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TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

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SOUTH AFRICAN STATESMAN

telegraphs:—

“*Through **HEADWAY** I appeal to the British people to resist the transfer of Colonies to a Germany which rejects the League of Nations and violates the League principle of toleration for minorities*”

THE HON. J. H. HOFMEYR,

Minister of the Interior in Hertzog-Smuts Government

See page 6

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Alderman J. TOOLE, J.P.

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HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

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

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HEALTH, HAPPINESS, PEACE

THE great words are coming back into their own. The things for which they stand are once again seen to be vitally important to us in our daily lives. Only a little while ago we took for granted liberty and justice. We had not won them for ourselves; we had no expectation of having to save them for our children. To-day they are challenged; in many countries they are suppressed. World events every month more plainly summon us to defend the social order of which they are the foundation, and to enrich it by every means in our power, so that it may be in every respect nobly worth our defending.

In Great Britain, at least, the principles are admitted. What of the practice? Though many reforms have been effected during the past twenty years and the British social services in their sweep and efficiency now command the admiration of the world, a great deal remains to do. In the fashionable phrase of the moment, many gaps must be filled. The sections of machinery already built and working must be linked together by other sections if the whole equipment is to give the greatest possible output in personal and collective well-being.

First, health. Disease is being conquered. One by one the scourges which have affected mankind for centuries are being eliminated from Britain. Leprosy, plague, cholera, many fevers which not long ago as history measures time took their toll in thousands of British lives are now rare or unknown in our happy isles. Even tuberculosis is gradually being brought under control.

"Man is born into sunlight and fresh air. They are his natural birthright, and the condition of his survival." In Sir Robert Philip's famous words is the clue to the cutting in half of the death-rate from consumption within. By following it and its implications on such matters as house room and cleanliness, and food (for dark and crowded houses and dirt, and stale and contaminated and insufficient food are effective denials to those who

must suffer them of the benefits of sunlight and fresh air), the public authorities, the health services, the doctors and nurses of Britain have built up the defences which are defeating the ancient evils one after the other. Life is longer to-day than it has ever been. But ill-health is still all too frequent. The national bill for preventable sickness is estimated at £300,000,000 a year; and that vast sum represents a mass of unhappiness difficult to assess.

If preventable, why not prevented? The welfare of the British people, not of any section or class, but of the whole nation, demands the planning of a comprehensive health policy and its prompt translation into social fact. In no other way can the freedom, the strength, the efficiency, and the wealth of Britain be so effectually promoted. And not only national interests will be served. Health and happiness and peace go together. Health and happiness are the conditions of contentment, self-confidence, and productive work. In the same measure as her people are healthy and happy, Britain is the most continuously active, the most stable, the most powerful influence making for world peace.

What then must be done? The answer is surely: "Look first to the young." The old and the middle-aged have taken their shape: within limits, what they can do is already fixed. With the children it is far otherwise. Their possibilities are measureless. If they are cared for aright, and especially if they are given the food they need and all the food they need, the next generation of Britons will reach a physical standard never yet attained in any country. An extra half a pint of milk each day for every child would in twenty years complete a revolution. Let that be the beginning. The Government has introduced a Milk Bill in Parliament. It can be amended on the lines of the wheat subsidy to make milk cheap and abundant in every home, and so a foundation would be laid deep and wide and firm for a splendid future. Well-fed children mean a healthy people, and by a healthy people every height can be scaled.

WHAT IS FREEDOM ?

By WICKHAM STEED

IN the life of nations and of individuals there are moments when what they have taken for granted as something beyond dispute is challenged or its value denied.

This is such a moment in our lives, both as individuals and as a people. The worth of our freedom is challenged; and in more than one great foreign land the worth of freedom itself is roundly denied.

So we are driven back to ask what freedom may be and why it is worth having and holding.

Kipling, in one of his greatest poems, "The Old Issue," called freedom "Leave to live by no man's leave, underneath the law." He meant freedom to live in a community or society under laws freely made and willingly obeyed. He did not mean freedom for everybody to act upon every whim or impulse without caring whether or not hurt might thus be done to others.

In a community or society there can be no such thing as absolute freedom. All social or political freedom is relative; that is to say, it depends upon respect for the rights and the good of others as well as upon the respect of others for our own rights and good.

This distinction between what is absolute and what is relative goes to the root of all things social, political, and mental. It is the real reason why those who would be free must reject absolute governments, absolute ideas, and absolute control over men's minds.

The Claim of the Individual

The claim of a free individual in a free society is not that his notions should prevail, but that he shall have as much say in public or social affairs as any one man can have if all are to have it and yet live and act together.



A society is free when its customers and laws leave scope for individual thought and personal action; when it restricts only those forms of freedom which, were they unrestricted, would prevent others from enjoying freedom. Political freedom does not consist in getting everybody to think the same thoughts and to act in the same way. It carries with it the right to speak and to write freely upon public affairs—a right which is at once a safeguard of personal liberty and of progress in knowledge and in action—and the duty of tolerating opinions which many, perhaps the majority, may think wrong. If the members of a society or the citizens of a country tolerate opinions they do not share; if they refrain from breaking the heads or putting into prison people who think otherwise than themselves; if they seek to convince by argument and persuasion, they recognise that human minds may honestly differ, and that it is safer for opinions to be "aired" and measured one against the other than that a single opinion should be imposed upon all by force or constraint.

This is the case for freedom of thought and freedom of speech. It is sometimes said that societies or nations ruled by an absolute authority, able to enforce its will, are stronger than those in which differences of view may hamper united action. This claim is the very issue which confronts the free nations (sometimes called "the democracies") in the world to-day.

Test of Sacrifice

I think this claim unsound, though I agree with Lord Baldwin that unless the "democracies" can voluntarily show at least the same degree of cohesion and readiness to bear sacrifices as is enforced upon countries under absolute Governments the "democracies" may go under. But I am convinced that attempts to override differences of outlook and forcibly to enthrone one fallible human judgment as beyond criticism is in itself a confession of weakness, of fear lest free thought and free speech show infallibility to be woefully fallible.

The case for freedom is that while all political truths are relative—that is to say, dependent upon circumstances—certain relative truths may, by the common consent of free minds, be accepted as the soundest working rules in human affairs. Such common consent is the safeguard of strong liberty. The weak are those who allow their individual judgments to be overridden or who seek to escape from the worries of life by taking refuge in some absolute doctrine or in submission to some absolute discipline of which the acceptance spares them the burden of individual responsibility. Only societies made up of sturdy individual minds can be truly strong. Their strength is elastic, not rigid, and when they act by common consent they are invincible.

Among the most noxious doctrines which the foes of human freedom seek to spread is that "the State is an



Absolute," that it and its "leader" have rights superior to those of the community of individuals in whose name they act. Against this doctrine Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, the well-known founder of the "Pan-Europe" movement, vigorously protests in his new book, "The Totalitarian State Against Man." His doctrine runs:—

Man is a creature of God.

The State is a creature of man. . . .

Man is an end, and not a means.

The State is a means, and not an end.

The value of the State is exactly the value of its services to human beings; in so much as it serves to develop man it is good; so soon as it hinders the development of man it is evil. . . .

The Very Life of the State

The greatest living Italian philosopher, Benedetto Croce, whose works the Italian Fascist State has suppressed, says truly that freedom is the participation of individuals in the life of the State. It is the pouring into political life of what is best in us—our feelings, the truths we think, our active faith, our ideals. He adds:—

This freedom is not opposition to the State, an offence to its majesty, but is the very life of the State itself—unless we are ready to suppose that the blood circulating and renewing itself continually in our veins is lawless agitation against the sovereign calm of our physiological organism.

We in this country enjoy freedom because our fathers won it for us. They knew its supreme worth. To us they bequeathed it as a sacred trust to be held and handed on

to generations still unborn. Yet even to-day, in our very midst, voices bid us be faithless to that trust; they would have us betray the wise valour of our forefathers. Against them let us keep watch and ward, banding ourselves together as free men and free women, ready to stand unafraid for freedom, for truth, and for peace.

No Peace Without Freedom

There can be no true peace either for ourselves or for other nations save in and through freedom. There can only be a servitude to some absolute master who would impose upon us and the world what Kipling called "long-forgotten bondage, dwarfing heart and brain." President Woodrow Wilson spoke wisely when he said there could be no peace unless the world were "safe for democracy," since democracy, rightly understood, is the political form of individual freedom. And his ideal of a League of Nations was that of a League of Free Nations resolved to curb and withstand the armed violence of war, which is intolerance in action.

Hence we who love freedom must cherish this ideal, working for peace through freedom and upholding freedom as the strait and narrow, albeit the hard and hazardous, path to peace. The goal will not be reached by shrinking from sacrifice or by cowering before the foes of freedom. Peace, international and social, which is something more than an absence of strife, will be the greatest human conquest, for it will be the winning of a chance for individuals and for nations greatly to serve each other and mankind in brotherly helpfulness.

POWER for what?

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

★ ★ ★

In the life of the ordinary people of England the Co-operative Wholesale Society is a power—for good! That is where it differs from so many temporal powers. And as the only consumers' organisation in the country its motives are understandable, and per-



fectly natural. There's a power you can support—Indeed if you support honesty in quality, fair wages to employees and the motive of service not profit you must support the C.W.S., because the C.W.S. exists for no other purpose than these. The method of support is easy enough—Shop at the Co-operative Stores and buy C.W.S.

BEHIND THE NEWS

APPEAL TO BRITAIN

HEADWAY has received an appeal from one of the leading statesmen of the British Commonwealth. Its text is printed on the front cover of the present issue. It is addressed through HEADWAY to the British people.

The Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr is a man of brilliant abilities who has already played a distinguished part in South African public life. He is destined to a more distinguished future. Still young, he inspires, perhaps, more confident hopes than any other politician in the Empire.

The grandson of Onze Jan Hofmeyr, a great and beloved leader of the South African Dutch, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr is the advocate of complete reconciliation. "We must be no longer Dutch or British," he says, "but South African." He is liberal in his native policy. In economics his ideal is a just balance between the gold mining industry and rural life; he stands for the systematic development of a characteristic African agriculture. Recently he resigned from the Union Cabinet because in his view an appointment to the Senate was made in flagrant disregard of democratic principles.

FREE SOUTH AFRICA

THE occasion of Mr. Hofmeyr's appeal is the renewed insistence of Germany on her demand for colonies. "I must and will have my colonies back," declares Germany. Especially in Africa her next step is awaited with anxiety, and so is the response of the British Government. The tendency to make concessions to Germany not because she is entitled to them but because she asks for them has not escaped notice. Will Germany once more be given what she wants as a reward for wanting it noisily and threateningly?

Mr. Hofmeyr, in his resistance, speaks for the vast majority of South Africans, both Dutch and British. They are not merely selfish, resolute to assert their own narrow interests, regardless of the rights of others. They have in mind the future of Africa. They believe they are the agents and trustees of the initial stages of a splendid achievement. They look forward to a South African civilisation—they dread its turning away and its probable ruin by conflicting European influences, obedient to European orders, and irresponsible to African needs and ambitions.

For those who dream dreams of a great African future a choice of democratic Britain rather than Nazi Germany is not due to any prejudice. Even Britain's severest critics cannot deny that she freely allows the dominions to decide their own course, to develop on their own lines. Even Germany's warmest advocates cannot deny that she subordinates all else to the interest of the German State. More than ever under the Nazi régime to do so is her proclaimed ideal.

HEADWAY'S

contributors this month include:

SIR ALAN ANDERSON, K.B.E., M.P., for the City of London; Director of the Bank of England, the L.M.S. Railway, the Suez Canal Company; head of the Orient Shipping Line; Hon. President of the International Chamber of Commerce; past President of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, of the Institute of Marine Engineers; member of the United Kingdom Delegation to the Ottawa Conference who writes on a Club of World Trade as a means of promoting and preserving peace.

The Right Hon. SIR MALCOLM ROBERTSON, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.B.E., former British Ambassador to the Argentine, British High Commissioner on the Inter-Allied Rhineland Commission, 1920/21, Chairman of Spillers Ltd., who writes on Britain's view of a clearly defined and firm world policy.

RONALD CARTLAND, M.P., for the King's Norton Division of Birmingham who continues his monthly article: "Parliament and the People."

H. WICKHAM STEED, former Editor of *The Times*, author of many famous books on world affairs, the most recent of whose publications "The Press" is being widely read, who writes on "Freedom."

HARRY ROBERTS, doctor and medical journalist, author of "Everyman in Health and in Sickness" and many other popular books, who writes on "What food does a Man Need?"

CECIL ROTH, former President of the Jewish Historical Society of Great Britain, author of "A Short History of the Jewish People" and "The Jewish Contribution to Civilisation," who writes on "How the Jew has Helped the World."

AMABEL WILLIAMS - ELLIS, author and journalist, who collaborated with husband, the distinguished architect, Clough Williams-Ellis, in "The Pleasures of Architecture" and other well-known books, who writes on "Houses to Live In."

The Hon. J. H. HOFMEYR, grandson of the famous leader of the South African Dutch, Onze Jan, Rhodes Scholar, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, Administrator of the Transvaal Province, Minister of the Interior, Public Health and Education for the Union of South Africa, who telegraphs to HEADWAY a special appeal to the British People on the Colonial Question.

There is the fundamental difficulty. The theory, and not merely the theory but the practice, which makes the State an absolute, denies the right against the State of the individual citizen and of other nations. The State which professes that theory and acts on it is a world outlaw, and its international relations are no better than violence restrained by prudence. Justice within a nation and justice in the world at large both depend upon an established order of which justice is a consequence. He who comes to court for justice acknowledges the authority of the court. The court on its side is obliged not feebly to confess its impotence, but to obtain respect for its judgment.

PROBLEM MUST BE SOLVED

THE Colonial Problem must be solved. There is a problem, and unless it is solved the world will be kept in perpetual unrest. That Germany should be shut up for ever in Europe while other nations are linked with vast territories in other continents is a guarantee of trouble. It is no good answering German protests with protestations that colonies are liabilities and not assets. Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Belgium, Holland, Portugal keep what they hold with a suspicious tenacity. But even though the German case be admitted, a way in which the Colonial Powers can satisfy its claims without doing far more evil than good is still not easy to find.

Simply to load Germany with large territories would be surrender, not statesmanship. On the other hand, a comprehensive colonial settlement is only possible inside a stable world order, and Nazi Germany is boastfully divorced from any kind of world order which would prevent her resort to war as an instrument of national policy, forbid her to be judge in her own case, require her still to observe her treaties when she wished to break them.

WITHIN AN ORDERED WORLD

HOW complex is the colonial problem appears in the several contributions devoted to it in the present number of HEADWAY: in Mr. Hofmeyr's telegram, in Mr. Hardie Stewart's exposition of the South African point of view, in the L.N.U. report of the possibilities of the mandate system, in the review of Lord Hailey's African Survey. In the end all the lines of argument converge on a single conclusion. A world problem must be so solved as to safeguard world interests, and not to satisfy sectional demands. The Colonial Powers must take the lead in hammering out a solution. They must not drift into a deadlock. But Germany also has an essential contribution to make. She must become a law-abiding member of the world order, loyally accepting the obligations of membership.

APPEASEMENT POSTPONED

APPEASEMENT has been postponed by the latest Nazi outrages on the Jews. That is a plain fact. Here and there a few voices are raised hesitatingly to suggest that the right way to treat Germany does not become wrong because Germany has grossly misbehaved herself. It is a doubtful contention. The right way to treat anyone depends in part on what that anyone is. That is the meaning of the old maxim: "He who comes for equity must come with clean hands." But the argument is irrelevant.

Public opinion throughout all that part of the world where political liberty survives, and not only there, has been profoundly shocked. The tortures inflicted on the Jews have touched every human heart. There has been something peculiarly horrible about the combination of mass brutality and official calculation. First the Jews were terrorised, beaten up, driven to refuge in the winter woods, and then they were systematically plundered of what property had been left to them.

In Great Britain, throughout the British Empire, and in the United States millions of decent folk have for the first time come to think of Nazi Germany as the reverse of decent power and one of which decent powers had best beware.

REPRISALS AGAINST U.S.

AMONG the measures which the Nazis are reported to have been considering as reprisals against the critical attitude of the United States Government towards the recent pogrom are the withdrawal of their passenger vessels from the North Atlantic route to New York. What credence can be given to such reports is difficult to say.

The absence of the *Bremen* and the *Europa* from New York would certainly make the task of that City's police force much lighter, while, at the same time, it would deprive the German Government of a useful revenue in foreign exchange. However, as the Nazis do not profess to be guided in their foreign trade policy entirely by economic considerations, the contemplation of such a gesture would not be surprising. In this particular case, however, the utilitarian reasons seem weighted in favour of the retention of the ships on the Atlantic route.

CLAIM TO INSURANCE

THE destruction of Jewish property in Germany as a result of the pogrom has a positive as well as a negative financial aspect, which is not likely to have escaped the attention of the Nazi extremists. That is the chance to call upon British insurance companies to pay for the damage in much-needed foreign exchange to the extent that they can be held liable. It is unlikely that British companies

have undertaken any direct insurance of property against riot risk in Germany, though they have probably accepted a certain liability by way of reinsurance of such risks already covered by German and Swiss companies.

Any contributions in foreign exchange would be most welcome to the German Government and it is reported that the insurers will be compelled to turn over their payments to the authorities. Should that be the case complications are likely to arise, seeing that the Government would then be benefiting from an act for which it is at least negatively responsible. Even if this is not the case, the Government will be able to seize possession eventually of whatever foreign-exchange resources may be forthcoming, for payment of claims is only valid in the country where they are insured; they cannot be liquidated elsewhere.

SWITZERLAND ALARMED

WHAT has happened in Switzerland is specially significant. The effect has been a slight but suggestive reorientation of Swiss Government policy, and a much greater reorientation of Swiss public opinion.

Up to March of this year the Federal Government had, at any rate ever since 1933, resolutely upheld a policy of conciliation at all costs of the powerful dictators to the north and the south. It was this policy—by no means unanimously approved throughout the country—which dictated Switzerland's lukewarm attitude to the League of Nations, and led to her resumption of integral neutrality last year.

The latest wave of persecution in Germany, coupled with the increasing activity of Nazi agents throughout Switzerland, and particularly in the frontier Cantons, would seem to have opened the eyes of the Federal authorities to the terrific danger at their gates. The suppression last month by decree of three Nazi papers in Switzerland (the "Angriff," the "Schweizerdegen," and the "Schweizervolk") was the first instance of any papers other than Communist being suppressed in this free country. In taking this step the Federal Council acted in advance of legislation which it proposes to submit to Parliament in the near future. In foreshadowing this and similar action, M. Baumann, President of the Confederation and Federal Minister of Justice and Police, explicitly stated before Parliament that "the National Socialist ideal and the democratic ideal are irreconcilable."

Swiss action is not likely to be confined to the suppression of the three papers mentioned above. A very extensive "comb-out" has been in operation throughout Switzerland during the last three weeks.

PRINCE UMBERTO'S INFLUENCE

THAT King Victor Emmanuel of Italy took a decisive part in the events which led up to Munich is generally known. Just exactly what he did has now been revealed and why it was effective.

The King, to whom the Italian people are sincerely attached, was resolutely opposed to any action by Italy which might not only involve her in war, but in a war as an ally of Germany against Great Britain. He threatened that if such a war came he would immediately abdicate in favour of Prince Umberto, the heir to the throne. The Prince, who is a marshal of the intensely Royalist Italian army, has very definite pro-British and pro-French leanings, and stories of his antagonism to Mussolini's friendship with Hitler have been widespread for a long time.

The firmness of King Victor Emmanuel and a full knowledge of the consequences of his abdication were vital factors in persuading Mussolini that the time was unpropitious for a "strong" policy.

PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE: No. 2

By RONALD CARTLAND, M.P.

THERE WAS all the usual pageantry at the opening of Parliament on November the Eighth: robes, tiaras, and so on. But to me there was drabness, not in the scene, but in the scenario. The feeling was accentuated when the House of Commons met in the afternoon, and persisted throughout the week of debates on the King's Speech. So much is happening these days off-stage that the Chamber has taken on the appearance of a back-cloth against which the old favourites do their turns while the audience wait for the grand transformation scene.

Many Amendments

Never before can there have been so many amendments put down by Government supporters to the King's Speech.

Of course, this was shadow boxing. None of the amendments was called, nor was ever likely to be. Only the official Labour amendment concerned principally with unemployment and the Liberal demand for a Ministry of Supply were debated and voted on. Only two days were granted for a discussion on the Speech itself; debate on the amendments was naturally limited; thus the Great Inquisitor is really prevented by lack of time from surveying the state of the nation as it demands. At least the amendments revealed the anxiety and unrest which have afflicted even the most insensitive of members.

Foreign Affairs and Defence

The two days given to the King's Speech were divided, after negotiations, "through the usual channels"—a polite Parliamentaryism for the Government and Opposition Whips—into a foreign affairs day and a defence day. Mr. Eden paid little attention to this artificial restriction. He gave a broad survey of the country's needs; foreign policy, defence, unemployment, health, he brushed them onto a single canvas, painted his own view of the future, and sat down after appealing for national unity and a supreme effort to throw off inertia and save Britain from dangers within and without.

The speech made a profound impression. It was being put about afterwards that members in other parts of the House did not trouble to come to the Chamber to hear him. The fact was, there being no division that evening, the attendance was small. It has



been so for some time past, except on big occasions. On the first day of the Labour amendment it was shameful.

Loss of Reality

One wonders sometimes what must be the feelings of the public in the galleries as they look down on the rows of empty green benches. Whether debates have for the moment lost reality or members have ceased to believe in the efficacy of debate, there is no denying that most members make their speeches only to those waiting to speak themselves—not the ideal audience. Of course, the stars (excluding the Front Bench), Mr. Eden, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George draw a full house. But it is their entertainment value which does it.

Mr. Eden probably spoke to everyone who was in the precincts at the time. His speeches are very carefully prepared; that he reads them is a pity. It detracts from their effectiveness. Mr. Duff Cooper's astonishing memory—he speaks without a note—makes his orations doubly attractive. Mr. Churchill is in a class by himself. His language, power of expression, vigour of delivery, wealth of gesture fascinate even his most stringent critics. Yet none of the three has Mr. Lloyd George's voice, and he surpasses them

in appearance, of spontaneity, however spurious that spontaneity may be. But we are not as a nation great orators, and Mr. Baldwin and his men have shamed away the pretensions anyone had in that direction.

No Help to Debate

There has been some criticism, justifiable I think, of Ministers favouring the Reichstag style and delivering from the box speeches that may be magnificent declarations, but are not contributions to debate. People will gradually recognise that Parliament has altered in character. The unwieldy, inert Government majority and the inexperience of an unhappy minority have in seven years altered the Parliamentary system to an extent that can only be properly assessed in some years from now.

And at the present time is the old lady revered or reviled? At least, not here, as in Germany and Italy, is she ravished. But would our people defend her honour? Just how much does Parliament mean to the twenty million men and women in this country who work for their livelihood? There is no doubt in my own mind that to very many the House of Commons appears as a cross between Madame Tussaud's and a marionette show. The machinery of Parliament is chiefly to blame. The infrequency of a vote on a "straight" issue, the rules of order and debate, amaze and then aggravate. Is it all a game or is this the method—not the best, but the only method—by which England can solve her problems of poverty, ill-health, malnutrition, above all, of defence?

Frustrated and Exasperated

But if those who are not members feel frustrated and exasperated, no less so do those who are. Anxiety and unrest have increased since Munich and the crisis. The ghastly horrors in Germany have rudely torn the scales from the eyes of all. Appeasement is put into cold storage. But what of our rearmament, which concerns much more than guns and aeroplanes? The virility of the whole nation must be nurtured. The condition of the people, especially of the young people, is a vital part of defence; so is our trade and finance—the list truly is unending. And the common denominator is the human individual.

ILLEGAL RADIO IN GERMANY

By an EXPERT

HOW typical an inconsistency is the Nazi exploitation of wireless! The party propagandists storm wildly against Jewish science and culture, regarding Einstein and Freud as the inferiors of any "Aryan" street lout in a party uniform, and yet continue to pour invective and hate through the radio, which is partly a Jewish discovery . . . !

But it is not only Nazidom that radio in Germany is promoting. Operating on a short wave of 29.8 metres, the Deutsche Freiheits-Sender is steadily serving peace and freedom.

In January, 1937, wireless owners, tuning in on short waves, heard the following startling announcement:—

"Hallo! Hallo! This is the secret transmitter of the German Communist Party calling. We shall be broadcasting every evening from now on, on a wave-length of 29.8 metres. To-night's programme starts with a description of Hitler's war preparations. It will be followed by a talk on the miners' struggle in the Saar . . ."

The successful transmission of this

first message marked the beginning of a new phase in the anti-Nazi struggle in Germany; its effect was great.

The following passionate announcement got across on June 5, 1937:—

"Reichswehr and Italian divisions have occupied Spain! German workers, peasants, artisans, you don't want to help to oppress the peaceful Spanish people by acting as the mercenaries of Fascism. German mothers, you don't want your sons to die for foreign interests in foreign countries. Is Sierra de Guadajajara one of Germany's frontiers? Didn't Hitler promise you that the German Army would only be given the order to march to defend German soil . . . ?"

A great number of important facts which the Nazi authorities are anxious to conceal have thus reached the German people. Details of the transport of troops and ammunition to Spain; the names of young German airmen who have died in the service of Franco; information about arrests, "suicides" in concentration camps, and the increased bodyguards of Nazi leaders . . .



This was the burden of Mr. Eden's speech, added to by Mr. Duff Cooper. This was the trend of innumerable speeches from Government and Opposition benches. Foreign policy or home affairs are but threads in a single pattern. It is the character of the nation with which statesmen must concern themselves.

To Save Democracy

In the last few weeks by almost every post I have received letters and manifestoes from people, most of them unknown to me, who are desirous of starting new parties or groups. Some have already done so. What for? To save democracy—to regenerate England; the aims are always the same. I do not despair of England while these good people exist and continue to agitate. It shows the heart of the country is sound. When agitation ceases the heart will have failed. But how much energy is being dissipated. If we could but all unite! What a part there is for youth to play. Here is a noble cause, the noblest, if we can but extol it to the ravenous crowd.

Inarticulate, Patriotic Folk

All the amendments on the order paper of the House of Commons, all the manifestos, and gatherings in drawing-rooms will not satisfy the frustrated enthusiasm of thousands of inarticulate, patriotic folk. Unless Parliament gives expression to that desire, and serves their enthusiasm with the opportunities for expression, first will come disrepute, then disaffection, and finally destruction.

Vernon
Bartlett
M.P.

WRITES REGULARLY
IN THE

News
Chronicle

ABANDON PRINCIPLE AND DIE

By SIR MALCOLM A. ROBERTSON, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.B.E.

former British Ambassador to the Argentine Republic.

LORD DAVID CECIL, in his recent book on "The Young Melbourne," describes him in his early years as "passive, self-protective, indulgent, his first principle to let people alone, his first instinct to avoid trouble."

It would, I think, be difficult to find better words with which to describe the policy, in so far as I can understand it, of those people in this country who would have us isolate ourselves from the world outside the British Empire and the United States. This, if attainable, might conceivably be a very happy position for us to occupy and maintain. Unfortunately it has already been tried, during the last decade of the nineteenth century, and proven to be a failure for we found ourselves, during the difficult years of the South African war, without any friends at all and with several potential and powerful enemies. This would, I suggest, hardly be the time to try again.

We Must Trade to Live

We have a not inconsiderable number of millions of mouths to feed and a million and a-half of unemployed. It is a commonplace that we cannot feed those mouths or find employment for the workless or even for many of those now in work, unless we have a flourishing export trade for which the Empire alone will not suffice even with the help of the United States.

We cannot, therefore, or rather we should not sit idly looking on while Germany, with the whole weight of her military might behind her and the powerful prestige which our Prime Minister, encouraged by the fluttering of hundreds of Order Papers, flew to present to Herr Hitler, endeavours to extend her economic system and political influence not only over Central and South-Eastern Europe but into the Near and Middle East, Iran, and Iraq, which, as some people persist in thinking, are somewhat unpleasantly close to India and not without significance for the Suez Canal.

We should not content ourselves with telling Japan that she is very naughty and really must apologise when she shoots up British Ambassadors, destroys British property, rough-handles British subjects, drops bombs on British gunboats, and informs us in unmistakable language that she is writing "Exit for British Trade" over the Open Door in China.



LAW MAKING AND LAW KEEPING

Isolationist Folly

But there are people to be found, and unhappily I have met some of them, who care for none of these things, who are content with their own present lives, incomes, and possessions, fondly hope that they will be able to hold on to them indefinitely, provided only that we keep out of war, and actually long to see this country reduced to the position of one of the small States of Europe where life must, in their view, be very happy and without obligations or anxieties. Perhaps it would be well to leave them with their little lives, with their delusions and their yearnings which, fortunately for them, were not shared by their forbears.

Clearer Idea Wanted

Let us turn to the Prime Minister's policy of "appeasement." It would look as if this policy were, for the moment at any rate, only to be applied to Germany and Italy, Japan being left out of the picture. Now there is no sane man or woman in this country who does not long to see peace established on as lasting a basis as is humanly possible, and is not prepared to pay a reasonable price for it. There are, however, many millions of all ranks and classes who are very seriously disturbed about this policy of appease-

ment, who feel a genuine sense of shame at the sample of it which was served up to them at Berchtesgaden, Godesberg, and Munich, who would like a somewhat clearer idea of what sacrifices His Majesty's Government feel that this Empire should make in order to help it to succeed, and who fear lest, in the ultimate resort, we may be reduced to the rank of a second-rate Power with but little influence in the Councils of a world dominated by the totalitarian States.

Not War at Any Price

It serves no useful purpose to denounce all these people as advocates of "war at any price," as unpatriotic, or to accuse them of "fouling their own nest." There is widespread alarm throughout the country combined with a feeling of helplessness in face of the crushing party-political majority in the House of Commons and the apparent unwillingness of those nominal supporters of the Government, who, however, profoundly disagree with their foreign policy, to come out and help to form a National Opposition. Many more thinking people than the admirers of the Prime Minister seem to imagine, very gravely doubt whether his experience in Foreign Affairs, or his knowledge of the psychology of the German people, or his appreciation of the determination of Herr Hitler to carry out

the policy definitely laid down in his book and hitherto pursued with relentless vigour and terrifying success, are such that they can blindly trust him in his efforts to appease a man who by "negotiation" means and has shown himself to mean surrender to his "demands."

Hitler's "Will to Peace"

Mr. Chamberlain and others who have had the advantage of a few hours conversation with Herr Hitler, or even less, appear to be convinced of his "will to peace" and of his good faith. They are equally convinced that the German people desire peace as much as we do. Perhaps they may be right, but I prefer to judge him by his actions, and the policy laid down in "Mein Kampf," the rabid vulgarity of the vituperation of the German Press which, notoriously, can only write what Herr Goebbels allows it to write. Ears deafened by the sound of the Führer's raucous denunciations of the democracies and prominent political leaders in this country, my whole soul and spirit staggered by the realisation of the bitterness of his hatred and contempt, warn me that if he really means peace, he means peace at his own price. It would, moreover, in my view, be extreme folly to endeavour to separate the German people from their leader whom they acknowledge as such and

whom they will follow, for obedience is of the very essence of the German character. Whenever he tells them to march, they will march.

Surely it is not without grave significance that Herr Hitler has refrained from responding to Mr. Chamberlain's well meant conciliatory speeches. He has preferred angrily to attack other political leaders who disagree with the Prime Minister, on the ground that in a Democracy these men might come into office at any moment and reverse his policy of "appeasement." Herr Holstein, the evil genius that guided the foreign policy of the German Empire for so long behind the scenes, in the closing years of last and the opening years of this century, used to adopt a very similar attitude. When Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was advocating and endeavouring to bring about an "entente" with Germany, Herr Holstein poured scorn on every move, and argued that a nation with a Parliamentary Government was not "vertragsfähig," that is to say not capable of making a binding treaty.

Stony Road to Appeasement

Indeed the road of "appeasement" with Germany is a stony one and, I fear, can only be made passable for Herr Hitler by the roller of our surrender. Did he try appeasement with his own people in order to gain their

approval and support? They would not have understood it, nor would they understand it now. He dragoons them and so they acclaim him. Has he tried appeasement with the Churches or with the Jews? Will he try appeasement when the few months' respite from a crisis recently promised us by Herr Goebbels are over, and the moment is judged opportune for the annexation of the Ukraine or the Polish corridor? Would he be appeased by the surrender to him of the colonies, although in his book he tells his people emphatically that he has done with the "inane colonial policy" of pre-War Germany, and intends rather to take land for his people in Europe to the eastward "by the force of a victorious sword"? It would be interesting to know exactly what would appease him for a few years at least.

Chronic State of Crisis

Meanwhile we are living in a chronic state of crisis or fear of one, knowing full well that France and we have abandoned to Germany the hegemony of Europe, that with Herr Hitler safe behind his Siegfried line and with the Austrian and Czechoslovakian bastions out of his way, there is little that we in our present condition can do to prevent his advancing to the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan through countries which singly are not strong enough to

On and on
and on
and on
and on

and on

and on

and on

7162

MILES NON-STOP

The R.A.F. knows that

YOU CAN BE SURE OF

SHELL

AVIATION PETROL AND LUBRICATING OIL

resist him, and where he is already carrying on dangerous anti-British propaganda.

It seems to me that we should, however, be well advised to help Poland and the Danubian States economically and financially, and to use every diplomatic endeavour to bring them together politically so that united they may be strong enough to resist, not fair trading efforts, but further German economic and political pressure based upon military might. I agree that a prosperous and contented Germany would be of great advantage to the world, but for the moment at any rate her whole trade policy is directed towards strengthening her military and strategic position and this, in the present frame of mind of her Führer, constitutes a definite menace to the

freedom and independence of other nations.

As regards ourselves, the time is surely approaching when the nation will demand an end to party politics and the formation of a truly National Government drawn from its ablest men, no matter what their class, profession, or political creed. Only so can it be brought to real unity. Every branch of our industry needs reorganising and revivifying so that it may regain its enterprise and capacity of old.

Even allowing for the undoubted difficulties of foreign trading at the present time and during the last few years, no one who has lived abroad in many countries can be satisfied that we have made even the approximate best of a bad job, that markets have been thoroughly studied with a view

to satisfying their requirements, or that our salesmanship has been adequate. We now have to meet State trading by barter on a very large scale, and State subsidies. We are perfectly capable of dealing with that competition if we will settle down to think out and organise the reply, but there is little sign of that yet.

We must rearm to the limit of personal sacrifice, that goes without saying. And, finally, we must regain the ideals which have made us a great people and a great Empire. Just to keep out of war is not an ideal. Indifference to the sanctity of treaties and to the fate of smaller nations is the reverse of one, besides being most unwise. A nation which abandons all principle is doomed and deservedly doomed.

"MACHINE FOR LIVING?"

By AMABEL WILLIAMS-ELLIS,

the distinguished writer on architecture who describes the kind of house in which the normal British family hopes to live a normal happy life.

LE CORBUSIER, the famous modernist architect, said that a house was, and ought to be "a machine for living." I agree with him. But I think that he (or perhaps it is more those who follow him) did not take into consideration all the purposes for which such a machine is needed. For let me say right at the outset that I don't believe most people want the homes they live in to be entirely practical, still less bleak or ascetic-looking.

More Than Mere Use

Bower birds bring back little bits of bright pebble, coloured seeds and feathers, and decorate their nests with them. Caddis-worms seem to choose bright-coloured fragments for their otherwise compact and utilitarian homes. When human beings set up house, it gives them a rich and ample, a cosy and protected feeling, to have more frills and curlicues and shelves and ledges than are strictly necessary. After all, it is a harsh world and only heroes should blame us if we like our houses padded and if a good many of us reject the severity which practical commonsense and modern artists and architects unite to tell us is "the right thing."

But let us return to this idea of a "machine for living." I have just suggested that a house is a refuge from the harsh world. It is also a lot of other things. My husband is an architect, and when clients come to discuss a house with him, he takes a great deal of trouble to find out how they live. He wants to know who is going to do the



Mrs. WILLIAMS-ELLIS.

work of the house, and practical things like that, but he also tries to find out as much as possible about their tastes and preferences and to discover which of various things that can't all be had for the price they are able to pay, those particular clients on the whole rank most highly.

Not "Made to Measure"

Most houses are not made to measure (I have never been lucky enough to live in a house built specially for me by my husband: that is always the way!); but most people after all have some things in common; however great your soul may be you take up about the same amount of room as I do. Your bed, like mine, must be of a certain length and breadth; you need so much space for going through a door.

Then when we are planning houses

for people in general we assume that a family will include children. We know that certain work—bed-making, washing up, sweeping, dusting, laying and clearing away of meals—will have to be done on 365 days of the year; and we also know, though we don't always act on the knowledge, that the people in one room won't want to be too well aware of what the people in the other room are doing. We should all like some degree of privacy, not only from the neighbours but from those of our own household.

Points to Remember

I can't in the space at my disposal do more than suggest a few of the points which should be borne in mind by those who design either council houses or those houses for middle-class people sometimes so curiously described as "cosy palaces." (In the main, by the way, the builders of council houses at any rate do fairly well bear these points in mind.)

Let us begin at the top. A bedroom must be so designed that there is a place in it for the bed. I mean, there must be a place for a bed which is neither dark nor draughty and from which the light can be switched on and off. Second place, bedrooms should be as quiet as possible. This business of sound-insulation has a very important bearing on health, and this is a point which is only too often neglected nowadays. Flimsy floors and walls are definitely bad for health and nerves. Built-in cupboards

by the way are a boon in themselves, and if properly designed can help to stop noise.

In most districts building by-laws take care of the next point: height. A very low room is difficult to ventilate. But, in fact, I think these by-laws rather exaggerate the question of height. I have lived in old houses with fairly low rooms—lower than would be allowed now—whose beauty outside and comfort inside was greater than that permitted by most local by-laws.

Babies on the Stairs

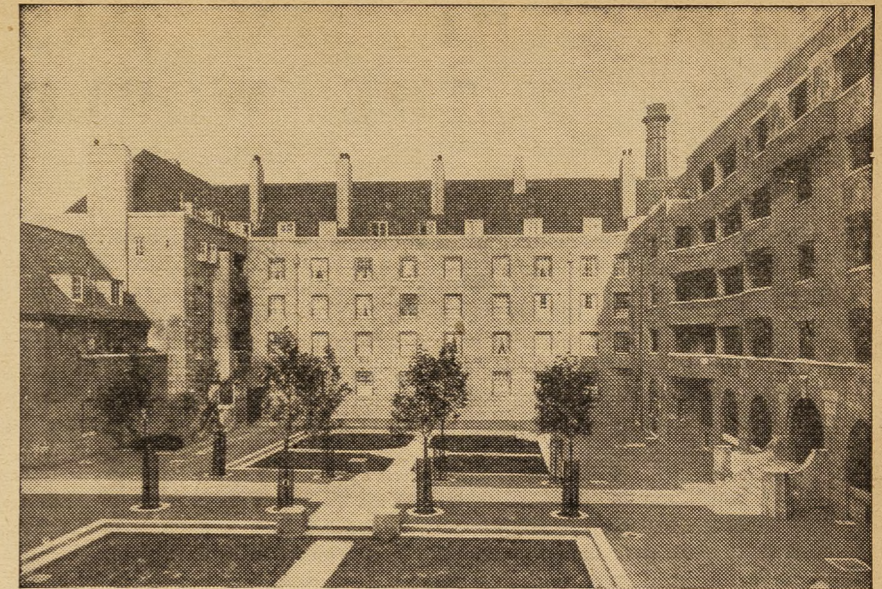
That stairs should not be unduly steep and narrow is also now an accepted axiom. But sometimes you see stairs with solid banisters. These often look nice and there are no uprights to dust, but unless a second low rail is provided, they make things difficult for small children who can't reach the hand-rail. To have stairs down which you have to escort the smallest members of the family means a lot of extra work. Rounded corners both for living rooms and bedrooms are recommended by some people, but they should not be exaggerated or furniture won't fit.

Bathrooms are an important point. For houses where there is no servant some people favour an upstairs bathroom, some one downstairs. There is something to be said for both. If you have (as I have) ever had to bath small children and cook supper simultaneously, you will realise one advantage of a downstairs bathroom. On the other hand such an arrangement is less convenient for grown-ups. We don't want tooth brushes in the saucepans. There is nothing to be said for the bathroom including the house's only lavatory. Then the bath itself. For a general utility bathroom it is a very useful thing to have the bath mounted up. It is very tiring to stoop when bathing small children, and if the bath is raised it can also be used for washing, or at any rate for soaking the clothes without producing so much backache.

Two Draining Boards

People nowadays very seldom build a sink without a draining-board, but to my mind a sink needs two—one on the left for the dirty crocks, one on the right with a rack over it for the clean. Also a good light for the sink, both by day and when light must be artificial, will do much more than any patent soap to make your washing-up a credit to you.

Kitchen planning is a point in which most new houses excel most old ones. Even the houses put up by speculative builders, the bungalows, the ill-built "Tudor-style residences" that make our by-pass roads into new congested areas, have as a rule this one good feature. I



Flats built by London County Council (Ossulston Estate)

have been over a good many of the "show houses" and, along with much to criticise, have generally found a well-planned kitchen.

Well-planned, that is, in reference to the habits of the people for whom the houses were intended.

But just as you will find great variations abroad as to the way in which working-class people like the available space to be allotted, so in England you will find that district by district there will be variations in the tastes, needs and habits of the typical family.

The Miner's Kitchen

In mining districts for instance the men who are in work have either a coal allowance or can buy their coal cheaply. Thus as a rule a miner's wife will not want to cook on a paraffin stove or a gas-cooker in the scullery, as do many housewives in London and the home counties. The miner's kitchen even more than that in most working-class homes will be very much the centre of the house. Thus, for miners, a house in which I stayed for a week or two in Tonypany was badly planned, with its small kitchen and big front room. The front room was not used by the family in general. It was not superfluous, far from it, for it was at once a "best room" and a room where children did homework, and to which a member of

the family who wanted to read could retire. But the sizes of the two rooms should have been reversed. The life of the family was cramped, and the task of the housewife made heavier by the smallness of the room in which cooking was done and in which everybody gathered for meals and conversation.

Another variation in taste between class and class and between country and country is worth study.

Flats or Houses

On the whole it will be found that people of the £250 income level and over in England often like flats, and people of all incomes on the Continent at any rate acquiesce in them. On the other hand, among English working-class families the preference is for a house. I have not space to discuss here the reasons for this, but would suggest that it is to be looked for in the distrust felt in England for the "Peabody Buildings" type of working-class flat put up in the worst manner of nineteenth-century philanthropy.

Blocks of flats, "buildings," as they are rather dismally called here, need special arrangements for children; and on the Continent there are generally playgrounds and sandpits, and often a paddling pool, besides balconies where small babies can be "left to air." I believe that points such as this account for the difference in preference.

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HOW THE JEW HAS HELPED THE WORLD!

By CECIL ROTH

Author of "A Short History of the Jewish People," and "The Jewish Contribution to Civilisation."

THE Jewish Problem may be viewed from many angles. I mean the problem from which the Jew suffers, not that which he presents; so far as it exists the second can be disposed of, as it has been in England, by a couple of generations of decent treatment.

At the time of the French Revolution, the appeal was made above all to cold reason, which demanded imperatively that the Jews, men like others, should be treated like other men. But in the world to-day, when the core of Central Europe is swayed by homage to a completely mythical conception of race, Reason seems to have small place, and the appeal to logic has lost whatever validity it once had. Again, not long since, in the Anglo-Saxon countries above all, it was possible to stir the conscience of the population by an appeal to humanity. English Jews recall with pride above all how as long ago as 1744 this country successfully besought the Empress Maria Theresa to stop her maltreatment of the Jews of Bohemia, and the spontaneous outpouring of popular sympathy and assistance at later times of persecution. But, alas, the public conscience seems to be dulled nowadays.

Injustice Stalks the Earth

From our comfortable fireside we complacently watch injustice stalking about the earth, and give a sigh of relief when it breaks down our neighbour's door in preference to our own. It is not only one faction of humanity which is suffering from this new callousness. The Jew, the traditional scapegoat, cannot hope for redress by an appeal to reason or to mercy. Possibly, at this dark hour, an appeal to the wider interests of humanity, could it be sufficiently spread, might be more cogent.

That the Jew is gifted by nature with a superabundance of ability is not proven. It is a fact that colour is given to this impression by the phenomenon that, given his opportunity at last after generations of oppression, the Jewish



intellectual tends to find his level and to rise with striking rapidity above the social stratum into which he was born. This is the case, however, with only a certain proportion, and the initial momentum tends to exhaust itself before long. On the other hand, it is arguable that the Jewish genius does express itself in a specific fashion. It may be a reproach in certain parts of Europe to-day, but not in the British Empire, that from the time of the ancient Hebrew prophets the Jew has yearned passionately and worked devotedly for social justice and international peace—that greatest of ambitions of a people scattered all over the surface of the globe, who must suffer disproportionately in any war. The chain of great dreamers and workers for the cause of peace, which starts with the prophet Isaiah, continues to our own day with men like Bloch, who was ultimately responsible for the establishment of the Hague Tribunal, and Levinson, who first suggested the Kellogg Pact.

Fresh Outlook on Old Problems

In certain fields of abstract thought, too, it may be possible to discern a specifically Jewish approach, running through men separated by centuries, like Spinoza and Bergson. But above all that freshness of outlook which the newly-emancipated Jew could bring to bear on old problems may be responsible for the epoch-making innovations associated in our day with Freud, discoverer of the subconscious, and Einstein, with his theory of relativity. Is it altogether a coincidence that so many of the disciples of the first, and so many of the coadjutors of the second, were likewise Jews?

That there has been a remarkable efflorescence of Jewish talent in our own day—whatever the reason for it—is unquestionable. Yet this talent has been poured out, lavishly and ungrudgingly, for the benefit of mankind, and not of any one section. Medicine, science, invention, literature, art—to all these Jews have made their contribution, out of all proportion to their numbers. Are there saved in England alone each year the lives of thousands of children who formerly would have died from disease contracted by their parents? They have to thank Paul Ehrlich for it. Is illimitable nitrogenous fertiliser now able to be extracted from the air, thus saving mankind from the real, if distant, shadow of the exhaustion of the soil and of ultimate starvation? Fritz Haber, the great German chemist, was responsible.

Plague Has Lost Its Terror

Bubonic plague has lost a great deal of its terror for the teeming masses of India, thanks to Waldemar Haffkine. The deaf are not nowadays condemned to dumbness and semi-imbecility; that is largely due to the lip-reading methods introduced by Pereira and Van Praagh. The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals owes its existence to Lewis Gompertz.

The radio, with its far-reaching potentialities for the diffusion of culture, is based on the Hertzian waves named after their half-Jewish discoverer. The contemporary cinema itself depends largely on the inventiveness of a medieval Jewish Rabbi, of a member of the Herschel family of astronomers, of the Nobel prize-winner Lippman, who invented colour photography, and of the Austrian Von Lieben, discoverer of the loud speaker, whom German anti-

Semites applauded so vociferously until they discovered that he was a Jew.

In the genesis of the telephone, the airship, and the aeroplane Jews played a great part; and the mediæval voyages of exploration would have been enormously retarded but for the co-operation of Jewish map-makers, instrument-makers, interpreters, and pioneers.

It is possible to continue in this strain to the extent of an entire volume—the task indeed has been accomplished not long since. But it is unnecessary to say more than this to demonstrate that the Jews have been good citizens of the world, and as such have deserved well of it.

Palestine

In what has been mentioned above, Jews have made their contributions as Englishmen or Frenchmen or Germans, not as Jews; for it is only when the Jew is singled out for obloquy that it is generally thought fit to specify his religious origin. There is indeed only one place in the world to-day where the Jew can be active without restriction as a Jew, and as such develop whatever characteristic genius and qualities he may possess. That country is Palestine.

Here, though throughout history the urge to the Holy Land was felt and often acted upon by individuals, it is only a single generation since the modern idealistic resettlement began. Twenty years since, under the British ægis and the stimulus of the Balfour Declaration, the tempo of immigration increased, and a coherent and cohesive Jewish society came into being, for the first time since the Jews were dispossessed of their ancient land. Yet already in this short period there have taken place in Palestine developments which are of importance not for the Jews alone, but for mankind as a whole.

The greatest seat of learning in the Near East has come into existence at Jerusalem—the Hebrew University, with its staff of world-famous scholars. The scientists in the University laboratories, the physicians in the neighbouring hospitals, are conducting investigations which are of far more than local significance.

On the soil of Palestine a new peasantry has sprung into being; and from all over the world experts come to follow, in the hope of imitating at home the experiments in the reclamation of the soil and rehabilitation of an agricultural community which have been so successfully begun. The new Jewish proletariat, moreover, is able to reconcile brain and brawn, and has demonstrated that working on the soil is not incompatible with the development of a high standard of cultural life; and in the new communities an attempt is made to put into practice the prophetic ideals of social justice, by no means so irreconcilable with a sophisticated modern society, as some cynics maintain.

New Cultural Life

A new cultural life flourishes in the New Palestine, expressed through the medium of a tongue which had been considered dead for centuries. Works have been written which have been translated into many European languages; and a theatre (to cite only one instance) has emerged which is of international significance.

To bring the matter to a somewhat lower plane, the Jews have succeeded in the past few years in enabling Palestine to support twice its former population (the Arabs, it must not be forgotten, have increased as much as the Jews) and in trebling its prosperity—a fact from which Arab and Jew alike profit. It is a symbol of the possibility of the regeneration of the Near East at large.

If this has been the result of twenty years, what might not be the outcome of half a dozen generations? Recent

events have resulted in the pouring into Palestine of immigrants of a calibre hardly ever equalled in the annals of human wandering—great scientists, scholars and writers from Central Europe, for whom life has been made impossible in their former home, and who are happy to become in Palestine, humble, normal working members of a natural Jewish society—bricklayers and farmers, mechanics and nurses.

Work of a Generation

The Jewish contribution to western civilisation during the past century shows the Jews' potentialities. The outcome of a single generation of idealistic experiment has prepared the ground in Palestine for the reception of these seed-spores driven before the gale, and given some intimation of what may be hoped from them. To curtail that experiment may not merely spell disaster for thousands of human beings, and cut off hope from hundreds of thousands more. It may also deprive the world of the inestimable benefits—moral as well as physical—which may be hoped from a people which has assuredly shown that it has something to offer humanity, with which humanity cannot lightly dispense.

If Jewry is doomed in Central Europe, in which Jewish ability was in former days at its most fruitful, the importance of Palestine and of the opportunity which it alone now offers becomes greater than ever. A Round Table Conference is being arranged in London between Arab and Jew. Will it result in lasting peace and fresh opportunity in the Holy Land? This should be the prayer not only of those who are shocked by the present plight of Jewry but also of those—and there is no one who is not in that category—who may benefit in the future as in the past from the creative genius of the Jew.

NATIONAL UNION OF SEAMEN

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

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

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

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

MEMEL: A DISPUTED PORT ON THE BALTIC

THE Sudeten problem has been "liquidated." The Führer is free to devote himself to other problems of a similar nature. There are still plenty of German minorities left to liberate. And many people are asking what is the present Nazi attitude to Memel and the Germans of the Memelland.

In Western Europe little is heard of Memel, or, to give it its traditional Lithuanian name, Klaipeda. It is often assumed, and quite erroneously, that the Memelland is a purely German district. Actually, there is a world of difference between the correctly stiff atmosphere of East Prussia and easy-going Memel, where the influence of Lithuania is discernible as soon as the slow-moving Lithuanian railway carriages with their little red and white emblems of Vytautas, Lithuania's hero-king, cross the river Memel that forms the boundary between Tilsit and the Memelland.

To-day the population of the territory is very mixed. Because of the better social conditions and the higher wage levels, there has been considerable immigration from old Lithuania, mainly of dockers, of whom there is an insufficiency. The Germans have a small majority in the town itself, but in the countryside the Lithuanians predominate. Moreover, thousands of those who regularly vote German consider themselves "Memelländer"—i.e., Lithuanians by race with a German culture and background who want at all costs to preserve their autonomy and standard of living. Nothing could be more erroneous than to imagine that those who vote German are Nazis or that all Germans are longing for absorption by the Third Reich.

In addition to the Memelländer there is the genuine old German nationalist, a type to be found in large numbers among the shopkeeping class, who might in other circumstances wish to become once again a citizen of the Reich. The majority of these, however, see for themselves the progress and prosperity achieved under Lithuanian rule and have no wish to return to German stagnation. Economics are entirely on Lithuania's side.

There have, of course, been anxious moments since Hitler took control in Germany. Notably during the mass trial in 1935, when it was clearly established that the prisoners, with secret help from Germany, had been planning an armed Nazi revolt against Lithuania. There was even reason to fear a German

invasion, such was the Nazi fury at this revelation. But in due course both the prisoners, since released, and the local Nazis came to realise that they were being used as tools by Berlin, and since then enthusiasm has waned considerably among the Nazi hotheads.

Since 1935 relations, if not always cordial, might have been worse. Germany had—and still has—far more important problems. The Lithuanians have adopted a moderate and sensible policy. Germans are allowed full freedom throughout the territory, though Nazi activities are banned. German can be heard on all sides. There are virtually no petty pinpricks on the part of the authorities, and such grievances as there are are limited to the immigration of Lithuanians from the interior and other such minor

points. There are, of course, a certain number of secret Nazis, but they are not very active, and the atmosphere to-day is by no means inharmonious, and certainly an improvement on three years ago.

Indeed, the German attitude does not appear to have been unreasonable, on the whole. There is good reason to believe that Germany counselled moderation to Poland at the time of the ultimatum to Lithuania last March; while outbursts of Nazi rioting in connection with the arrival of German ships on two occasions this summer are not believed to have been inspired by Berlin.

What of the future? Time, economics, and without doubt the majority of the population, are on the side of the present regime.

THINGS SAID IN GERMANY

(From Headway's Special Correspondent)

BERLIN, November.

I DO not look in the least like a Jew. Five times in the last ten days quiet, decent Germans, complete strangers to me, encountered in my journeys, have told me how shocked they are by the latest outrages inflicted on the Jews. In every instance they began a little diffidently though more boldly than I have heard any other casually encountered critic of the régime speak since Hitler took office. After a little talk they have become eloquent in their protests. Beyond all dispute great numbers of ordinary Germans deeply deplore what has happened. They think the German name has been besmirched and they resent it.

Germans are habitually sensitive to the world's judgment on themselves and their doings. Hitherto, once recognised as a foreigner, I have been pressed to applaud Nazi Germany, its leader, its achievements. Now I am met with explanations and excuses, and with every imaginable kind of rumour.

The official Nazi theory is that a Government-controlled Press guarantees trustworthy news. Readers know exactly where they are; no longer excited and led astray by the licence and the lies of freedom and democracy, they go contentedly and quietly about their business, in secure possession of the truth. It is a touching picture; experience shows it to be a flagrant

misrepresentation. Censorship provokes suspicion. In Germany suspicion is growing very rapidly. During the crisis many Germans to my knowledge listened to the British news broadcasts and believed them because the accent and the grammar were not quite correct. "That's foreign, that's true" was the reaction. And when uncensored news is not available the wildest gossip is made to serve instead. Propaganda seems to be producing its own nemesis.

One of the most widely current stories is that the Paris murder was incited by the secret police. The victim, a loyal Catholic, is said to have been on the point of breaking with the Nazi authorities. He was got rid of in a way that offered an excuse for a long-planned plunder of the Jews. Nearly everyone cites the parallel of the Reichstag fire and the subsequent trial; scarcely anyone ever suggests that the fire and trial were anything except impudent fakes.

The truth of these matters I do not know. But that the credit of the Nazi leaders has fallen precipitously, and is still falling, I am sure. Hitler himself is now quite often pointed at. One hears whispers about his hysteria, and heads are shaken over the more rapid recurrence of his violent fits.

Dictatorships depend on opinion. German opinion is evolving swiftly in a direction which promises surprises.

BEAUTIFUL BRITAIN



THE CLUB OF WORLD TRADE

By SIR ALAN ANDERSON, M.P. for the City of London



SIR ALAN ANDERSON

IT is always tempting to go to extremes—black and white catch the eye; but how if the truth is grey? Must we avoid those positive assertions which seem to mean so much? Must we qualify the plain English of Article XVI of the League Covenant which everyone thinks he can understand?

Even when "grey" matches the truth I understand why some orators and statesmen feel it beneath their dignity not to talk black or white.

This is a New Headway

When I was invited to say what I believe business people think about peace and trade I demurred—no one likes to be a wet blanket—and readers trained on the full-blooded doctrine of the League of Nations Union and of the old HEADWAY might find my comments tame if not worse.

But this I am told is a new HEADWAY—its readers may like to see old facts from a new angle; and the League of Nations Union itself—is it not also in the process of change?

The Union has issued a new statement of policy. "There is no other effective measure of prevention (of aggression) than insistence upon . . . the duty of all civilised nations to do their best to prevent and stop aggression." That is the first clause of the new policy; but is it a new policy? Does this mean Article XVI and the other coercive clauses of the League or does it not? It is not so crisp as

Article XVI, but so long as each nation is bound by Article XVI to boycott and to blockade every erring neighbour, even if the blockader has disarmed and his neighbour has armed to the teeth, it may well be that even under this new statement of policy the unarmed nations will be expected to attack the armed nation as the best way to "prevent and stop aggression."

Arms and the Covenant

Any nation which pledges itself to go to war under unknown conditions with any unknown offender must maintain its arms to match its responsibilities; the coercive clauses of the Covenant are therefore incompatible with disarmament; but we disarmed and still continued to guarantee our neighbours against aggression. In spite of attempts at Geneva to interpret Article XVI to mean much less than it says, this confusion of ideas—this refusal to face facts was in my view stupid almost to the point of dishonesty, and led inevitably to the troubles from which our Prime Minister is rescuing us and the world. Among the very men who now criticise our Government for allowing our strength to fall below the strength of our neighbours were authors of our weakness and of the bad relations which continued for years between us and our natural allies. Not satisfied with having done this mischief to the peace and stability of the world these same dangerous guides criticise our present Prime Minister and his colleagues who had the courage to make us face facts.

Close the Peace Ranks

So much for the past. For the future my policy for the League of Nations Union is that the nations who seek peace and ensue it should close their ranks and meet together for consultation and for mutual advice. On that policy, without coercive clauses, the League of Nations would become on a world scale a friendly partnership such as we have now between the Dominions of the British Empire, such as is growing up between democratic nations of Northern Europe, and such as inspires the nations of North and South America.

Any attempt at rigid military obligation or at guarantees of security would be premature, and it measures the mistake made by the founders of the League of Nations twenty years ago to consider with how little enthusiasm

even the Dominions of the British Empire, knit close together in history, blood, and friendship, would welcome between themselves the rigid obligation of Article XVI of the Covenant of the League. An obligation to substitute justice for force is the ideal to which we must slowly and painfully proceed, but we shall not arrive till the nations are civilised: at present civilisation is a thin and partial veneer.

Britain Must Be Strong

In direct contradiction to the policy of disarming peaceful nations and allowing other nations to become so restive that they arm regardless of cost, our policy is and should be to make Great Britain strong in relation to our great responsibilities at home and overseas, and not to extend our responsibility any further till we shall have built up our strength.

To be strong we must be united among ourselves. We must be friendly to other nations in thought and speech and trade.

Is this commonplace and platitude? I hope it is, and that HEADWAY and the League of Nations Union will help in this policy.

They will on these lines recruit the full support of the commerce of Great Britain and the world.

Face Economic Issues

The other day representatives of all the chief commercial nations met at the Council of International Chamber of Commerce in Paris and unanimously passed this resolution:—

The I.C.C. records its profound gratitude to the leaders by whose prompt action war has been avoided.

Everywhere men are praying for peace, and a chance exists now of a general settlement which must not be missed.

For this general settlement it is not enough to resolve political problems; it is equally imperative to face the outstanding economic issues.

At present, whether rightly or wrongly, nations believe that their safety and well-being are threatened by the policies of other nations. Policies based on suspicion and fear must lead to progressive isolation and distress.

Even self-interest demands collaboration rather than conflict; whatever justification can be found for present trends of policy in present circumstances no one denies that greater well-being for all would result from collaboration.

The I.C.C. appeals to the Governments and in particular to those of the leading economic Powers to declare and work out

with the least possible delay a policy of friendship in the economic field.

It will only be possible to develop gradually ways and means of making this collaboration effective, and therefore a joint expression of the firm intention and willingness of the economic Powers to improve their economic relations is needed first of all to clear the atmosphere of mistrust and fear.

We must take the world as we find it and act without delay. Collaboration on fundamental issues and progress are possible despite divergent ideals and opinions.

Dismal Views not Shared

I call special attention to the first and last clauses. These business men from nations which seven days earlier seemed about to murder each other did not in the least share the dismal views of some contributors to HEADWAY.

"Great Britain has suffered the severest diplomatic defeat in modern history."—(Mr. Nicholson, HEADWAY, October.)

"Disaster has befallen Europe," says Mr. Churchill.—(HEADWAY, page 18, November, 1938.)

On the contrary, the business men from America and Europe were full of praise for the leaders who had saved the world from disaster—and most of all for our Prime Minister. They amended the resolution submitted by their Drafting Committee to record their gratitude in the place of honour; as peace is unmeasurably the greatest business aim, so gratitude for peace must be stated first.

I direct attention also to the last clause, "We must take the world as we find it" and make friends. That is the policy of the British Government and of ordinary men of good will in all nations. To these business people at the I.C.C., some democrats, some from Dictator States, it seems natural and necessary that each nation should choose its methods and its rulers and make its mistakes and pay for them without exciting a war of "ideology" with its neighbour. Does the League of Nations Union doubt this?

The Mind Decides

Suppose we grasp the simple idea of business men that peace and war spring from the mind, and that people who are happy and busy and well fed are inclined to live at peace with their neighbours; suppose we agree, too, that world trade is the ambassador of peace; what are we to do, here and now, to improve world trade and to promote peace?

The International Chamber of Commerce have stated this policy again and again, and have said in detail what must be done to make a start. They indicate the course in the body of the resolution quoted above: Mr. Van Zeeland has expanded the same ideas in



THE POOL OF LONDON where great ships reach the heart of the Empire.

his report: and he is still engaged on his great task.

Membership an Asset

We must establish a club of world trade in which the members will abide by rules of decent conduct and will help one another. We must make membership of the club an asset which no nation will willingly forgo.

Already at Ottawa we formed a club of British trade, and that club can with advantage to us all adapt itself to welcome new members from outside; by our trade treaties we have already started on that course, and if our treaty with the U.S.A. succeeds in bridging the Atlantic for trade in both directions it may well be of enormous value to the world. Indeed, in my view, the first rule of the world trade club should be that each nation must keep its international exchange stable, which is very different from the primitive barter to which some of our neighbours have been driven by the breakdown of their exchange.

Trade Requires Peace

Savages who will cut each other's throats next day can barter—but trade requires peace and confidence. It needs, too, just that small but necessary knowledge of facts which reconciles a rich nation to what is called a "passive" or "adverse" balance of exchange.

It is hard to estimate how much the happiness of the world has suffered and the peace has been endangered by that simple mistake of calling by a derogatory title "adverse" a trading relation with the world which shows that one is rich and that one's debtors are paying what they owe. Luckily for us we still have an adverse balance of exchange—possibly rather more than we can afford—but if there is a fault it is on the right side for peace. Our trading policy is making it possible for the poorer nations to pay their way and to recover their prosperity, and meantime, in spite of our bill for arms, we live very well.

New Era for Progress

If, as I hope, their trade treaties with us and other nations gradually enable the U.S.A. to buy more from the world than they sell, we may indeed hope for a new era of progress in which the exchange of goods and services will keep currencies stable and, best of all, in which trade and food and hope will incline men to help and not to murder their neighbours.

To travel the long rough road to their common goal each nation needs help that only the other can give, and for this sympathy and mutual help the League of Nations is more needed now than ever.

PEACE BY TRADE TREATY

By E. V. FRANCIS, *the well-known Financial Journalist*

THE enthusiastic reception of the Anglo-American Trade Pact on both sides of the Atlantic raises great hopes for the future of economic contacts between the English-speaking peoples. It has demonstrated once more their faith in the power of economic liberalism at a time when its principles are most seriously threatened. That faith, be it noted, has survived considerable vicissitudes during the long-drawn-out negotiations. There were times when hopes rose high of a trade millennium; at others suspicion was provoked that nothing more than a face-saving formula could possibly result.

Both Countries Benefit

Actually the treaty is none of these things. It is a workmanlike document providing, in the main, for reductions in the British tariff on U.S. agricultural products and for freer entry of British manufactures into the American market. It is based on a practical compromise, such as one would expect of the Anglo-Saxon traditions of both countries.

It is important not to exaggerate the scope of the agreement and raise too high hopes of its cash benefits, to put it bluntly. The tariff reductions granted by the Americans appear to be very generous, ranging in some cases up to 50 per cent. on certain British exports. As against this, it has to be remembered that the U.S. is a high tariff country and many imports will be taxed highly even when the reductions are in force in the New Year. Nevertheless, British manufacturers will gain a great deal, for most of the goods in which they are interested are of high-class quality, the demand for which always responds to a lowering of price. At the worst, prospects are much more encouraging than for many years past.

Help From The Empire.

A second aspect from which the treaty may be viewed is that of Imperial relations. The tariff concessions granted to the U.S. have been concentrated in a relatively small number of agricultural imports into Great Britain. On these the Dominions and Colonies are already receiving preference under the Ottawa Agreements. To grant lower tariffs to the U.S. exporters has meant reducing, and in some cases abolishing, Imperial Preference. It has meant reducing the bene-

fits received by the Empire farmers and fruit growers. But as Britain was bound under the Ottawa Agreements to continue these preferences, the concessions now made to the U.S. producers would have been impossible had not the Dominions agreed to make the necessary sacrifices for the sake of freer trade.

No matter what the various reactions in foreign countries may be, one fact stands clear above all others: Great Britain has excluded no one from the benefits of the Pact as far as she is concerned. These benefits have been obtained moreover without raising a tariff in any single instance. A valuable lead to the rest of the world has thus been given. How far it will be followed must clearly depend on the trend of political developments in general.

As between the United States and Great Britain, the Pact constitutes a

noteworthy advance in economic liberalism. It is the most important attempt yet made to repair the breaches in international trade since the abortive World Economic Conference of 1933. Not since the Washington Conference of 1921 has there been similar achievement. The Pact has meant at every turn a search for compromise of interests. It marks an all-important step towards economic sanity at a time when the world was sliding into a morass of trade restrictions and beggary-neighbour expedients.

Politically Welcome.

In re-enforcing the political relations of the English-speaking countries, the Pact is most welcome. Indeed, many observers have rated this aspect more highly than the economic. That may prove over-optimistic. Nevertheless, closer trade relations cannot fail to have favourable political repercussions. Nothing would be more desirable now than a closer alignment of those countries who look to economic liberalism as the most effective approach to world appeasement.

HOW MUCH FOOD DOES A MAN NEED?

By DR. HARRY ROBERTS

HOW much food does a man need? Need for what? To keep alive; to live a long time; to get through his daily work; or to make abounding health possible? The answer to the question depends on what we are aiming at. Long life and low-grade life are by no means incompatible; and it is not always those who in any positive sense are the healthiest and most vigorous who live longest. Perfect nutrition, though contributory, is not essential to longevity—it is, however, essential to perfect health.

We certainly know a great deal more about the nutritional needs of man than we did thirty years ago.

It is especially within the last five years or so that attempts have been made by socio-scientific organisations to set up minimum nutritional standards in the interests of public health.

In 1933 the British Medical Association published the report of a highly competent expert committee which they had appointed: "To determine the minimum weekly expenditure on food-stuffs which must be incurred by families of varying size if health and working capacity are to be main-

tained, and to construct specimen diets."

Two years later the Technical Commission of the Health Committee of the League of Nations was instructed to state: "The nutritional needs of the human being in the course of its development."

A little later appeared nutritional standards compiled by the United States Government Bureau of Home Economics. These bodies, with the possible exception of the Committee of the League of Nations, constructed what may be called minimum dietaries, —as distinct from optimum dietaries, that is dietaries calculated to provide the best available basis for perfect, vigorous health.

The minimum adult ration of the B.M.A. provides each day 3,386 calories, the daily dietary containing nearly 100 grams protein (of which about half is first-class protein), about 100 grams fat, and nearly 500 grams carbohydrate. A sufficiency of the various vitamins and minerals is secured. When it is stated that, among its other items, the ration allows for the weekly consumption of 1½ pints of



The Harvest of the British Seas.

milk, ¼ lb. of butter, one egg, 1 lb. beef costing sixpence, and half a pound of minced meat costing 2½d., no charge of wanton epicureanism can be brought against the compilers of the menu. On the other hand, the suggested allowance of a quarter of a pint of milk daily may well surprise.

The Advisory Committee on Nutrition, appointed by the Ministry of Health, supports the recommendation of the League of Nations Commission that an average consumption of six pints of milk a week per head of the population is hygienically desirable. In 1935 the average milk-consumption in this country was about 3½ pints per head per week; but, of course, the *per caput* consumption among the well-to-do was more than three times as great as among the poor.

7s. 7d. a Week

But let us provisionally accept the B.M.A. diet as a national hygienic minimum standard. An elaborate food investigation, conducted from October, 1936, to March, 1937, showed that the lowest present-day cost of the B.M.A. diet per adult male is 7s. 7d. a week. It may be explained that a family consisting of man, wife, and three children, aged one to six, was reckoned as having a man-value of three; and a family consisting of one man, wife, and three children aged six to fourteen, as having a man-value of just over four. Therefore, at present prices, in order to provide the B.M.A. minimum ration for health and working efficiency, the former family would need to spend at

least 22s. 9d. a week and the latter at least 30s. 6d. a week on food.

The recent Crawford Food Enquiry led the investigators to the conclusion that about sixteen million persons in this country at the present time are spending on food less than this tight-belted hygienic minimum. They also estimate that over twenty-three million individuals—that is, over 50 per cent. of our population—are living in homes where the *per caput* weekly expenditure on food falls below the costs of the diet prescribed by the League of Nations as the minimum necessary for optimum health.

13s. 9d. for Nine Persons

I doubt if many people have any idea of the extent to which poverty still rules, even in our "un-distressed" areas. Only a couple of days ago a friend of mine showed me a bundle of reports on the home conditions of some children attending a nursery school in a working-class district of London. They contained such figures as 13s. 9d. a week left for food, clothes, shoes, etc., for nine persons; 17s. 9d. for eleven persons; 7s. 9d. for four persons.

Comment would be as banal as it is unnecessary.

There is, of course, need for an active educational propaganda in matters of nutrition and cookery. But that is not the first problem to be tackled. A few months ago Lord

Horner said:

"Look after the accessibility of food, and nutrition will look after itself." I don't think that is quite true, but it is 99 per cent. true.

If every family in the country had a secure income of three or four pounds a week there would be no nutritional problem except that of public dietetic education. Unfortunately the majority of families in this country have not a secure income of three pounds a week. Consequently the death-rate in our country cottages and in the poorer areas of our industrial towns are very much higher than in our country houses and our urban West Ends.

The children of the East Ends are shorter and weigh less than do the children of our public schools. If they survive till middle-age, this under-parity may well, in their circumstances, be advantageous rather than disadvantageous; but a terrible proportion of what we may call the under-pups never reach middle-age.

The True Standard

A distinguished school medical officer recently said that even the most critically minded doctor, trying to steer a true course in nutrition assessment, finds his idea of normality inevitably sinking towards the sub-normal. "Our outlook is influenced by the standard of physique we habitually see." As illustrating the lowness of our customary hygienic standards, he pointed out that "free meals are granted to the children only when the family income falls below an economic level which is already about half the minimum necessary to enable an adequate diet to be provided." What this expert lays down as a picture of optimal, or normal, nutrition "is not a far-fetched or impracticable ideal of grace and beauty; it is purely biological, a standard of growth which is not stunted, of physique which is not deformed, and general well-being which is not subject to preventable breakdown."

The Colonial Problem

NATIVE WELFARE THE FIRST CONSIDERATION

REPORT PREPARED BY THE INTELLIGENCE SECTION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION



GOVERNMENTS of to-day must make swift decisions which will affect the world for generations to come. The colonial problem is among the gravest issues which demand an urgent settlement.

The question has two sides. There are the rulers, and there are the ruled; the imperial nations and the peoples not yet able to stand by themselves.

The Empires are mostly European States, Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Italy with, outside Europe, Japan and the United States. They have acquired their dominion over subject races for reasons of commerce, strategy or prestige, and have achieved it through European superiority in shipping and weapons. All Africa and all Pacific islands are ruled by one or other of them. But the story is not ended.

The German Demand

Hitler was opposed to colonies for Germany when he wrote "Mein Kampf." But after he came to power in 1933 he adopted the Colonial demand as part of his policy, and imbued the whole German people with it. Since Munich he has repeated that he has no demands to make upon France and Britain except for the colonies wrenched from Germany by lies and falsehood. "There is no question of war about this matter, but it is a question of right and justice."

How should this demand be met?

Since the War, the former German colonies in Africa and the Pacific have been governed by various States under mandate. They do not belong to their rulers, who report annually to the expert and non-official Mandates Commission of the League. Its task is to watch over safeguards for native welfare. The mandatory system, a beginning of international supervision of colonial rule, has been strikingly successful, increasing knowledge and the demand for a high standard of administration. If it is ended by returning the colonies of Germany in full sovereignty one of the most promising post-War experiments will cease to be. There is no law preventing the transfer of a mandate from one State to another. But the Covenant provides the freedom of the subject peoples as the only end of the mandatory status, and that end has always been accepted by the League. Also the consent of the principal Allies—Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States, and also of the League Council is necessary to transfer. So the operation is a complicated one.

Not Mandates, Colonies

Germany now demands not mandates, but colonies. The present mandates fear this for strategic reasons. Overseas colonies for Germany would probably involve fleet competition with Britain. They would menace the British territories in East Africa. Together with the Italian Empire, they would encircle the French tropical colonies, and prevent their use as a source of man-power for the French Army. Their grant to Germany should therefore be out of the question, except as a part of a general settlement with a strict limitation of armaments under international supervision and control.

The African mandated areas, save South-West Africa, are "Open Door"; open, that is, on equal terms to the commerce of all nations. Germany would enclose colonies in her self-contained economic system, with a view to "intensive exploitation." But it is doubtful if she could much increase the very small proportion of raw materials she obtains from them freely now. As outlets for population they

are negligible; only a tiny official, merchant, and employer class can exist in climates too hot, or too dry, for white settlement, except on a few mountain heights. The German demand thus remains essentially a matter of Great Power prestige; and its strongest claims are those of justice to Germany and of appeasement.

The colonial races raise quite different considerations. They are the people most directly affected; it is their lives and lands which are at stake. Britain has long adopted the principle applied to the mandated areas in the Covenant, that the well-being and development of peoples not yet able to stand by themselves form a sacred trust of civilisation. She cannot depart from that principle now. Also, she has laid down in her own Empire, that "consultation with the inhabitants and free acquiescence" are a condition of Empire settlements. This principle should have been applied to the transfers of the Peace Treaties; and it must be, now, when the leaders of Africa, in many tribes, have become politically conscious.

Safeguards Under League

The mandatory system lays down many safeguards for native welfare. The most important are protection of native rights in land, and of standards of labour, now embodied in International Labour Organisation conventions. There are others, such as the prevention of slavery, slave-trade, traffic in liquor. There are restrictions upon the ruling race, such as the open door, freedom of conscience, the prohibition of military, naval, and air bases, and of conscription of natives except for local security. All these are elementary conditions for good government, but they may all be violated unless means are found to ensure that they are carried out.

From the standpoint of colonial peoples, return to German rule would involve two retrograde steps. They would lose the prospect, however distant, of freedom from foreign rule; they would lose immediately all the many efforts made by Britain, France and Belgium to educate and develop them towards emancipation. They would fall under the rule of a régime which holds all races are inferior to Germans and must be kept strictly in their place, and that black races come lowest in the scale. The combination of the racial theory, which would be expressed in the actual methods of administration, and of the aim of "intensive exploitation" would probably result in a hard life for the colonial peoples.

Is it possible to give Germany substantial satisfaction and to safeguard

the rights of the colonial races? Certainly not altogether. If the subject races are held the most important factor in the problem they cannot be handed over unconditionally to Nazi government. Yet some concessions can be made to the German point of view. It is urgently necessary for Britain to work out a plan, and to take the initiative, at the right moment in beginning negotiations with Germany.

The League of Nations Union has advocated a great extension of the mandatory system to colonies similar to those now under mandate and ruled by European Powers. The difficulty here is that Germany refuses to have anything to do with the League. But it should be considered whether setting colonial rule under the League as well

as disarmament might not be used as an inducement to Germany to re-enter civilised relations in the world. Again the Congo Basin Convention might be made the basis for a new development. A conference of its parties was supposed to meet in 1929. It was meant originally to be supervised by an international commission, though this was never done. If the Conventional Basin were combined with the mandated areas, and extended to include all Africa between the deserts of the North and South Africa and Southern Rhodesia on the south, it would be found that a few major problems of government are common to all that area. They include the relations and rights of white men and Africans respectively; problems of land tenure, labour con-

ditions, improvement of health and nutrition. An international consortium of European Powers, of which Germany should be one, could control broad lines of policy in these regions. The actual administration of the different areas must be left to single nations; though there should be room in technical services for trained officials not belonging to the ruling State. The whole should be regularly supervised by an impartial body of experts, such as the Mandates Commission, whose records should be public. The purpose of this system should be the welfare and progress of the native peoples; and so far as it can be harmonised with these, the development of the resources of the Continent for the benefit of the world.

SOUTH AFRICA OBJECTS

By S. HARDIE STEWART,

who studied the problems of Africa at first hand as a journalist on the staff of "The Cape Times."

"The Province of South-West Africa was entrusted to South Africa as a sacred trust by the League; and if necessity arises, South Africa will fight for South-West because it is essential to her safety."

WHEN he uttered these words, General Smuts, originator of the Mandatory system, expressed the views of the majority of his people. As he is the Deputy Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa it is reasonable to suppose that he was giving the official view of his country's Government.

Pronouncements on international affairs by General Smuts are always of world importance; the timing of this particular statement is of international significance because it indicates that Germany has shaken an old and loyal friendship.

General Smuts protested against the severity of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919; he signed it unwillingly. Since 1919 he has urged many times that means be found to establish better relations with Germany. At the time of the occupation of the Rhineland he was the first to plead for co-operation and sympathetic understanding for the Third Reich. He was known to favour, as an earnest of his friendship, a round table conference of the African Mandatory Powers, to be called with the avowed purpose of granting Germany sovereignty, or at least a mandate over some colonial territory.

But General Smuts has also been the lifelong friend of the Jews. . . . And so it would appear that an end has come to a curious anomaly. Until now the South African Government's view of the future of Germany's former colonies has been confused. Although South Africa resolutely opposed the return of either South-West or Tanganyika, they were prepared to allow and assist the re-entry of Germany into Africa by some form of territorial adjustment. They were inclined to press the British Government to hand over all or part of British mandates in the Cameroons and Togoland. To-day their policy is "Let Germany stay out of Africa."

The former attitude seemed to be a curious, inconsistent, sub-consciously selfish altruism. But underlying it was a

sincere Afrikaander philosophy; and to understand it one has to understand the Afrikaander. He is the most possessive creature in the world. "What is mine, I hold," said Mr. Oswald Pirow, Minister of Defence, referring to South-West Africa a few months ago. These five words reveal the master element in mental make-up of the Boer.

South-West and Tanganyika, in Afrikaander eyes, were won by South African arms. As such, they became spoils of war and the undisputed property of the victors. The fitness or otherwise of Germany to govern these territories simply did not arise, and the Afrikaander has never sought to justify his retention of South-West by deprecating Germany's qualities as a colonising Power.

On strategic grounds Afrikaanders admit that with Germany on the Union's borders or cutting across her aerial communications with Europe they would have to increase greatly their tiny standing army and expand their air force, but South Africa has a military tradition and these measures would not be generally opposed.

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Another obstacle was more intimidating. German possession of South-West, and particularly of Tanganyika, would end for ever the great dream of the United States of Africa.

The Afrikaanders did not always subscribe to the ambitions of Cecil John Rhodes, but they were and are in full agreement with his scheme for an African Federal State, which would include South Africa, the two Rhodesias, Kenya, Uganda, Nyasaland, South-West and Tanganyika.

Steadily since the formation of the Union South Africa has progressed towards the hegemony of Africa. The gold of the Rand and the steady exploitation of mineral wealth have given her the economic power to become the dominating country of the continent.

With the construction of Government-assisted iron and steel mills and ammunition factories at Pretoria, a policy of artificial stimulation of secondary industries has become also a policy of artificial stimulation of heavy industry.

This has given her a steadily growing export trade of manufactured goods, which find their market in Africa. Subsidies have been poured out to coastal shipping; trade delegations have visited all parts of the continent; Government-owned airways have gradually acquired a monopoly of traffic from the Orange River to the Congo.

South Africa suffered badly in one depression caused by the collapse of the gold market, and she does not intend to

suffer in another. So she visualises herself as the workshop and merchant of Africa and, logically and eventually, the predominant partner in the United States of Africa.

Mombassa, the port of Tanganyika, is very necessary if the lines of communications and commerce of the African United States are not to be unbalanced. So, regarding Tanganyika, the Afrikaander says: "It was a South African army under a South African general which did most of the successful fighting for Tanganyika; the country lies across our air communications with Europe, and in the future we will need Mombassa as our northern port essential for the development of the United States of Africa—no return of Tanganyika to Germany."

Unofficially, the Afrikaander has gone so far as to impress upon the British Government that any deal with Germany involving Tanganyika might mean the cession of South Africa from the Commonwealth of Nations.

First and foremost, however, for both Tanganyika and South-West, South Africa simply insists on her rights of conquest. They are "not discussable questions."

Thus far Afrikaander thinking follows one line. It is crossed by a second line. South Africa believes that she owes her present unity and progress and prosperity to Great Britain's prompt grant of self-government after the Boer War. She would like to see Germany reconciled in the same generous fashion.

The Afrikaander argues this way—"Britain conquered the Boer Republics and then made them her friends by giving them self-government. She won the land and then gave it back to her old enemies. It was an act which benefited not only us, but Britain. If she could show such statesmanship once, why not again?"

"It is in Britain's interest more than ours that she should be friendly with Germany. Cecil Rhodes believed that with friendship between Britain, Germany and the United States of America, the peace of the world would be secure. Let Britain make another gesture—let her give Germany her portions of the Cameroons and Togoland and persuade the French and Belgians to do likewise, and Germany will always be her friend."

Until the last month, this was the reasoning of the most influential section of Afrikaander South Africa and, of course, the Dutch, by their numerical superiority, are the decisive elements in South African policy.

Now Afrikaander, British, French, Belgian and Portuguese are united on one thing—no Nazi Government in Africa. There General Smuts spoke for a united Africa.

TRAINING FOR DEMOCRACY

By a leader of the British Youth Campaign.

DEFENCE is not a question of arms and man-power alone, not even of arms and man-power behind the right policy. Defence of a country involves, in addition to a right foreign policy, arms, and man-power, the understanding and will of the people, the physical fitness and moral support of youth.

Every activity of the youth movement which concerns itself with foreign policy, which provides education for citizenship, and furthers international understanding is a potential

contribution to the physical and moral defence of the country.

The British youth movement is training for this service. Here are the ways in which it is carrying out its work in various fields.

In the political field seven national youth and student organisations are organising a nation-wide campaign to establish a foreign policy which will put an end to the barbarity and anarchy which is threatening the world to-day. In this campaign local committees of the organisations which are co-operat-

ing are convening conferences of all young men and women of military age, where possible under the auspices of the mayor or city council, to consider problems of policy, defence, and national service from the point of view of youth.

In a number of towns, as, for example, in Leeds, the local committee has already an organiser, and has obtained a committee room in which the members of the co-operating movements can come together to pursue their activities.

It is not intended that the campaign should be confined to the seven organisations who initiated it, but that approaches should be made to the whole youth movement, whose

members, whether or not they can officially support the policy of the campaign, must be much affected by the issue of national service.

National Youth Pilgrimage

Arising from these conferences steps will be taken to make known the position of the youth movement concerning the principles for which it is prepared to serve by organising a National Youth Pilgrimage to London for the third week-end in February.

The pilgrimage will bring to London 2,000 youth people from the branches of organisations, from factories and offices, from the towns and counties of



Delegates at the First World Youth Congress.

England, Scotland, and Wales. They will meet 15,000 members of the youth organisations in London with a view to declaring to the Government and leaders of public life their willingness to serve a cause which they understand and a leadership in which they have confidence.

Whatever the situation that exists at the time of the pilgrimage, the youth movement is determined to show what conditions must be fulfilled before policy can command the loyalty of youth; or if these conditions have then been fulfilled, the occasion will be utilised to demonstrate the devotion of young men and women of military age to the principles of freedom and democracy.

Fitness and Skill

In the field of physical fitness and vocational training a broader gathering of youth organisations is working together in the British Youth Peace Assembly, a co-ordinating body of the Christian, social, and political youth and student movement. Co-operating closely, the representatives of many youth organisations have been investigating the working, living, and playing conditions of young people, with a view to achieving a radical improvement in the skill and social understanding of youth to-day. In order to focus attention on the many problems confronting young people, the British Youth Peace Assembly is inviting a commission of inquiry to sit in January and February to hear evidence

from national youth organisations, from individuals, and from local committees which have investigated the conditions within specific industries and special social problems.

Nearly 25,000 questionnaires have been sent out to individual young people of selected occupations and categories. These forms will be analysed and a report presented to the commission based on the story they tell.

Girls' clubs, church fellowships, political youth groups, and student organisations are taking part in the collection of evidence. Youth committees of the trade unions are being invited to send representatives to speak at the court of enquiry.

A Youth Parliament

In wider circles still young people are discussing problems and responsibility of the citizen. A proposal for a Youth Parliament has arisen from the understanding in many youth organisations that their members need special equipment to face the difficulties which confront them at the present time. It is all-important that they grasp the meaning to them of democracy and how the democratic machine works in Britain.

The organisation of the Parliament will be in the hands of a council composed of representatives from the different national youth organisations. When the Parliament meets in London from March 24 to 27 this council will act as the Cabinet, and "private members" will be drawn from the local branches of the organisations.

Bills and motions on all kinds of subjects will be submitted by the different organisations. These Bills will be discussed in the local branches of organisations before the Parliament assembles, and it is hoped that in March 1,000 young people will meet together to consider their common problems and train themselves to answer them in a practical way. Procedure will follow Parliamentary lines as closely as possible, and a small group of M.P.s has already agreed to assist in the work of adaptation.

Church and State

Among those who have consented to act as Patrons are:—the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Chief Rabbi, the Bishop of London, Viscount Cecil, Viscount Sankey, Lord Lytton,

Sir Wyndham Deedes, Dame Katharine Furse, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Mr. George Lansbury, and the Moderator of the Church of Scotland. Among the organisations supporting the Parliament are:—the British Universities League of Nations Society, the Central Youth Council of the Church of England, Federation of University Conservative Associations, Girls' Friendly Society, League of Nations Union Youth Group, National Council of Girls' Clubs, National Union of Students.

Humanitarian Aid

Most characteristic of the spirit of the youth movement is the work which has been done in the last eighteen months to send help to the women and children of Spain. Nothing shows so well the strong desire of young people to carry into practice the ideals and principles which they have been taught.

Thousands of girls of different interests and outlook of life are organising support for the Duchess of Atholl's Knitting Competition, whereby garments will be made by young people to send to the children in Spain. In schools, clubs and places of work, young people are joining a milk club through which they contribute to maintain a home for 800 children near Madrid.

Madrid Babies Adopted

Many groups and branches of organisations have "adopted" a baby in the Madrid home, and many a member has given up smoking for a week, or a visit to the cinema, in order to pay a contribution for their "child." On November 19 a special conference of French and British Youth was held to plan greater efforts to send relief to the Spanish children.

These are some of the activities in which energies of the youth movement are devoted. They indicate the resources and enthusiasm which lie waiting the call for still greater service in the cause of freedom and social justice.

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Books That Are Worth Reading

ARABIA, AMERICA, AFRICA ARE THE SUBJECTS

Chosen by ROGER FORTUNE.

IN 1938, as for several years past, there are no Christmas books. Or few of them, and those few of little importance. That is an excellent thing. For, accompanied as it is by the increasing buying and giving of books, the virtual disappearance of the mere gift book is evidence that books for Christmas are more individually chosen and more thoroughly read. Book lovers must rejoice though some book makers lose by the change. Books that are bought during December are the better books of the autumn season and the best books of the year. Others are tried favourites which belong neither to this year nor to last, but are part of the English heritage.

THE LETTERS OF T. E. LAWRENCE OF ARABIA. Edited by David Garnett. (Jonathan Cape, 25s.)

The best of all recent books that have come my way is David Garnett's "The Letters of T. E. Lawrence of Arabia." Lawrence was more talked and written about and less understood than any other man of our time. While he still lived he was already a legend, not only throughout the English-speaking world and among the Arabs whom he had stirred to revolt and led to victory. In Russia, in Italy at times of hostility towards Britain the Press was apt to detect the presence of Col. Lawrence, weaver of spells and enchantments, on the frontiers of Afghanistan or Abyssinia, inciting deluded tribesmen to fanatical outrages against the Soviet Republic or the Fascist Empire. Nonsense provoked disbelief. Some of Lawrence's own actions, his abandonment of place and power and prosperity and his entry into the ranks of the Royal Air Force, induced in many quiet, decent citizens an attitude of reserve; his conduct seemed theatrical, unbalanced. At the time of his death, in a motor-cycle accident three years ago, a truer perspective was being reached. Obviously, it was admitted, his motives, though unfathomed, were sincere; otherwise he would not have persisted in the strange course he had chosen.

His letters now published are proof of his greatness for all to read. He

was a great man of action, a great writer, a great friend; he set a great example of a man resolute to break free from the bonds of conventional success and to fashion his life on the values his nature and his judgment approved. In the mid-twentieth century, despite the fell clutch of circumstance, freedom can still be had, though at a price as always; Lawrence proved it. He proved also that there is no necessary opposition between mind and machine, between the arts and the aeroplane. He had a firm hold of mechanical principles and the knack of translating them into practice, and was an efficient airman. His revolt was not in any sense a retreat. Many rebels are fugitives; what gives Lawrence his peculiar significance is that he was always a leader, a pioneer. It has been well said of Napoleon that he served humanity by expanding the

common notion of what a man could achieve; Lawrence opened new and scarcely suspected vistas, enriching with new possibilities the adventure of living.

Lawrence's genius as a writer appears in the individual look and feel and flavour he gives to everyone and everything and every happening he describes. A ship, a desert, a battle, a soldier, a great man, whatever it may be, is always vivid, vital, because he is never content with the standardised and the ready-made brought out of the property cupboard in the moment of need to serve a purpose which it does not quite fit. There is no just as good in Lawrence; hit or miss is never his method. His fundamental truthfulness, the glove-tight closeness of his words to the fact make the reading of his letters not simply a pleasant relaxation, but a living experience.

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THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF WOODROW WILSON. Vol. 6. Ray Stannard Baker. (Heinemann, 21s.)

The latest volume of the biography of Woodrow Wilson, on which the author has now been working for thirteen years, reaches the entry of the United States into the War. By 1917 the War had become the prime issue.

Mr. Baker's command of the enormous collection of letters and documents, both public and private, made available to him by Mrs. Wilson in 1924, allows him to throw much light upon the working of the Presidential mind and Wilson's mental approach to the problems of these critical years through a process of "thinking aloud." It becomes possible to read the text of Wilson's preliminary memorandum of the draft of the peace message to the belligerent Powers before it was whittled down by the fears and sympathies of his advisors, and finally sent in an emasculated form in December, 1916. The Wilson who emerges from these pages, although "little skilled in the inchoate field of diplomacy," and at times undergoing great physical strain, was, on the whole, "at his best, physically and mentally." In 1919 the Allies encountered an often irritating professor.

Three important points are incisively brought out by Mr. Baker. First, Wilson may be compared with Canning in his masterful handling of the giant's strength of public opinion. Secondly, he was ill-served by those whom he trusted most implicitly. The errors of judgment involved are lightly glossed over by the author, who hints that "perhaps such unguarded and generous relationships are denied to those in high places." Certainly Page's pro-English sympathies confused the issue of the Anglo-American dispute over trade rights and mail seizures. House's position seemed indefensible. Not only is his mission revealed as a perilous dealing in vague generalisations, but he is shown to have made no effort to follow up the bearing upon the peace proposals of such territorial dealings as the Anglo-Italian Treaty of London of April 26, 1915. Thirdly, the legend which tells of Wilson arriving at the Peace Conference in August, 1919, in utter ignorance of the secret treaties is dissipated. As Wilson replied to House over a rumour of negotiations in connection with Bulgaria, "It is painfully interesting."

Wilson's favourite authors were Wordsworth, Bagehot, Burke, and

Lord Bryce, according to the selection of books which he sent to Mrs. Galt, who later became his second wife.

AN AFRICAN SURVEY. By Lord Hailey, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. (Oxford University Press, 25s.)

*"Geographers, in Afric maps
With savage pictures fill their gaps
And o'er unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns."*

—SWIFT.

At no previous period of history have the problems of Africa been so intimately connected with the politics of Europe. A new phase in Germany's drive for colonies, a phase marked by the insistence of the *Berliner Zeitung* of November 15, that Germany will return to her former colonies and fulfil her historic mission. Significantly when the European crisis was at its height, all Nazi flags and emblems in Windhoek, the capital of South-West Africa, disappeared, only to reappear in greater numbers than ever after the Munich agreement. There it is said openly that South-West Africa will be under Nazi rule by Christmas.

Mr. Chamberlain recently referred in Parliament to the statement made by Earl Baldwin on December 18, 1935,

"when he said that no British territory, and no territory under British protectorate or mandate would be transferred from British Sovereignty or authority without the fullest regard being had to the interests of all sections of the population in the territory concerned." Pressed further, the Prime Minister added, "As my predecessor stated in the House on April 27, 1936, His Majesty's Government will not commit themselves with any settlement in connection with this particular problem without giving full opportunity for discussion in the House." Meanwhile, General Smuts, at the Natal Congress of the United Party of South Africa, has declared, "We will defend South Africa, including South-West Africa, to the bitter end."

During the visit of Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax to Paris the German colonial question has not been discussed "officially." And small wonder, for the "No Surrender" campaign in France has met with almost unanimous support not only in Parliament, but among the general public.

There is every indication that public attention will be focused on the African colonial question in the near future. Hence it is interesting to note the particular approach of each Colon-

BREST-LITOVSK The Forgotten Peace March 1918

J. W. WHEELER-BENNETT
author of "Hindenburg; The Wooden Titan."
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The first peace treaty of the war, that between Germany and Russia, was a milestone of history, though it has been forgotten in the rapid passage of events and time. It has a particular political significance to-day, in view of the German attitude to Russia.

A leader in the *Manchester Guardian* says, "All who wish to understand the spirit of Germany and the complex problems of the relations of Germany and Russia must give great attention to the history of that Peace. . . . A book fascinating as a tale, complete as a record, and convincing as an interpretation."

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ial Power towards its African possessions.

In Britain, an intimate connection between idealism and commerce was established at an early date. It was Lugard who first showed that native institutions were themselves of value as agencies of government. Lord Hailey points out the restricted value of abstract declarations of policy, and thinks that, for example, "the real test of British intentions in Kenya lay in the treatment of the land question, or the apportionment of expenditure between objects affecting Europeans and Africans."

French colonial interest, apart from the "drive" associated with Sarraut, is concerned with the creation of a *France d'outre mer*, and with the use of such a reservoir of man power for the army.

The Belgian interest in the Congo is derived on the one hand from the part played by the shareholders in a going business concern, and on the other, from the desire to make it as unlike as possible to the Free State of King Leopold II.

The variety of the peoples and lesser interests involved is great. Two examples will illustrate the variegated repercussions of Germany's claims to a place in the African sun.

There is widespread fear among the



Greeks and the other alien communities of Tanganyika that if they support the campaign controlled by the Tanganyika League against the return of the territory to Germany, they will be the victim of German reprisals if ever the territory is handed over. Hence many

of them are assisting the League financially but are afraid to register.

Again, Lancashire cotton interests are affected. Since the Empire Cotton Growing Association and the British Cotton Growing Association took charge of the Tanganyika cotton industry, the crop has increased five-fold, resulting last year in a production of 60,800 bales. Of this, India took 65 per cent. and the United Kingdom 15 per cent. The planting is mainly controlled by natives, who received over £368,000. It can be argued, therefore, that indirectly, the return of the territory to Germany might have serious results. If Germany were to preserve Tanganyika for her own textiles and to shut out Japanese imports, the possible effect would be a still greater intensification of Japanese competition in other of Lancashire's overseas markets.

In Tanganyika the post-war policy of ousting Germans has long been reversed. The Hailey report says, "Of a European population estimated at 8,455 in 1935, as many as 2,665 were German, and during that year a further 197 immigrated." In South-West Africa, the European population was 31,049 in 1935, including 11,000 Germans who had remained in the territory after the war. During the last two years the Nazi Government has made strenuous efforts to increase this number. Over half of the original settlers have become naturalised.

"Judged by their share in world production, the ex-German colonies are at present relatively unimportant sources of raw materials." In 1936, for instance, their total exports amounted to less than 1 per cent. of Germany's imports. Herr Goebbels has declared that "the basic materials of modern industrialism are coal, iron, oil, cotton, rubber, and copper." Not in one of these six materials could Germany's requirements be at present met to any serious extent by the Mandated former German territories. They could supply her with more than sufficient sisal, nearly enough phosphates, and with about one-third of the cocoa, one-quarter of the bananas, one-seventh of the vegetable oils that she ordinarily requires. The gold from New Guinea and Tanganyika and the diamonds from South-West Africa would be useful.

"It is however possible that history, looking back in retrospect on the part played by Imperial Powers in Africa, will be more concerned with the nature of the contribution which the European occupation will have made to the future of the African peoples, than with the profit or less which the African connection may have brought to Europe."

In Lord Hailey's view, the present is the most formative and therefore the most critical period of African history. With his monumental survey, which covers all Africa south of the Sahara (excluding Mediterranean littoral influences, Zanzibar, Madagascar, and Liberia), he has created a landmark in African history.

He calls for the creation of an African Bureau, as a clearing house for information and as a source of assistance for all those who are using Africa as their living laboratory. He also suggests the establishment of a Standing Committee of both Houses of Parliament, specifically charged "to report periodically on the affairs of each colony or protectorate, on the basis of the official reports or any other public material brought to the Committee's notice." He believes that when people are being cut adrift from all the ideas and customs which regulated their lives, it is of fundamental importance that what is substituted shall be really suited to their character and conditions. There has been neglect of our estate.

The supreme lesson of the Survey is that the African colonial problem cannot be placed in a political vacuum. And since the essence of the League Covenant, as Lord De La Warr has lately reminded us, "lies in the express recognition of the principle of peaceful change and in the prohibition of any resort to war until all means of pacific settlement, including in particular some form of international arbitrament, have been exhausted," we have at hand a means of solution.

BRITAIN AND THE DICTATORS and BRITAIN IN EUROPE, 1789-1914. Both by R. W. Seton-Watson. (Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d. and 30s.)

What Mr. Wheeler-Bennett has done in the book noticed below focussing his attention on one crucial occasion, Professor Seton-Watson has done in a sweeping survey of the century and a-half during which the modern world, with many distresses, was bringing itself into a most distressful existence. He also enables his readers to get understanding, the possession of which they are in most urgent need if distress is not to deepen into disaster. Dr. Seton-Watson is a man of great learning, but he is not content that his books should be a storehouse of erudition. History, he sees, means something, and he is anxious that his readers shall do more than

accumulate facts. He sees the peoples of Europe painfully and with many rebuffs attempting to build a political order in which the common good shall prevail over individual greed. International law, the Holy Alliance, the Concert of Europe, the League of Nations have not been the idle dreams of fussy idealists; they have been contributions to the supreme task of constructive statesmanship. The share of Great Britain is not one of which the British people should be ashamed. Britain has stood for liberty and justice, for individual rights and humane laws. She has been on the side of tolerance and peaceful productive work, and against military dominance. Her record is not impeccable. She has committed many errors and has been guilty of some oppression; and yet much more often than not a strong Britain has been a force making for a better world.

Dr. Seton-Watson tells in detail how Britain's liberalising influence has been exerted. In the telling he exposes again the sham of isolation, and reveals the impossibility of confining Britain's active interest in Continental affairs to the defeat of any attack on her territory.

BREST-LITOVSK: THE FORGOTTEN PEACE: MARCH, 1918. By John W. Wheeler-Bennett. (Macmillan. 21s.)

Mr. Wheeler-Bennett has added yet another service to the many with which he has already earned the gratitude of all those who love peace and would preserve it. The last is the most brilliant of all. His book is clear, cogent, comprehensive. It shows exactly what were the terms enforced by a momentarily victorious Germany upon a helpless Russia twenty years ago. It sets the story against the background neces-

sary for its understanding. It points the lesson of 1918 for 1938.

By right of conquest and no other, exploiting her armed power ruthlessly to the utmost, Germany gave herself a military overlordship in South-Eastern Europe covering a vast territory and an immense population. In Germany no voice was raised in protest. At the present time these facts are usefully recalled, not as debating points, but as a warning. The reaction against the Treaty of Versailles has gone absurdly far. Even public men who at the time threatened Parliamentary revolt to prevent any easing of the terms now attach the credit of the high offices to the fable that all the world's present troubles are the direct result of the follies and crimes of Versailles.

Much was done amiss at Versailles. The world would be much happier today if there had been real negotiations with the defeated Powers, and if Germany had been admitted forthwith to the League, if the victors had felt more scruples about frontiers and disarmament, if the colonial settlement had been more sincere, and the Reparations estimate more sensible. Nevertheless it is right to recall that some of the terms never even began to be enforced and others began to be modified almost as soon as they had been signed, and it is helpful to be reminded that not many months before the vanquished of Versailles had behaved much worse in the rôle of victors at Brest-Litovsk. This is not a moral defence of the Allies; it merely points the way to an objective explanation. Until peace-making is understood objectively and the events which followed the peace the present situation must remain a mystery.

Mr. Wheeler-Bennett's book gives perspective to the events of yesterday and to-day. It is a safeguard against more Munichs.

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Letters to the Editor

DEMOCRATIC POLICY MUST BE ENLIGHTENED, PROGRESSIVE AND PURPOSEFUL

Thanks to "Headway"

Sir,—In January, 1937, you were good enough to publish in HEADWAY a letter from me inviting your readers to befriend the pupils of Miss Essinger's wonderful school for young refugees from Germany by inviting them to their homes for part of the holidays.

So splendid was the response that when the Easter holidays came not one child was without an invitation. In many cases such happy relationships were established between hosts and guests that the invitations have since been renewed on several subsequent occasions.

Alas, the need continues to grow as conditions in Germany and Austria oblige an increasing number of Jewish or "non-Aryan" families to seek a refuge in this country—or, at least, to send their children where they can escape from persecution and terror.

May I therefore renew my appeal to your readers to offer hospitality for a week or a fortnight of the Christmas holidays to some of these unfortunate young people—boys and girls of ages between ten and sixteen. I shall gladly send more detailed information to anyone who will write to me (Viscountess Gladstone, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1), but I should add, that as neither the parents of the children nor the school authorities can afford to pay expensive railway fares, I should appreciate more particularly invitations to homes not very far distant from London.—Yours truly,

DOROTHY GLADSTONE.

P.S.—Invitations for the Easter holidays will also, of course, be welcome.

The Great Confusion

Sir,—Despite the brilliant clarity of Sir Norman Angell's exposition of his thesis ("There is only one thing for which we stand: No war; only one thing for which our power will be used—to prevent force . . . settling this dispute."), many of us feel that this principle is not enough. If we ask any nation to accept that ultimatum, we must surely also tell them by what law their case will be judged if they accept it.

The basic weakness of the League's system lay in the fact that there was good reason for feeling that decisions would be in accordance with the Versailles Treaty and with the respect of international lawyers for the *status quo*—in other words, that they would depend upon the results of force in the last war, and not upon justice. It is to this belief in the German people (driven home by their treatment at the Disarmament Conference) that Hitler is even now able to appeal and it is idle to offer third party judgment until it is exercised, or at least until we make clear who the third party will be and by what principle he will judge.

Without the guidance of some principle of law or equity the judgment of an arbitrator tends to approve the slightest alteration in the *status quo* that will be accepted by the aggrieved party without fighting. A system based on such methods would be a direct inducement to maintain armaments. May one urge Sir Norman Angell to bend his great powers of elucidation to this part of the problem?—Yours, etc.,

C. E. W. BEAN.

Lindfield, Sydney.
Australia.

Let Us Show the World

Sir,—May I put the following points:—

(1) We must get rid of this hatred of the Nazi régime and endeavour to live in peace together. Let us cease shouting the virtues of democracy, and rather show the world our superiority.

(2) Collective security with the League in its present form would merely mean one of the old-time alliances of Britain, France and Soviet Russia against Germany and Italy.

(3) The League must be universal, so let us drop sanctions and collective security, and let us have a League of moral force and social service, a league where the statesmen can meet and discuss a league of love and friendship, a league for the revising of treaties and adjusting of grievances.

Surely then America, and even Germany and Italy might in due course be persuaded to join.

Let the League start in this simplified form and then perhaps, if necessary, as it grows stronger it could evolve a system of collective security or anything else it deemed necessary.

G. P. B. HUDDY.

Dudley Road Hospital,
Birmingham.

Build a Better Britain

Sir,—I add another voice of congratulation on the immediate success of the new HEADWAY.

I wish specially to point out for approval one item of the policy apparent in the articles of the new series. I refer to the insistence that, as the November editorial puts it, "We must build a better Britain"; and more particularly, in the words of the Youth Movements' manifesto, that "Right defence . . . also means the right domestic policy in relation to working and living conditions." It is on questions of international relations that public opinion has been so disturbed recently, and it is on foreign policy and defence that the country needs reassurance and leadership, but we have to know what it is that we are to strive for, what it is that we wish to preserve, what it is that we may be called upon to defend with our lives—and there is little ground for complacency with

things as they are! The policy required to summon effective democratic support in the country must be one which is as enlightened and progressive and purposeful in regard to social conditions as it is in regard to international relations and defence. Let HEADWAY continue to play its part in avoiding the danger that this truth may be forgotten!

STANLEY PARSONS.

Christ College, Brecon,
South Wales.

Looking into the Abyss

Sir,—At the time of the crisis when we "looked into the abyss," it was said that on every hand there was an inquiry "How came we to this place?" The inquiry is yet earnest, and by the rightful answering of it we may save our souls alive.

It is easy to blame those who shape our policy, but we are not actually under a dictator and we cannot escape our personal share of blame for the things that are come to pass.

Instead of the things of strength, we have seen only yielding, compliance and connivance.

In a shaming degeneracy, our rulers seem to have set themselves against any expression of our moral convictions and principles likely to give offence to the Dictators. And so it is that we have "consented" to evil things and laid the way clear for "My Struggle"—without the struggling.

The great thing which would have made it impossible for Hitler to drive us to the abyss was the "decent and dauntless" quality of the British character, but this was early surrendered in favour of appeasement and other negative qualities, though we all knew that the Dictators were never interested in appeasement.

Our centuries-old birthright of high moral obligation and courage sold for a mess of pottage!

And now what? Peace we can have, for our time, or for any time if we pay the price; but that is the way we have just come. The "leopard" does not change his spots.

A few weeks ago, a couple of our deeply concerned countrymen cried "We must make a stand," and if we are to escape, we have now to make that stand—every man. This is now *our* Struggle.

The Prime Minister has foreshadowed a great national effort, and to this we must look forward in a spirit of preparedness, knowing that if it is to avail, it can be only by sacrifice, for each one of us.

But first and now, and individually, we must make a stand in our own hearts. Let us seriously call ourselves to a one minute's silence, in home or office, workshop or church, and solemnly re-dedicate our lives to truth and righteousness and service, knowing that we shall not accom-

plish our salvation with the mealy moral mixture which we have suffered so long. We shall not confound our enemies, nor win the much-needed help of our friends, unless with an unmistakable moral and spiritual initiative, we, the people of the British nation, raise again our Standard high, and nail our colours to the mast.

And the task which presently our hands find to do for our day and our nation, shall not we do it with all our might?

ARTHUR N. W. CHRISTOPHERS.

Crosby, Liverpool.

Conservative Retort

Sir,—Mr. Wright Miller's letter says, "the Labour Party must be returned to power with an overwhelming majority without delay if we are to be saved from such perpetual horrors as the Conservative Party has brought us to."

To me it is as clear as crystal that had the Labour Party been in power we should in grim fact now be suffering all and more of the horrors that we were but a short time ago conjuring up in our imaginations. For years the Labour Party have been trying to impress on the public that their policy is a magic panacea for all the ills which beset our anxious and troubled world. Even of their leaders, none but the blind fanatics believe in many of their claims. They are misleading and deceiving people, fortunately only easily gullible people, who happily are in the minority, when they promise higher profits to agriculture and no increase in the cost to the consumer; when they condemn unpreparedness to resist aggression and for years have either voted against or abstained from voting on armament expenditure; when they promise increased wages and more work for everyone and at the same time oppose tariffs designed to shut out foreign goods produced by sweated labour; when they claim to aim at peace and agitate for action most likely to lead to war and their Deputy Leader is "not ashamed to say that he wants to see the destruction of dictatorships in Europe"; and so on *ad nauseum*.

I am convinced that no greater political disaster for every section of the public could arise than the return of the Labour Party to power. Apart from the danger to peace, the standard of living for everyone, not only the well-to-do, would be painfully reduced for a generation or more, for, as is admitted by some Socialist leaders, the change-over from the much-maligned capitalistic system would disorganise the whole life of the country (this the Labour Party economists know full well, though they keep it dark), and the worst sufferers of all would be their at present uninformed supporters, because, in addition to the deterioration in their material well-being, they would have to endure the mortification of bitter disappointment and disillusion.

H. J. HANDS.

North Place,
Great Bardfield,
Essex.

Democracy Can Survive

Sir,—The paragraph, "Very Near Censorship" in "Parliament and People" asks: "But can democracy survive without becoming inoculated with Totalitarianism?"

Yes, it can, definitely. There must, however, be a Government in office whose leaders are *men*—men who will demand from all in proportion to their capacity. To be quite frank, the people at heart distrust the present Government, and with £1,000,000,000 spent on armaments, which still show immense gaps, increasing unemployment, I consider the people are justified in their opinion. Furthermore, the dividends being paid on increased capital by firms engaged in rearmament work is disgusting and downright robbery of the taxpayer. Given the right men in power, younger and more virile men, backed by political unity, there will be a rush for voluntary service, and England will be England again. These must be men who will, by their spirited devotion to England, inspire others with the ideal of democratic ordered freedom, men who will exercise their authority even in the face of industrial captains who demand their pound of flesh irrespective of the sacrifice others must endure to provide it, men who will legislate fearlessly for the greater glory of our land socially. When we have that Government, and please God we soon shall if one man's utterances mean anything, then we shall have "Leadership in Europe," "A faith to defend" and "Resistance to tyranny," and Mr. Churchill would not have to call long for "the union of all Britons."

C. L. HENNESSY.

Hampstead.

L.N.U. Mistakes

Sir,—As an old member of the L.N.U., keenly appreciative of the magnificent work which it has done and is doing, I venture to offer some well-intentioned criticism.

It seems to me, though I may be wrong, that hitherto insistence upon the stopping of aggression has been over-stressed, even to the savour of aggressiveness, while the primary need for the prevention of aggression by the removal of its excuse through rectification of grievances and injustices has been insufficiently urged. Dissatisfied

states have mistrusted the Powers in the League which have been the determining factors in its action, and, rightly or wrongly, regarding their case as prejudged, have preferred to rely upon their own strength rather than upon a process of biased law. British and French governmental policy during recent years and the very evident causes of the Disarmament Con-

ference afford some justification for this attitude. Further, through its failure to pursue a positive constructive peace policy the League has been defeated by the dictators, who have carried on their barbarous methods of wanton aggression without hindrance.

So to-day we are witnessing a reversion to power politics with the League held in contempt by the aggressor states, and ignored by ourselves, as witness the Munich Conference, which should rightly have been held at Geneva with Russia and Czechoslovakia at the conference table.

My second criticism of the L.N.U. refers to its attitude regarding collective security. Surely events have proved that its faith in a system of collective security guaranteed by national armaments under sovereign control is misplaced and actually endangers peace, in that they afford the means, and the only means, by which governments and dictators can enforce their will, regardless of law. The only right place for force is in support of international law based on justice to all nations, entailing to-day the cost of sacrifice by some. Not any militarily strong nation or group of nations can ensure world peace, but only a strong League of Nations with executive power enabling it to administer a law of righteousness without fear or favour.

The present urge to rearmament and A.R.P. measures, without clear reason given for its objective, implies resort to the last ditch, and engenders a spirit of defeatism. Must all our efforts and the service of science be devoted to methods of war alone? Hitlerism is the avowed enemy, but is there not some means by radio or otherwise, by which we can persuade the German people to cast off the yoke and accept our good will? A worthy task for the L.N.U., and one which I believe would meet with a ready response both in this country and in Germany. At present a vast amount of energy is being expended in the wrong direction.

The new HEADWAY should prove an invaluable aid to the furtherance of our cause.—Yours, etc.,

A. C. TENNANT

(Assistant Hon. Secretary,
Wallasey Branch, L.N.U.)

8, Sandrock Road, Wallasey, Ches.

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BENITO MUSSOLINI

IMPRESSIONS OF A DICTATOR

By the former Correspondent in Rome to an important British newspaper.

BY now it must be evident to all students of European affairs that the Dictators, whether in insurgent Spain, Turkey, Portugal, Germany, Russia, Hungary or Italy are neither heroes nor criminals. Visits to most of these countries and long residence in some have completely cured me of any youthful desire to set up graven images in the likeness of Mussolini, Hitler, Lenin, Stalin or Franco.

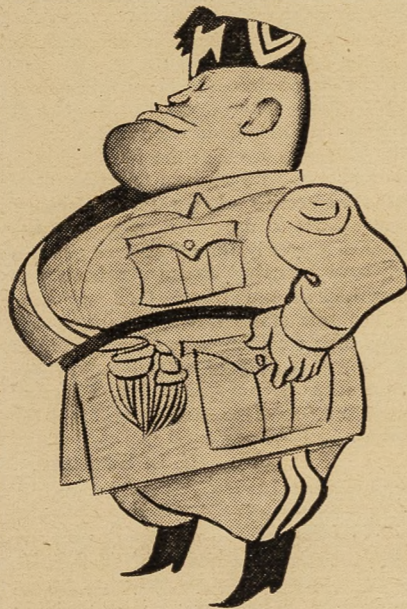
What has happened since 1922? Mussolini was 39 then. He is 55 now and young still. About a third of Italy's population has never known anything other than Fascism.

"Durare" has always been Mussolini's motto "we must last," and he has lasted. Parliament has gone, the old trade unions have gone, the opposition has gone to death, prison, the islands or into retirement, the Freemasons likewise, church and court parties do not exist any more, and now the Jews are going. There have been two considerable campaigns in Abyssinia and in Spain. Both are still going on, and the returned legions are rewarded by farms and land, just as the returned legions of Augustus were rewarded. There has been a considerable improvement in the health of Italian men, women and children; there are public works everywhere to the memory of the regime. The trains, it is true, are getting unpunctual again and the posts are very bad, but the Italians do not talk of Fascism any more: they are becoming individualists again, and they speculate on the Empire and its future. The man who is responsible for all this is the father of five children and (by Italian standards) a moderately good husband.

I first set eyes on Mussolini in the Italian Senate in the autumn of 1927. He was at the height of his foreign popularity (he is at the height of his Italian popularity now as the Peacemaker of Europe). The tourists of the Anglo-Saxon world (and not women only) used to crowd the visitors' gallery to catch a glimpse of him. In those days Senate and Chamber still had a tiny opposition who spoke up on occasion, to single out one of a bagful of "decree-laws" that were rushed through at every sitting. Mussolini sat in the centre of the Ministers' bench. He was the Ministry, for he held most of the portfolios. He usually sat with his arms folded and his head bent forward on his chest, because Parliament never interested him. His eyes, which are remarkable for their restive movements from side to side, occasionally lifted to scan a speaker. He would call a minister or a messenger with the same gesture, not unfolding his arms, but lifting a finger the way one calls a child or a dog. Then he would get up to speak for an hour or two with alternating calm, excitement, passion and scorn, to the immense excitement of the tourists, but, which is more important, to the complete satisfaction, except for the tiny opposition, of the senators.

Mussolini is an artist at the rostrum. He loves a crowd, most of all a crowd in the open. I have often heard him speak, and it was once my duty to follow him on one of his provincial tours starting at Florence and going to Grosseto, Leghorn, and Lucca. The difference between Florence and Gros-

seto is the difference between Norwich and South Shields. The difference in his speeches was the difference between two men like Sir John Simon and Mr. Aneurin Bevan. In Grosseto he was in his element: the crowd loved it and he played with the crowd. He worked them up. Where would it stop? He was going further than he ever went in the capital. Finally he shouted: *A chi la Dalmazia?* Ours! the crowd answered. Again, *A chi la Corsica?* Ours! the crowd yelled back. Then he climbed down from the platform. On these occasions the local post office had to stop the telegrams which foreign correspondents dutifully sent home to their newspapers, and truth limped home slowly, if it was lucky, through the mail bag.



But how seriously we used to take those outbursts! I have since learnt to attach little importance to dictators' outbursts. They are unreliable oratory, and liable both in their promises and in their threats to be contradicted within a month or a year. The real business of Italy is done inside the Grand Fascist Council months before it ever reaches the Press.

At Lucca, at the end of that tour, there was a handicrafts fair, and I found myself walking round it beside Mussolini. I had been introduced a year before and he knew who I was. The conversation was an admonition on his part to get to know his Italy better. It was all quite friendly and rather absurd. Mussolini is at his best with those who admire him or are afraid of him. He can be charming to admiring foreigners, and extremely clever with those who take him seriously.

The last time I saw him was last week in Rome, getting out of his car to attend an "autarchy committee." He was in uniform. He nearly always is now. He looked vigorous and military. The nature of all his problems has changed with the axis, for he now has a most formidable rival and partner. The vast majority of Italians swallow the axis with varying degrees of enthusiasm. When they meet an Englishman they say: "You drove us to it with sanctions."

What of the future? Mussolini has the vigour and strength to govern Italy for another ten or fifteen years. His master now is not Nietzsche but Augustus. His vision is of Empire, and his concern, that Italy will not be strong and self-supporting enough to wear the imperial mantle he is weaving for himself and her. His demands in the Mediterranean are large. He wants Tunis; he wants a share in the Suez Canal, he has the Balearic Islands and he will not lightly leave them. He dreams of Egypt and he dreams of a great Arab Empire. But immediate results need only be obtained from France. France must be reduced to a second-class Power in the Mediterranean (I give the official Fascist hope): it is time the Anglo-French menace in the Mediterranean was ended. If it does not end, we (Italy) shall admit the German Fleet to a base at Trieste, and then we will be equal with the "pluto-democracies."

This official view has only this to gainsay it: that it is hardly a policy. The alternative is a certainty from which Hitler will see to it that there is no escape.

PLATO CHAN

CHINESE BOY ARTIST HOLDS AN EXHIBITION IN LONDON

By FREDA WHITE.

PLATO CHAN and his father Yat-Kwong Chan came into my office. Plato is eight, with the baby roundness of face which the delicate-boned Chinese keep longer than our children. His eyes are beautiful, dark and softly brilliant. We shook hands all round, and I supplied Plato with a wooden leopard, while Mr. Chan told me about his pictures. Plato played silently; he speaks Chinese, German, French and English, as behaves a diplomat's son; but he is no babbler.

He drew first at eighteen months, and at six was already a notable artist. Mr. Chan showed me astonishing sketches, full of movement. At seven his horses galloped, his soldiers fought with fury. He has never been taught; only supplied with materials.

He'll Draw for You

"Give him some paper now," said Mr. Chan. "He'll draw for you." Plato felt the smooth foolscap and asked for Indian ink. His father had a little bottle and a mapping-pen. He set to, holding the pen like a brush in his left hand, while the grown-ups talked.

"He draws everything he sees, but always with his own meaning," said Mr. Chan. "He did a large canvas, taller than himself, called 'Welcome to China,' with Sun Yat-Sen as host receiving Charlie Chaplin, Chevalier, Laurel and Hardy, and all the Hollywood comedians in one group, and Léon Blum and the French politicians in another. He loves making stories in series of scenes, like one of a family of boys going through a day at school.

"He draws religious pictures. There will be one in the exhibition for the Chinese Hospital at the Cooling Galleries throughout December,* called 'Le Bon Dieu.' But it has no face; Plato said God has so lovely a face he could not spoil it by drawing it. There is one we call 'Inri,' of Christ crucified and the soldier piercing His side with a spear; and three angels attacking the soldier!"

Mr. Chan showed me a delicious Nativity, with lambs and the cow and chickens all haloed, because, he said, Plato explained that the sheep and the cow would give the Baby milk, and the chickens grow up and lay eggs for Him, so they were holy too. There was a skating scene, composed as by a child Breseghel. There were many with

Hitler, brilliantly caricatured and evilly active, marching into Austria with Death in uniform behind him, brooding on a destroyed land.

Plato had finished a drawing in ten minutes—a "geschichte," as he told my colleague, James, in German. It read, Oriental fashion, right to left. A mild-faced citizen, his motor-bicycle smashed, was longing before a show-room for new tyres, perhaps a motor-car. "But where was his money?" said Plato. Hitler, in the rear, was passing it all out in cartridges, bombs and bayonets for the torment of the people—most grimly portrayed. It was an extraordinary revelation of the impact of politics upon an eight-year-old mind.

Plato set it aside with the disregard of genius for the accomplished work, and began on another sheet. I could not help watching. The unhesitating, rapid pen produced a torso covered with medals and braid, a plumed helmet—an unmistakable Carol of Roumania, chin-strap, cross on cloak, gloves and all, with the Vojvode behind him and a personage handing him wine. Below soldiers and a devil contended for the Vojvode's soul.

No Money for His Pictures

"He won't take money for his drawings," said Mr. Chan. "He says it must go to the Chinese children." The boy gets his talent through his mother, who belongs to an artistic family, long in diplomacy. An ancestor was a close friend of the Emperor Chi'en Lung, who called him "the Incorruptible" because he never took money from the people. That was the connoisseur Emperor who collected art treasures.

Our talk wandered to the art of China, Mr. Chan and I having a passion for its early forms. In my view man may try to make any thing perfect in its kind; and achieved perfection in those Ting bowls; with the pattern incised under the cream glaze. I said I had been in Liberty's looking at a wonderful collection of embroideries, some from the palace of Peking.

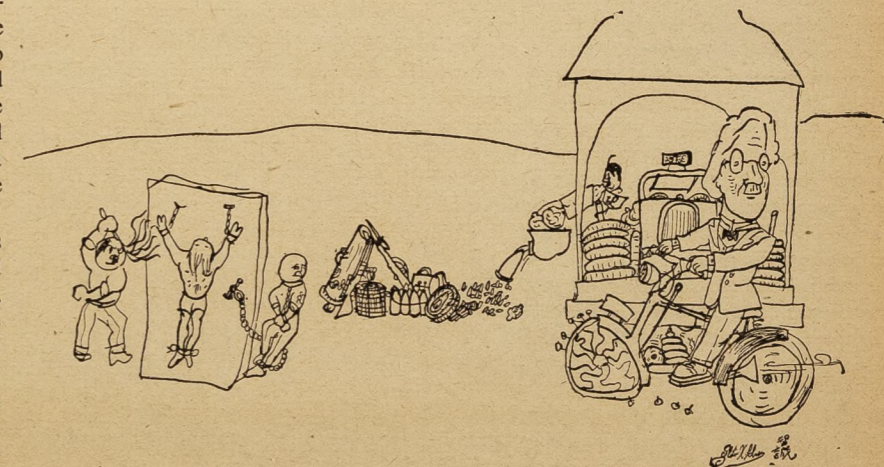
China's Spiritual Heritage

"Ah!" said Mr. Chan. "That was where evil crept in. That was where the Empress Dowager decided to support the Boxers, and with that one decision brought ruin on our country."

I was obtusely puzzled. "Do you mean because the rising let the foreign powers rivet their hold on China?" "No; but because then hatred began among us, and mistrust, and we were lost."

That view of history is, I imagine, deeply Chinese. And deeply civilised; the philosophy of a race which has practised the arts of peace for a longer time than any other of which we know, which held the soldier's the basest of trades, which esteemed learning far above wealth, and saw life with a gently humorous irony.

I once fell deep in love with a modern Chinese picture. The stretches of a wide, wide river were suggested with a minimum of detail, and across it a water-buffalo was swimming. Upon his back, heedless of the swirling flood, nonchalant, absorbed, sat a sage reading a scroll. Instantly I hailed that sage as my twin soul and patron saint; and, indeed, he was a famous saint, Lao Tse, no less, they told me.





That is the spirit which is being wrecked now by the Japanese invasion. The lack of proportion which can deify an Emperor in dead earnest, the

humorless fanaticism, the glorification of war which is really a worship of death, all these are the antithesis of civilisation. They may destroy in the Chinese people the spiritual heritage which is one of the finest achievements of humanity.

A Chance for Genius

Genius knows no nation and springs up anywhere. But the genius of little Plato Chan perhaps has had its chance, simply because his father's work has caused him to be bred away from his own country. Yet, even so, that mind which sees in images so exact and vivid that he can transfer them unerringly to paper is stamped with pictures of war.

We think (forgetting) of childish imagination as a happy thing. But Plato Chan sees good and evil, pain and hatred and delight, and draws them to sell for other Chinese children whom he knows are unhappy and afraid.

*The Exhibition at the Cooling Galleries, 92, New Bond Street, W.1, opened on November 29, and will continue until the middle of January.

A DIARY

FOR WOMEN ONLY

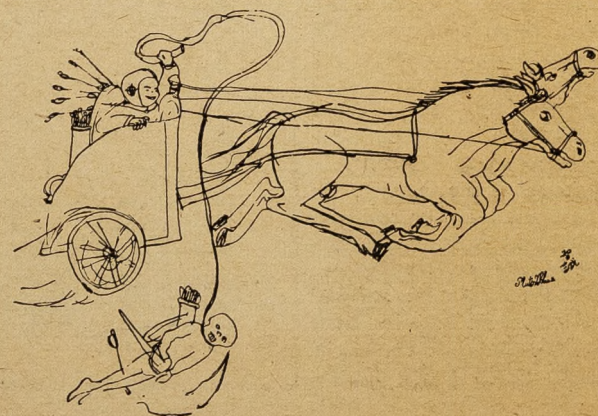
IS there a specifically feminine point of view?—a woman's way? It is an age-old controversy. Speaking generally, I don't know, nor do I care. But there is one aspect of British life in which it is hard to draw a real sex distinction, and that is interest in international affairs. Go to the gallery of the House of Commons, to a public meeting, to a Youth Movement gathering, you will find as many women as men, and the women as hard-headed and knowledgeable or, alternatively, as sentimental and prejudiced as the men.

The differences are due to artificial conditions. Women outnumber men in audiences and young groups partly because girls are generally taught more foreign history at school than boys and more modern languages, partly because more of them have leisure or a flexible time-table. But members of the Government and officials are all men and so are most speakers. This is a continuance of tradition. The fortress of diplomacy is male and aristocratic. It is shut against the woman and the workman alike—not in all countries, but certainly in Great Britain.

Higher Standard Asked

The truth is that the standard demanded from women is far higher than that asked of men. No woman is

suffered to arise and say, "Er—er." And a good thing, too, I reflected in two halls this week. In one Mrs. Ormerod pleaded with a most persuasive lucidity the cause of refugees; and if anyone doubts where to send money to pay part of the world's debt let them remember the Friends' Shilling Emigration Fund, which is used to send refugees to jobs actually ready for them overseas, and post a shilling to Friends' House in Euston Road. The other was a remarkable conference on help and food for Spain. There were 550 delegates of organised bodies, mostly young, mostly men, too—it was a weekend. The best speakers were women: the Duchess of Atholl, Edith Pye, Isabel



Brown (who has become a national figure of the Left), Mme. Geneviève Tabouis, whose expert knowledge is enhanced by lovely clothes and the prettiest ankles in the world; another Frenchwoman with a voice of music, Diana Forbes-Robertson, with magic in her bearing and her speech, like all her kin.

An Ugly Little Man

The star turns, all the same, were not these women, but four men: a British captain, two able seamen (brothers), and a fireman. The captain's ship was broken and sunk in a Spanish port by successive raids by Franco's bombers. The men had been in forty-six bombardments. The fireman told how the sailors in ships bound for Spain spend every penny they can spare on food and soap to give when they land to the women and children, starving and dirt-diseased. All of them were wild to go back, to go on sailing under bombs, to risk their lives daily with no hope of protection from our Government. The conference cheered and wept with admiration, with joy for release from shame, for the right to be proud for a moment to be British. Not much to look at that captain, an ugly little man. And, unless the picture in my school history-book was all wrong, Drake was an ugly little man, too.

When Bobbed Hair Came

Dances seldom come my way, but I was at a dance lately where all the smartest girls had their hair dressed high, in rolls and curls on top. It needs longish hair, I observed, as some of the curls came unstuck and gave an unintended Regency effect. Long hair has undoubtedly returned; and I meditated on the score of years when it was almost unknown. How many people, thinking back through shingle, crop, and the ungraceful early bob, remember how short hair began? Not many, I dare swear. It began with Dr. Elsie Inglis's Scottish Women's Hospital in Serbia in 1914. The nurses were nursing typhus, and typhus is

carried by lice, so they cropped their hair as a safeguard against that dread infection. A prosaic beginning for a fashion that ran the world round; that shore the dark cloud from the shoulders of the harem bride and the smooth knot from the nape of the Chinese girl. The mode took several years to conquer the United States; even in post-war novels a girl with bobbed hair was synonymous with a fast and man-eating vamp. But at that date, if you'll believe me, gentle reader, smart beaches in America insisted on bathing-suits with skirts—and stockings, too, sometimes! It is odd enough to think that the enormous trade of hairdressing, which was so small before the war, owes its multiplication to a Balkan louse!

King Carol

We were held up at the crossing of Warwick Avenue and Hammersmith Road. There was an extra policeman and an inspector, and I thought they showed unfair favour to the lorries issuing from Warwick Avenue. I was just thinking of leading a chorus of irritated tooting when four or five cars emerged from that dingy thoroughfare, each with a crown in the top of its windscreen. Inside were King Carol and other royalties. I must say that

there is much to be said for a democracy where kings can drive the by-ways with no more protection than a policeman at a cross-roads. If Codreanu establishes Fascist control in Roumania, he'll allow no nonsense about the liberty of the monarch.

Bridgwater

"I wonder when Bridgwater will be out. Do you think Vernon Bartlett has a chance?" said my companion in the lift of a Knightsbridge store. "I'm afraid not—a rural constituency," I replied. An elegant woman in the lift said, passionately, "We can only pray!" I jumped. If ever anybody looked a certain non-political she did. Which only shows, together with my belief about the election, how mistaken one can be.

Bigger the Better

Yesterday a woman standing beside me at my library handed in "The Fashion in Shrouds." "This book is too small," she said; "give me a larger one." "This is definitely larger," said the librarian, with a perfectly straight face, giving her "Gone With the Wind." Which Pope was it of whom Michael Angelo said that he had a purely quantitative ideal of art? He belonged to a widespread type.

ALISON GRAHAM.

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