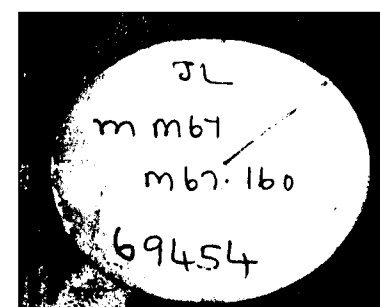




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THE FORTNIGHTLY

JULY, 1946

CHILDREN AND THE CINEMA

BY LADY ALLEN OF HURTWOOD

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SINCE 1943 there has been a very rapid growth of cinema clubs in many of the large towns, for school-age children. It is altogether right and proper that citizens and organizations interested in the leisure time activities of these children should be keenly interested in this new development. Any pioneer enterprise on this scale inevitably attracts criticism. Many of the outspoken comments that have been made have been helpful, and are welcomed by those who are closely concerned with this work. Some of the criticism, however, has been based on an inaccurate knowledge of the facts, and some of the wild statements have been made by people who are well-known to crab new experiments just because they are new.

Let us first get clear on some of the facts. The two largest commercial concerns showing entertainment films to children are the Gaumont-British Junior Clubs and the Odeon National Cinema Clubs for Boys and Girls. These two clubs are organized independently, although they both have Mr. J. Arthur Rank as President. Gaumont-British have 126 clubs with a membership of 200,000; Odeon have 249 clubs with a membership of 262,000. Both admit children between the age of seven and fourteen years, and the usual price of admittance is sixpence, or less in poor areas; and both open their clubs every Saturday morning between 9.30 a.m. and 12 noon.

These clubs are non-profit making; that is to say, after the expenses have been met of opening the cinema and putting on the films, any surplus goes towards encouraging club activities—such as orchestras, sports clubs, model-yacht and rambling groups, etc.—and towards making some contribution to the cost of producing special entertainment films. No money is distributed as dividends to shareholders. This perhaps disposes of the criticism that Mr. Rank is making a large profit out of the children. It should be said here that other commercial firms and independent cinemas are now organizing children's film matinees in ever increasing numbers, but I am not in a position to say how the profits, if any, are allocated. In this connection it should be remembered that there are 4,500 cinemas in the country of which only 590 are in the Rank organization. The Gaumont-British Junior Clubs always seek co-operation from local education authorities and invite them to nominate a representative to serve on the local club committee. The Odeon clubs, while they have no local committee of adults, welcome the advice of men and women of goodwill in operating their clubs.

The second major criticism is that many of the films shown to the children are of a most unsatisfactory type. It is realized by everyone that the number of films available and suitable for showing to children is extremely limited, but it should also be remembered that all the films selected for club programmes have first been approved and passed by the British Film Institute as being appropriate for showing to children. Choice has to be made amongst films made primarily for adults, and even in this field choice is severely limited by the unwillingness of certain large combines to release films for children's matinees while they still have a market in the adult cinema. For instance, it is not possible to show to the children some of the Disney films such as *Bambi* and *Pinocchio* because these showings would prejudice later general releases. Also the cost of copies of these coloured cartoons is very high, and the return from children's clubs would not justify the expense. This embargo applies to many films that the controllers of the clubs are only too anxious to make available to the children.

Mr. Rank, who has always taken a great interest in this work and, incidentally, has substantially subsidized the movement, realized that if the clubs were to be worthy of the children, a great effort must be made to produce entertainment films especially for them. He therefore set up, in 1944, a Children's Film Department with Miss Mary Field as Director, to ensure that good entertainment films were made for children. Miss Field and her colleagues have the support of an Advisory Council composed of representatives from the Ministry of Education, the Home Office, the Scottish Office, the Association of Education Committees, the National Union of Teachers, the B.B.C., the Libraries Association, the Christian Cinema Council, the National Provisional Council for Mental Health and many other organizations concerned with the leisure time activities of children. The Children's Film Department and the Council are not responsible in any way for running the clubs, nor are they concerned with making educational films for classroom use. The films made by the Children's Film Department are, like the clubs themselves, non-profit making. Any profits which may accrue in the future—a remote possibility at present—will be devoted to making more and better films for children. It is expected that the production cost alone for 1946 will reach over £250,000. This sum does not include the cost of organizing the clubs, of making copies of the films or of distribution. Mr. Rank has willingly agreed that, after the films have been shown in the Odeon and Gaumont-British Clubs, they should be available to anyone wishing to show films to children in a cinema or youth club, both on standard and on 16 m.m. stock. They will also be available for children in other countries.

When it is realized that this work was begun during the most harassing time of the war, a tribute is due, not only to Mr. Rank for financing an important educational experiment, but also to the Children's Film Department for having produced thirty-nine stories and shorts of different types. The work is still

very much in its infancy and is largely guided by a process of trial and error, as research was, of necessity confined to the reactions of children to adult films and not to films made especially for children. It is only by watching the reactions of the children themselves to the films that have already been made, that accurate data is being assembled on which to base the future films. It is the policy of the Children's Film Department to give the opportunity of making these children's films to as many different producers as possible, for only so can the producers be discovered who have a real flair for handling children sympathetically. Fourteen companies are making these films, of which only three are in the Rank Production Group. All the films will, however, be supervised and approved throughout all stages of production by the Advisory Council.

Everyone admits that the most formidable problem is to make films that will take the place of the serials which are so eagerly enjoyed by the children. "Wild West" are not now considered by the children to be an adequate substitute for the totally unsuitable gangster and war films with which they have become familiar in the adult cinema. The Children's Film Department is, therefore, concentrating on making seventeen weeks of serial material in the coming year. *Bush Christmas*, which is already in production in Australia, is a story about some children who, when riding back from school on their ponies, unwisely reveal to some horse thieves that their father has a valuable mare. The mare, of course, is stolen and the children determine to capture the thieves. The serial will show their exciting adventures in the beautiful Australian mountains and the desperate plight to which the thieves are put by the cleverness of the children. Another serial now in production has the documentary background of the London Docks. The first full length feature shortly going into production centres round the romance of the ballet. The plot is exciting and it is hoped that the beauty of the ballet scenes on the stage and in the practising rooms will hold the attention of the young audience and, incidentally, make them familiar with ballet as an art. Under consideration is a different type of production to be made in Canada, called *The Boy Who Stopped Niagara*. Although largely fantasy, this film will show the dire consequence of arresting the flow of Niagara and the total stoppage of vital social services that are dependent on electricity.

In addition to the three story films and the seventeen weeks of serials, the 1946 programme includes forty-seven shorts. Perhaps the most popular films yet made by the Children's Film Department are the series known as *Our Magazine*, a new version of which is made for release every month. It is a topical news reel about children in this and other countries, and it also includes items of general interest to children, such, for instance, as how to make toys from waste material, stamp-collecting, model yacht sailing and so on. Three reels of colour cartoons are in production, and with these the aim will be to make them as beautiful as possible and with a slower tempo, and of a less horrific nature that some of the cartoon subjects made for general exhibition.

All the children in the clubs enjoy community singing and, with the expert help of Mr. Leslie Woodgate, the Department is making six films which, it is hoped, will help the children to sing well and introduce to them some of the best of our traditional songs. These are in the nature of an experiment, as indeed all the films are; but much will be learnt to guide future productions, when the reactions of the children have been noted. Another series is called the *Magic Globe*. These films will be travel pictures, and the two children who turn the globe will find themselves living with the children of Lapland, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, France, Portugal, South Africa and other countries. Some of the best existing nature films are being re-edited for the children, and a slight story of the adventures of three children with a naturalist, will link them together. As children appear to enjoy action and direct speech better than a commentary, the characters in these films will provide the descriptive element. An experiment is being made with slapstick comedy; gay, healthy laughter is sadly missing in the programmes. Here, as in all the other films, great care is being taken to select the best possible comedy actors and producers.

No one connected with this work of producing children's entertainment films imagines for one moment that anything more than a modest beginning has been made. Some of the films already made have been harshly criticized by adults, but even these first experimental films have been enthusiastically appreciated by the children, as the thousands of letters received bear ample evidence; indeed it has now been found wisest never to show children's films to adults unless an audience of children is present.

A further familiar criticism is why, if we are going to the expense of making children's films, do we not immediately put into production some of the best of the children's classics. There are various reasons. Many of these are written for reading and are unsuitable for filming, many carry such a heavy royalty that they are not a proposition in this experimental period. The Children's Film Department feel, quite rightly I think, that until they have discovered the producer who is undoubtedly a genius in this field, it would be sacrilege to embark on anything so precious and lovely as, for instance, *Alice in Wonderland*.

One overriding difficulty which is certainly not appreciated by the critics is that owing to the restrictions imposed by the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, it is not legal to employ children of school age in film making, except during such restricted hours that it is impossible to use them. This difficulty rules out very many stories that would make lovely films. To convert Arthur Ransome's characters into young men and women of 14-18 would totally destroy the spirit and charm of his books. When the school-leaving age is raised to fifteen and ultimately to sixteen, it will become virtually impossible to make a children's film about children, unless the present law is amended. The only ways at present open to producers who wish to use child actors are to find undersized juveniles who look under fourteen (and these often develop adolescent

characteristics before the film is completed, if the weather holds up production); or risk prosecution, or to get the films made abroad.

The Children's Film Department is receiving an increasing flow of enquiries from foreign Governments interested in the pioneer work being done in this country in producing children's entertainment films. There is, unquestionably, a big field here for exporting the films we are so anxious to make. Owing to the restrictions imposed by the Act, it is not possible to meet these urgent demands at all adequately. The inevitable results will be that other countries, aware of the great opportunities presented and themselves unhampered by restrictions, will now enter this field, and once again the lead, which we now have, will be lost. The British Film Producers Association, together with the Association of Short Film Producers, have drawn up model conditions, designed to disturb as little as possible the child's education and upbringing, for consideration when the time comes to amend the Act. At present there is quite a serious "black market" in children going on, which the film industry is anxious to stamp out. Although independent producers are not willing to risk a prosecution by employing children under fourteen, Government Departments seem to have little hesitation in using children below school leaving age in the films they commission. Endless instances could be quoted. Either the Government should amend their laws or else refrain from breaking the existing ones. When children see a film that is far removed from their every-day life such, for instance, as a "Wild West" or a modern Hollywood gangster film, they are perfectly prepared to accept without question the conventions of that type of film. When however, they see a film dealing with people or situations with which they are familiar, they are intensely critical and demand complete veracity. From the limited experience we have already had with the films made about children like themselves, it is unquestionable that they do enjoy these immensely.

There being so few children's entertainment films, this new work must evolve its own style and its own manner of presentation, for it is catering for the most unspoilt, yet the most exacting, of audiences. The healthy and uninhibited reactions of the children in the clubs make them direct participators in what is seen on the screen. The influence of the programme shown to the children is impossible to overestimate. Not only, let us hope, will they derive direct enjoyment from the films they see, but an understanding of the way children live in other countries, a keen appreciation of the arts and the ability to make a virile and independent judgment between the good and the bad film. The cinema should help children of all ages to understand the world they live in. They are receptive to colourful and authentic detail, to warm feeling, but not to sentimentality. Even the youngest children resent being talked down to. Children, especially those over twelve, appreciate a serious and honest approach and they expect and demand that the characters they see in the films should be genuine.

The Children's Film Department, whilst searching for ways and means of perfecting the films, will frequently have to change its methods and will continually be searching for new principles. One principle must always remain if we are to live up to the high expectations of the children. We must make films for children that are not only as excellent technically as those for adults, but better. Boys and girls, of thirteen and fourteen especially, are often inspired by learning about the adventures and ideals of older people towards which they may themselves be striving; and the film provides an unrivalled medium for presenting these ideals. I believe children are more impressed by seeing lofty and grand ideals in films than by seeing the bad consequences of bad deeds. The audience of the Children's Cinema Club has nothing in common with the audience in an adult cinema. The children make the most active and critical audience to be found anywhere. The reaction of this young audience and its behaviour during a film, needs constant study if films are to be made worthy of the audience. Far greater research work than has as yet been possible, is waiting to be done.

(Lady Allen of Hurtwood is Chairman of the Advisory Council on Children's Entertainment Films.)

JAPAN IN DEFEAT

BY O. M. GREEN

THE first year of Japan's prostration to enemy invaders, never before known on her "holy soil," is drawing to a close and it is timely to survey her present condition and future prospects, which have been too much obscured by the feverish distractions of Europe. In view of the general awakening of Asia, the part that may be played in them for good or ill by eighty millions of the most virile and pushful of all Orientals is something we cannot ignore.

Briefly, it may be said that the destruction of the old military machine and whatever subserved it has been well and truly done; but the work of reconstruction is still without form and void. From September 9 when he hoisted the Stars and Stripes over the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo until last April, since when he has been assisted by a Council of British, American, Chinese and Russian delegates, General MacArthur was the absolute ruler of Japan. He has tried, as directed by President Truman, to use, but not to support, the existing Government of Japan, and to encourage such changes for the liberalizing of the old authoritarian system as it might initiate. British observers hold that General MacArthur has on the whole done well. That the results are so disappointing is less his fault than that of all the circumstances of defeat and the crashing of almost every institution on which Japanese life has been based, while still the Japanese wait uncertainly to know what further punishment the Allies will inflict.

The destruction of the military machine proved easier than had been expected. Of the Navy, it is true, little remained but one scarred battleship and the remnants of the Air Force were in no condition to give trouble. But there were 4,000,000 men under arms of unknown temper. Actually they proved docile: within four days of General MacArthur's landing the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters had been extinguished; soon the cadet schools were closed and their pupils sent home; a swarm of organizations designed to "teach the young idea to shoot", such as the Students' Mobilization Bureau, Physical Training Bureau, church, school and even women's groups were abolished; and by December the 4,000,000 troops had laid down arms and put off uniforms. In this connection, too, the abolition of the Greater East Asia Ministry which (apart from actual fighting) had been the most powerful agent to inculcate "Japan's holy mission" of conquest, both at home and abroad, must peculiarly have impressed upon thinking Japanese what they had lost.

Among the more popular reforms imposed by General MacArthur first place must be given to the so-called "Bill of Rights" of October 9, which at one stroke stripped the Ministry of Home Affairs of its tremendous and malignant powers. By ruthless censorship, suppression of freedom of thought and speech, and by terrorism of an all-pervading police, this Ministry had been the Army's most potent agent. With the inauguration of the "Bill of Rights," 507 political prisoners, some of whom had languished in gaol untried for years, were set free. At the same time 4,800 police, including over 100 senior officials were dismissed. And this was followed by a drastic purge of the prefectural governments, in which thirteen Governors were dismissed and 130 departmental chiefs. These sweeping changes provoked the only sign of resistance that Japan has yet given, when Prince Higashi Kuni (whom the Emperor had appointed Premier after Japan's surrender) and all his Cabinet resigned. He was succeeded by the aged Baron Shidehara, of whom more later, and there has been no more kicking against the pricks.

It may here be mentioned that the Japanese press, as well as the radio, cinema and theatre, has been given full liberty to say what it pleases (provided only that it says nothing likely to inconvenience the Army of Occupation), a freedom of which it has taken full advantage.

Another reform, not without its picturesque side, has been the abolition of Shintoism as a State religion. There are, or were, two distinct forms of Shinto, one the primitive religion derived from prehistoric animist beliefs, "the religion of the ten million gods" as it has been called, which deified everything from the wind in the trees to the kitchen poker; and the political system, centred on the Emperor's supposed divinity, which the Army had drilled into the nation for the furtherance of its ambitions. The broad details of this system—enforced attendance at local shrines for the prescribed State ceremonies, daily abasement by school-children before a safe containing the Emperor's portrait, rows of country visitors to Tokyo bowing outside the palace walls, are familiar to all readers about Japan. The hypnotism thus produced on the docile Japanese mind was inconceivable. Though the system has been abolished and the Emperor himself in his New Year message proclaimed himself a man and not a god, there are probably millions of Japanese still who cling to the old legends.

Two other changes of great significance for Japan's economic future are the attempt to break the power of the famous *Zaibatsu*, the mighty syndicates which controlled all Japan's industry, commerce and finance; and the abolition of the old feudal land system. According to a recent report by General MacArthur, the four biggest syndicates, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda, came out of the war with assets of 3,000 million yen compared with 875 millions in 1930. As a prelude to their destruction, the twenty-one principal banks were seized, all gold and silver currencies, securities, mortgage deeds, etc. were impounded, and the buildings put under military guard early in November. Altogether

nearly 200 leading firms have been forbidden to dispose of their capital assets and other property without permission. Among those who know Japan best there is some doubt as to how far the *Zaibatsu* can be, indeed whether they ought to be, broken up. Some of them are of very ancient origin—Mitsui is said to date from the fourteenth century. There are many obvious charges against them. They are hardly less feudal in character than the old daimyos, and without their co-operation the Army would not have been able to finance its aggressive schemes. But they are so closely interwoven with all Japan's economic life that their dissolution (if indeed it can be effected except on paper) might put upon her the burden and confusion of inventing an entirely new system at a time when public tranquillity is most essential to the building of a new political edifice. And there is some doubt as to how far the *Zaibatsu's* co-operation with the Army was voluntary. Certainly for many years they were regarded, for obvious reasons, as the principal opponents of military violence. To some extent at least they threw in their lot with the Army because they could not help it.

On the subject of land reform, however, there are no two opinions, except among Japanese landlords; and it is noteworthy that, in the recent general elections, all parties, however much they might differ in other things, put land reform in the front of their programmes. The situation is simple enough. Two-fifths of the manual labour population of Japan are peasants. Half the total arable land belongs to landlords who neither live upon nor work their land and to whom the tenants pay sixty per cent. of their produce in rent; while the average holding of peasant proprietors is only 2.61 acres, a third of them own less than an acre and-a-quarter. Taxation and cost of fertilizers are high, while most farmers are in the hands of middlemen who take the profits in good times and push off losses to the farmer in bad. Credits for tenants to buy their farms and to stabilize prices and the elimination of absentee landlords are mentioned as the main features of a reform which is necessarily still in the merely ideal stage. Nothing could more justify a prolonged Allied occupation than to see it brought to reality. There can be no liberal government while 14,000,000 men and women live the life of serfs.

Finally one may mention an overhaul of school books to purge them of military propaganda; a project to send to Japan a posse of leading American educationalists to impart democratic enlightenment; and an onslaught on the notorious secret societies beginning, of course, with the Black Dragon, which may be compared to attempts to swat flies in mid-air. The future of secret societies depends entirely on the future of Japan herself.

The climax of General MacArthur's work may be said to have been reached in the publication early in March of a new constitution to supersede that of Prince Ito adopted in 1889. It starts off with the declaration that:

We, the Japanese people, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful co-operation with all nations and the blessings of liberty through-

out this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited by the horrors of war through the action of the Government, do proclaim the sovereignty of the people's will . . . We hold that no people is responsible to itself alone but that laws of political morality are universal and that obedience to such laws is incumbent upon all peoples who would sustain their own sovereignty and justify their sovereign relationship with other peoples.

The Emperor's position as "the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the people's will" is defined with a list of his minutely restricted powers and functions. Then comes the startling announcement (Article 9) that:

War, as a sovereign right of the nation, and the threat or use of force is for ever renounced as a means of settling disputes with other nations. The maintenance of land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential will never be authorized. The right of belligerency of the State will not be recognized.

Other articles deal with the constitution and functions of the Diet, Premier and Cabinet, independence of the judicature, freedom of religion, marriage rights and property (giving relief to the much down-trodden Japanese wife), formation of trade unions—everything, in short, that is implicit in personal rights and liberties.

In principle the constitution reads well and it has received unstinted praise from General MacArthur, who tells us that it was drafted "after painstaking investigation and frequent conference" with American Headquarters. Which indeed is obvious. One can hardly read the preamble quoted above without feeling that "the hands are the hands of Esau but the voice is Jacob's voice"; and the abjuration of the possession of any military force for ever and a day—surely a heavy draft on the future for any nation—is blood relation to the Volstead Act and the Eighth Amendment. There are probably many Japanese whose present mood is in tune with the general run of the constitution, and its provisions are unquestionably such as Japan needs to adopt. But while there is no reason to suppose that the Japanese after their recent hideous experiences will be more eager for war than other peoples, the constitution somehow does not ring true; it is not Japanese; it suggests only too strongly something written "to please our masters," with little enthusiasm and but languid interest in how it may work out in practice.

This may seem to be a harsh judgment, and to conflict with the popular enthusiasm shown in the recent elections, when seventy-three per cent. of the voters went to the polls and women, for the first time permitted to vote, turned up in unexpected force, and succeeded in returning thirty-eight of their sex to the Diet. The result was, in the main, a victory for what may be called Conservative-Liberals of the type that came to the front during the short-lived Liberal ascendancy in the 1920's.

But the Diet has still a long way to go before it finds itself as an efficient law-maker and progressive guide. Apart from the main parties—Conservatives mainly intent on upholding the Emperor, Liberals, Socialists and Communists,

numbers of small groups, the personal property of leaders intent on the spoils of office, have sprung up to increase the clamour and confusion. The first activity of the Diet on assembling was to fall foul of Baron Shidehara who soon resigned the Premiership to Mr. Shigeru Yoshida. Baron Shidehara is a true Liberal statesman; but he is seventy-three years old, his health is bad, and he has no aptitude for internal politics; foreign affairs are his *forte*; his resignation had been long foretold. Mr. Yoshida, who will be well remembered as Ambassador in London from 1936 to 1938, a convinced Liberal and advocate of friendship with Great Britain (crimes which caused the Army to keep him virtually under house arrest during the war) is fourteen years younger and altogether more energetic than Baron Shidehara, but like him suffers from a career much more diplomatic than administrative. And it is the strong administrator that Japan needs now above everything.

Constitution, the Diet, the whole fumbling administration, reflect that artificiality and lassitude which pervade all the atmosphere of Japan. Even in Tokyo, where the devastation was a hundred times worse than in London, very little has yet been done to rebuild the miles and miles of ruined streets. In January it was officially estimated that only about fourteen per cent. of the workers were earning enough to meet the rising cost of living and that 8,000,000 people were in need of relief; and although more recent reports show that coal production is slowly rising and that electrical power (from Japan's myriad mountain streams) has made a considerable recovery, food riots are still the order of the day. These are largely due to the failure of Japanese officials in distribution. Large supplies have been brought in and General MacArthur insists that he must have in all 1,500,000 tons of grain to cover this year's needs. But instances are still reported of people clamouring for food when local officials have plenty within reach if they would bestir themselves to get and serve it out.

The question of Japan's industrial future is hotly argued. According to the *Manchester Guardian* Tokyo correspondent writing in March, eighty-five per cent. of Japan's silk-reeling facilities were destroyed during the war, and, in cotton, the 12,500,000 spindles of 1938 have sunk to only 3,100,000. This is not entirely due to bombing: much machinery was scrapped in order to meet the need of metal; mulberry trees were rooted up to make room for food stuffs and it will be three or four years before the new trees are productive. The Americans are trying to stimulate the recovery of industry sufficient to pay for Japan's imports of food and the Japanese Government is allowing extra food rations to mill hands, but supplies of the necessary cotton from America are still insufficient even for the reduced power of the mills. It is obvious that a nation of 80,000,000 people increasing by some 800,000 a year, and now stripped of all their overseas possessions, must manufacture and export or starve. Now the controversy is whether they shall be permitted to export the minimum necessary to pay their bills, or to recover their old standards of pro-

duction, the proceeds of which would be distributed by the Allies where most needed, the trade being taken altogether out of Japanese hands. The first suggestion would soon raise an uproar among American, Canadian, Australian and Asiatic firms which formerly sold to Japan. The second is in flat contradiction of President Truman's promise of a time to come when Japan will be free to enter again into normal friendly relations with the world.

But of that time there is so far no sign. The root of trouble for Japan (it might be for the world too) is her continuing uncertainty and darkness as to the future. Her prostration is the more intense in view of her supreme belief that she was invincible and inviolable. Now with the army of occupation ever before her eyes, with the purging of undesirable officials still going on (Russia even demanded that the new members of the Diet should be purged) nothing seems worth while. Neither Government nor Diet can gain prestige or even confidence in themselves while it is so evident to all Japanese that they are merely instruments in the hand of a foreign master.

It is noticeable that the Japanese appear to cling all the more closely to the Emperor as the one stable element in a crashing world. Neither defeat, nor Hirohito's own public repudiation of his supposed divinity has lessened his prestige among his subjects. In a recent tour of Chiba prefecture (which suffered especially badly in the war), the fourth such public appearance that the Emperor has made in two months, tens of thousands of people lined the imperial route. "Some wept (says *The Observer's* Tokyo correspondent), some giggled hysterically, some gazed in dumb awe, women knee-deep in the rice-fields bowed till their noses nearly touched the mud." There is no question whatever that the smoothness of Japan's surrender was entirely due to the Emperor's command—"we were very lucky to have him there," said Admiral Nimitz. Now he is plainly trying to take up the rôle of a constitutional monarch in accordance with what is believed to have been his private wish since he was a young man. He is not personally impressive; it is what his name means to his subjects which may make him the chief agent to lead them into new paths.

Even thus both Emperor and people need some positive encouragement if they are to take hold of their destiny with hope and boldness. In the view of experienced observers Japan is in a state of mind in which she might easily take a violent turn to right or left. The Army is still thoroughly unpopular as the cause of all Japan's miseries. The war trials of some thirty generals, admirals and civilians excite no resentment: the attitude of the press is, briefly, "Serve them right." For the present the old militarists are keeping quiet. But what they might do in another year or two to undermine the new order into which Great Britain and America are trying to steer Japan is another matter. On the other hand, although the Communists had no success in the elections they are working like bees and conditions, at least in the towns, are all in their favour.

The danger of Japan's "going Communist" cannot be excluded, nor, if she did, the evil reactions on Asia be exaggerated.

In the Far Eastern Commission in Washington, which represents eleven different States, Great Britain and America are urgent that Japanese reparations should be fixed as soon as possible in order that Japan may know the worst, may be enabled to see beyond it, and thus be roused from her apathy to do for herself what no one else can do for her. But it may be hoped that the peace treaty will be less negative than merely to exact retribution, of which already the crimes of their rulers have brought so fearful a measure upon the Japanese people. Those crimes have largely obscured the many good parts of Japanese character. Why the army behaved so atrociously in the late war, in marked contrast with its excellent behaviour in the war with Russia forty years ago, we cannot explain. The 250 years of self-imposed isolation prior to the Meiji Restoration are answerable for much in Japan's awkwardness and unescapable "inferiority complex" in dealing with other nations; and from her own point of view she has had many grievances against the West, from the time when it imposed on her ignorance an exchange rate for gold quite flagrantly in its own favour.

But whatever latent brutality there is in the Japanese (and not only in Japanese nature) its virtues cannot be denied. Japan's culture is very ancient and profound. The elaborate tea ceremony; the exquisite, highly cultivated art of putting up flowers; the national competitions in poetry on a theme set by the Emperor every year; the lovely handicrafts in silk, metal, porcelain and enamel; the national architecture, dress, and elaborate etiquette—these are not the products of a savage nature. And the Japanese never forget a kindness. Many a foreigner in concentration camps in Japan or Shanghai has had his lot made easier by assiduous gifts from Japanese friends; and British business men in Yokohama on returning to their houses after the war have found them as well kept, with not a thing missing, as if they had merely been away for the weekend.

Japan's capacity to learn from abroad is a commonplace, from China in the seventh and eighth, from the West in the nineteenth centuries. Once again now she will be putting herself to school abroad and it will be for the democracies to convince her that they can be not only terrible in war but benignant in peace. A little Christian charity in the peace treaty, some real effort to prove to the Japanese people that, however justly we detest their late rulers, our aim is not to destroy the Yamato race but to facilitate its return to the circle of friendly nations for assistance in the world's recovery, will win great rewards. As the old Chinese philosopher Lao Tze wrote 2,500 years ago: "After great strife great animosities remain; therefore the inspired man, when a creditor, does not seek enforcement of his debt."

THE CABINET MISSION TO INDIA

BY SIR WILLIAM P. BARTON

THAT India has reached political maturity was a conclusion which the recent Parliamentary delegation formed after a few weeks' stay in the country. Why they thought so is not clear. Was it a result of their contacts with the Indian Congress, that great party of high caste Hindus which claims to speak for the whole sub-continent? If so, one may well doubt their verdict, as do many distinguished Indians, some of whom openly admit that if Congress had kept in view the elementary principles of statesmanship they might now be ruling India. Was it a sign of political maturity to have neglected such an opportunity? The rigid caste system which keeps outside the pale one Hindu in five is hardly consistent with the parliamentary democracy to which Congress pays lip-service. In the early days of the war, Congress did their best to sabotage the war effort; later, when the Japanese were threatening invasion Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants called on Britain to 'Quit India'; they still adhere to the challenge, even though some of them recognize that British withdrawal might mean the intervention of Russia. If common sense is an element in political maturity, Congress seem to have little claim to that particular quality.

Labour and Leftist intellectuals, both in and out of Parliament, sentimentalists and others influenced by the efficient propaganda of the India League (the Congress publicity organization) not only regard India as politically mature but are ready to hand over the Government of India to Congress. To Leftist intellectuals any form of government is preferable to what they regard as a soulless bureaucracy of the British ruling classes. And, even admitting that India has not reached full political stature, as the British regard it, that is no reason for refusing to allow her to live her own political life. Persia is independent, so are Arabia, Siam, Afghanistan, but one would hardly describe them as politically mature in the sense in which the Western democracies use the term.

...To this school of thought India is a nation clamouring for freedom. The Prime Minister, in a flight of rhetoric in the debate on the despatch of a Cabinet Mission to India, seems to support this view. "In India," he exclaims, "you have a nation of four hundred million people that has twice sent her sons to die for freedom; is it any wonder that to-day she claims freedom to decide her own destiny?" How easy a solution would be if Mr. Attlee's words described reality.

Unfortunately, the position is far otherwise. What is this India that sent her sons to die for freedom? Not the India of the high caste Hindu, the India of Congress. The Indians who fought for the Commonwealth in the first world war were humble peasants from the countryside, led by British officers; political India stood aloof, not always neutral. In the war that is just ended, not only did the great party that now asserts the right to rule India refuse to defend its country, it actively opposed recruiting and the production of munitions; not only do its leaders admit moral responsibility for the rebellion of 1942, which nearly led to the conquest of India by Japan, they glory in what they describe as a national uprising. Again, the men who swarmed in hundreds of thousands to the colours came mostly from the villages.

Congress in a series of campaigns of unexampled bitterness has done its best to convince the Indian masses that all their troubles are due to Britain. It has shown an equal degree of hostility to its Muslim rivals with the result that the Muslim League has claimed a separate country (Pakistan) and threatened a civil war if its demands were disregarded.

It is against this disconcerting background that the Cabinet Mission began their negotiations. Their objective was to bring the two great parties, Congress and the League, together, to induce them to combine to work out the political salvation of their country. Their efforts proved vain. They refused, however, to admit defeat and set their minds to a compromise. They would not divide India; they rejected Pakistan as an impossible proposition if only from the strategic point of view. At the same time, they had to admit that the League had the full weight of Muslim opinion behind it; to compel the Muslims to accept Hindu majority rule would lead to widespread disturbances. A system must be evolved that would give the Muslims complete assurance that their culture, religion, traditions and economic life would not be exposed to encroachment on the part of the more powerful community.

The scheme put forward is in the nature of a recommendation, a suggested compromise between the two extremes. Its main features are a Union of India, of British India and the Indian States, exercising powers over a field limited to foreign relations, defence and communications, with authority to raise the necessary finance. It would have an Executive and Legislature. Muslim interests would be protected by the provision that any communal issue that might arise would require for its decision a majority vote of each of the major communities as well as of the majority of all the members present and voting. If necessary the question whether any particular matter was communal could be referred to the Federal Court.

As regards the Constituent Assembly responsible for framing the new constitution, the Mission would have preferred to base its formation on adult franchise. They were not, however, prepared to risk the delay such a process would involve and so decided that the only practical course was to utilize the eleven recently elected Provincial Assemblies. There would be roughly one

member for a million people, a plan that would give the Muslims 78 members, the Sikhs 4, the Indian States 93, the rest, Hindus, outcasts, Christians, 210, a total of 385. There might be a dozen or so Muslims from the States. Thus, in the Constituent Assembly about 90 Muslims would face nearly 300 Hindus, of whom at least two-thirds would follow the lead of Congress.

For the purpose of representation, the provinces are divided into three groups or sections; of which two are Muslim, B. and C. B. includes the Punjab, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province, all with Muslim majorities; C. comprises Bengal (Muslim majority) and Assam with only 30 per cent. Muslims. This grouping, it should be noted, brings in the provinces the Muslim League claims for its separate country, Pakistan. The seven Hindu majority provinces form group A. The grouping could not be challenged by any province till the new constitution had come into being, and after the first general election thereunder. Each group would settle its own provincial constitution comprising two or more provinces. This, by the way, would enable the Muslims to group the Punjab, Sind and the North West Frontier into a single unit.

Urgent problems await solution by the Indian Government. To handle them and at the same time maintain law and order while constitution-making is in progress, a strong central government is essential. Accordingly, the Mission proposes to set up an interim government having the support of the major political parties. In the new Executive Council all the portfolios including those held by the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and British officers, namely foreign affairs, war, finance and home would be placed in Indian hands. Nothing is said as to the proportion in which these portfolios will be held by Muslims and Hindus.

The compromise scheme was launched into a tense atmosphere. The Muslims would have nothing less than independence on their own; Congress would fight to the last against the vivisection of India. A Sikh politician told the writer he would sacrifice a million lives to prevent it. If the Muslims persisted in their intransigence, Congress would take the reins of power. Let the Muslims fight; they would soon be overwhelmed.

The League leader, Mr. Jinnah, kept his head. He carefully studied the Mission's plan and finally decided to place it before the Council of the League. The result was unanimous acceptance. Thus, to the League belongs the credit of being the first of the two great political parties to agree to work the compromise. Not unnaturally they reserve the right to press for the achievement of their separate sovereignty in the years to come. Doubtless one of the main inducements to their acceptance of the plan has been the prospect of forming a powerful Muslim *bloc* in the North West, including several millions of the best fighting men of India. Another advantage is the inclusion of Calcutta (two-thirds Hindu) in the eastern Muslim group.

Thus one of the main obstacles to a peaceful settlement has been removed. The Princes have followed the Muslim example and have agreed to co-operate

in working the plan. They could hardly do otherwise since they were told in clear terms that their relations with the Crown would be severed, whether an independent India remained in the Commonwealth or not. They could no longer shield themselves behind the British military protectorate, and consequently would have to come to terms with the new Central or Union Government. Paramountcy would not be transferred to that government and the Princes would only concede to it such powers as were necessary to its due functioning as an all-India institution. It remains to be seen whether such a government, invested with supreme military power, would not use it to exercise some of the functions of paramountcy, especially if unrestrained by the outside influences that might be brought to bear if India were still in the Commonwealth.

It is not clear how far the more important States such as Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore, are committed to acceptance of the Mission plan. Their main concern is the defence of India and they would be well within their rights to insist on a military treaty with Britain, to remain in force until such time as India could develop sufficient military strength to stand on her own feet. As regards the representation of the Princes in the Constituent Assembly, it will doubtless be possible to arrive at a compromise which would give the States, people a voice in its proceedings without overriding the rights of the Rulers themselves.

At the time of writing, the attitude of Congress is still undecided. The acceptance of the plan by the Muslim and Princes puts them in a difficult position. They may have to modify their demands. It is doubtful if, with things as they are, an appeal to force would attract adequate support. They could not risk defeat. Gandhi seems to be in favour of co-operation, though he talks vaguely of the necessity of the immediate withdrawal of British troops; he does not like the grouping of provinces. Congress leaders insist that the interim government should have practically supreme power. They are not prepared to accept the Princes' nominees in the Constituent Assembly. Their representatives must be elected on the same lines as in British India. This is hardly possible. As already noted, a reasonable compromise should not be difficult. Another demand Gandhi puts forward is that paramountcy should be shared by the interim government in the transitional period, obviously with the design of bringing pressure to bear on the Princes. This demand has been definitely rejected, and it has been made clear that British troops will remain in the country till the new constitution is in working order.

The setting up of an interim government will not be an easy matter. The Muslims will probably demand parity which the Congress are not likely to accept. The new Council, while working on Cabinet lines, will be responsible, through the Viceroy, to the Secretary of State, and it may be thought that the Viceroy's power of veto would be sufficient protection for the Muslim and other minorities. But constant interference would weaken the morale of the

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with consumer goods. Argentine capitalists, whether they supported or opposed General Perón during the recent elections, trust that he will now abandon the revolutionary social theories which he used during the electoral period, and settle down into the good old conservative tradition of Argentine Presidents. They hope that he will merely assist them to produce more goods and acquire more wealth: briefly, that the electoral policy which attracted the masses, will now be bogged in prosperity. The workers, of course, look to him to fulfil all the near-socialist plans which their former, less dynamic leaders failed to put into operation, but which he in his public pronouncements adopted as his own. When in 1945 he resigned from the army and appeared on the balcony in his shirt sleeves, he appealed to the work-people as an equal (he is a wealthy landowner, but that is beside the point). An Argentine President can afford to betray the voters who brought him to power. He is solidly installed in a most lucrative post, and nothing but a large-scale military rising can overthrow him. But I doubt whether General Perón will be content to remain a figurehead. His vitality and ambition will drive him forward in the path that he has clearly chosen for himself: that of becoming a twentieth century San Martín. This mirage haunts his vision. To achieve such ascendancy, he needs the support of the working-man, just as San Martín needed the help of the *mestizo*. General Perón will have to create his own industrial and intellectual aristocracy, unless the aristocrats of the old order can be won to his cause (there is evidence that many of them are already under his spell). His greatest need, however, is to harness the power of the workers, their enthusiasm for a planned prosperity, and their urge to forge a new South America in which Argentina shall be the guiding inspiration and the prevailing force.

In spite of his great ability, energy, and personal charm, General Perón could not have attained the position which he now occupies, had he not been a typical *Porteño*. Buenos Aires is a city of horizons. It retains the quality of the countless immigrants who have arrived here from cramped Europe; the innumerable newcomers who have landed here dreaming of horizons, living on distances, living in advance of themselves. The inhabitants of Buenos Aires to-day are flashy and confident; they believe in prosperity; they are easy-going; they are superficial in their judgments and tastes; in other words, they are uniformly young, fertile, elemental. The *Porteño* is a man who dreams; a man of unbounded optimism; a worshipper of glitter and extravagance. The early adventurers came to South America to find gold and silver; they came to plunder palaces, to pick up precious stones, silks, wine, luscious girls and the elixir of eternal youth. Their successors, seeing the huge areas, the enormous herds of cattle, the wandering masses of wild horses, were dazzled by the vision. Thus was the dream maintained. Thus did the *pampa* determine that the newcomer and the resident and the future generations should continue to live with their eyes on the horizon; that their eyes should be filled with

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space and distances. The *pampa* is ever promising, and promises dominate Argentine life. The humble factory worker, the underpaid clerk, the weary salesman, they are all filled with the promise of the *pampa*. They are living ahead, far away. The poor man sits proudly on his horse, because he can see the shimmering promise of the horizon. The lower-class town-worker wears a smart new suit: the kind of suit that he will be able to afford "tomorrow" (but which he must meanwhile pay for by instalments). Any citizen of Buenos Aires, if he goes to the top of one of the skyscrapers, can see the *pampa* beyond the edges of the city stretching away for ever and ever. Or, by going down a few steps from the centre of the town, he can see the gigantic, brown Rio Plata, that other watery *pampa*, eternal promise of fertility and wealth. The *Porteño* lives in the imaginary world of the immigrant, the El Dorado, where success is easy and where lovely women are waiting in abundance. The newcomer sees first of all and all the time the "afterwards". The afterwards continues to govern the life of the resident. He stands on the horizon of the *pampa*, on the horizon of himself.

General Perón is a true *Porteño*, and is the embodiment of the *Porteño's* dream. He is handsome, wealthy, given to display, eloquent, lavish with promises. His success has been rapid and spectacular. He has even married a woman whom any *Porteño* would envy: the actress, Eva Duarte. But he offers more, much more, because he is an exceptional *Porteño*. The average *Porteño* is not sufficiently trained in the school of progress to dedicate himself systematically and surely. His personality is not disciplined; it weakens to easy luxury; it is more eager to be quickly prosperous than to be prolongedly powerful. Imagine, then, the glamour that surrounds the leader of their dreams, when he informs them with all his charm and with the weight of his military and political achievement, that he will make their dreams come true for them as for himself, that he will *organize prosperity!*

In this undertaking, every possible national and international collaborator will be mobilized. The work-people will be assured a better standard of living; the landowners will be given a market for their produce; the industrialists will be protected in so far as the import of consumer goods is concerned; the Catholic Church will be persuaded that the social and economic stability which they require, will be ever more strongly maintained; the Army will be promised the heavy armaments which they at present lack; and the young people in general will be given flags to wave and hymns to sing. In international affairs, Perón will juggle with competing foreign interests. The North Americans have fewer inhibitions than the British. They have already forgotten Braden (the "puerco atómico" of the Perónista enthusiasts), and Perón, for his part, will be willing to let bygones be bygones—on terms, and after a decorous delay. It will suit him to have a short memory. And, while holding in the one hand the railways and similar British investments, and, in the other hand, an accumulated sterling balance of £140,000,000, he will manœuvre spectacularly to obtain

THE BIRTH OF A REPUBLIC

BY ELIZABETH WISKEMANN

IT is just two years since the Germans were driven out of Rome and the first provisional anti-Fascist Government installed there; for two years paradox has reigned in that the much desired return to self-government has had to be inaugurated by temporary nominated officials of every kind under foreign supervision. It was impossible even to elect an Assembly to draw up a constitution until the voters' registers could be compiled and until then no single town council could be elected; after a period of clandestine life in resistance to the Germans (who were only gradually driven back) it was impossible to compile these registers quickly. At last in 1946, more than a year after the final liberation, it has been possible to elect both local authorities and a Constituent Assembly. Only some 5,000 out of over 7,000 communes in Italy were able to hold municipal elections during the spring; the rest, including most of the largest towns such as Rome, Naples, Turin, Genoa and Florence, will hold their local elections in the autumn. The voting which took place in Italy during March and April already made clear two things: the first that in spite of fatigue and disappointment there was very great interest in combination with tolerance, in other words a higher proportion of the population voted and the voting went off in perfectly good order; the second that three and only three parties were important, Christian-Democrats, Socialists and Communists, and of these three the first had the largest following.

It was, however, on the election of the Constituent Assembly that enthusiasm centred. The Italian resistance to the Germans between 1943 and 1945, the quality and scale of which is underrated or ignored in England, was partly inspired by a determination to cleanse Italy of the stain of Fascism, and the Constituent was conceived of as something of a Promised Land where the patriots' sacrifices should be rewarded—indeed the word Constituent came to have an almost magical significance as the panacea for all ills. This was not merely a matter of adolescent dreaming. Ever since her unification in 1870 many of Italy's best citizens had felt that she was not on the right road—the House of Savoy and its generals had forced too centralized a system upon so diversified a country, a system which became unbearably exaggerated when the Crown accepted the Fascist dictatorship in 1922. Now at last, a generation later and three generations since the country was united, the Constituent Assembly was to give Italy a fresh, clear start. But it was not enough to decide that this

Assembly should be elected by universal male and female suffrage, its powers had also to be decided. Originally it was planned that the Assembly would be sovereign and that all decisions should be left to it and it alone; the Monarchy was very generally discredited and it was presumed that the Assembly would proceed to abolish it.

The new men and the new ideas were in a salutary sense revolutionary—as against Fascism—but by no means intransigent. Unfortunately people with vested interests now took fright; they decided that the Republic would be a 'red' one and so they intrigued in favour of the Monarchy; it should be emphasized that the people with vested interests had mostly been on good terms with Fascism as a condition of the retention of their property. It was with these people too that Allied representatives generally had old business or other connections, and from them that they took their views about the danger to order should the popularly desired reforms of various kinds go through. Lack of imagination or ignorance of history apparently caused the Allied authorities to overlook that the gravest social danger to Italy is constituted by the tremendous inequalities in the distribution of the wealth which their Italian friends were fortunate enough to some extent to monopolize.

The Allies did not often interfere,* but perhaps unwittingly they helped to create conditions which were favourable to the Monarchy, in particular through the so-called institutional truce which forced Republican Ministers into the compromise of temporary collaboration with the representative of the Crown. But it was the Monarchist groups themselves, especially members of the Liberal Party (in Italy extremely conservative) who, afraid of what the Constituent would do, insisted that a Referendum on the Monarchy-Republic issue should synchronize with the elections to the Assembly, and at last the date for both events was fixed—June 2, 1946. The election campaign was embittered by the addition of the Referendum; two things became increasingly evident, as the dissentient, because Republican, Liberal Brosio, wrote in an article in the *Corriere della Sera*: one that the Monarchy was hopelessly identified with the possessing classes and the other not unrelated fact that all surviving Fascists clustered around the shaken throne. Wherever one went smart society, which seems to have a more than usually brittle, callous quality in Italy, was blindly Monarchist; one hears that young countesses have quite ruined their complexions weeping for Umberto of Savoy since his condemnation to exile. As for former Fascists, there was certain evidence that some of the most active ones had gone into alliance with Monarchist organizations, and it was habitual during May for gangs of young toughs to smash up Socialist and Communist committee-rooms in the towns and villages of Apulia. In Rome, where the passenger transport employees were strongly Republican and would allow only Republican posters in the buses and trams, some Monarchists stormed a tram

* The most persistent piece of Allied interference was the maintenance of the Monarchist, De Courtan, as Minister of the Marine.

one day to remove them; an elderly onlooker protested and was promptly treated to a bottle of castor oil.

The most unfortunate consequence of insisting upon the Referendum was that it unnecessarily embittered feeling between North and Central Italy and the South. The Monarchists had an important centre in Bari (Apulia), but Naples was the Monarchist stronghold *par excellence*. It was a strange experience to travel through Italy in May 1946 and having found Lombardy and Tuscany clearly Republican and Rome divided, to arrive in the atmosphere of Naples. In the Centre and North one might see *Viva il Re* scribbled on the walls, as often as not changed to *il reo* (meaning culprit or criminal), but one had to come to Naples, the old Bourbon capital which had once so bitterly resisted the claims of the House of Savoy, to find the walls covered with *Viva la Casa di Savoia*. In Naples where ninety years ago the Piedmontese King-maker was the subject of the most violent obloquy, for the first time one constantly found the whiskered face of Cavour looking down from Liberal Party posters.* For Naples is also the last stronghold of an anarchical Liberalism which still to-day struggles to keep politics innocent of social content and which fears the Republic for social legislation which it must inevitably introduce. In general, however, Neapolitan royalism is on a much lower level. Naples is a city of poverty and illiteracy; a relatively small proportion of the working population is regularly employed, a relatively high one lives by illicit traffickings and is still to some extent dominated by the Camorra organization. The war has intensified the corruption of Naples in every way; schools disappeared and black marketing and prostitution became the order of the day. Thus it was easy for Monarchist propagandists to persuade illiterate women that the Republic was something like a terrible sea-monster while they bought up the gang-leaders of the town, people well-known to their police for their nefarious activities. Just as the Bourbon kings of Naples used to mobilize their *lazzaroni* against people with more enlightened views so now the House of Savoy fell back on the beggars of the Bourbons. For anyone who had smelt the Neapolitan air just before June 2 it was not difficult to understand why the Campania region (Naples and the surrounding provinces) on that day gave one and a half million votes in favour of the Monarchy and only half a million for the Republic; nor was it difficult to comprehend the indignation felt in other parts of Italy.

On the whole Monarchist was better done than Republican propaganda all over the country. This was obviously the result of larger resources and it was known that certain rich industrialists were financing the sudden growth of Monarchist newspapers. But Monarchist propaganda was also clever. Partly it was well-timed so as to come in the last and most critical period, but it was impressive in that it used quotations from men like the great national poet, Carducci, who was converted some sixty years ago from enthusiastic Republican-

* Those Liberal posters had been put up elsewhere but further north they had been plastered over.

ism to support of the House of Savoy. In Naples the Monarchists even discovered and used statements alleged to have been made by the Prophet of the Republic, Mazzini himself, during a very short period when he counselled his followers to accept the Kingdom of Italy for the time. Another trump card of the Monarchists was to announce that the Allies were sure to interfere forcibly against the Republic. This was fairly convincing owing to the preference expressed by the vast majority of British and Americans in Italy. I myself constantly experienced that if I asked people their views they would answer either that they were Monarchist or indifferent, but if I then said, 'I hope the Republic will win,' they would gasp and say 'But you are English—why, yes, of course we do too!' Fear of the Allies was also fear for the food supply and many priests frightened their flocks with the threat that UNRRA would deliver nothing further if the Monarchy fell.

For the most striking development in the campaign preceding the Referendum was the sudden intervention of the Catholic clergy in favour of Umberto of Savoy. Wherever he went the ecclesiastical authorities received him with much ceremony and it was well known that the higher clergy were warmly on his side. But the Catholic Action inspired nearly all the small parish priests to exert unblushing pressure upon their parishioners in spite of Article 66 of the electoral law which expressly forbade anything of the kind. The torments of hell were liberally promised to those who should vote for the Republic which, it was declared, would be anti-Christian and Communist, and this probably influenced many newly-enfranchised women voters, even some who voted for a Republican Party like the Socialists on their Constituent Assembly voting-paper, to vote Monarchist in the Referendum. Indeed in a country like Italy, where personal predilections matter very much, there was certain to be a great deal of contradictory voting as between Referendum and Assembly. A typical case was that of the *concierge* of a house where a particularly charming Communist candidate lived, for the *concierge* said that of course he would vote for the Communist list in order to vote for the candidate in question, but at the same time he intended to vote for the Monarchy because people said that the Republic might interfere with his savings.

When all this is said and done the most important characteristic of the recent electoral period in Italy was a surprising degree of democratic maturity; as Gonella wrote in the *Popolo* Italy seemed to have become politically Scandinavian. There was a certain amount of Communist intimidation in Central Italy as well as strong Monarchist pressure as indicated above all over the country. The latter had its effect in that the majority in favour of the Republic was reduced, but yet on the whole the Italian people refused to abandon its conviction that the Monarchy was a bad thing. A typical incident took place the day before the voting; a soldier was walking along the Tiber bank wearing the Republican ivy-leaf badge when a young Monarchist officer stopped him and threatened him with punishment because soldiers must be loyal to the king.

But a Socialist politician happened to pass by, told the officer that his ideas were behind the times and forced him to retreat discomfited. In spite of threats and bribes, which after all occur in all electoral campaigns, most people in Italy in the weeks before the voting were chiefly eager to discuss all the issues with the greatest candour. One of the most remarkable phenomena of those pre-election days were the *comizietti* or 'little meetings'. These were open-air political discussions initiated as it seems by the Monarchists in Rome. But they were repeated spontaneously, not only at the Piazza Colonna in Rome, but also in the Galleria in Milan and in other big towns. They consisted of informal groups which any one might join and in which people expressed their own opinions with a frankness and listened to other views with a tolerance both of which were remarkable if one reflected for a moment on the temperament and recent history of this nation. The *comizietti* did not keep the public from attending big meetings of the more conventional kind at which all the orators of all the parties made their appeals. If the Italians had been tired and apathetic after all they have been through and after all their disappointments with regard to their international position it would have been intelligible, but nothing was farther from being the case. Nor should it be forgotten that, while wealthy Italians can buy every kind of food they choose, the average Italian is under-nourished nowadays, and has been for some time; this is true, not only of the towns, but also of the country population in the South and in Sicily.

When the long expected polling day arrived the public was so keen to vote that the polling stations were almost jammed with would-be voters and enormous queues had to be formed. The sun beat down on people's heads all that momentous Sunday but they remained good-tempered and orderly. All this time of waiting near the polling booths they were forbidden to talk politics. When in a queue in Rome a Monarchist began to slip round the propaganda leaflets a strong-minded Communist woman voter led him off and handed him over to the police. In Rome the Prefect took things so seriously that he forbade the sale of alcohol for three days: in country districts there was less severity. Indeed I heard of two hitherto enthusiastic Sicilian Monarchists who were only converted as they stood in their voting queue and this by the most familiar Republican argument that the Monarchy must go in order to give Italy her fresh start.

And so Umberto of Savoy was condemned to go on his travels though the majority against him was not so large as if the priests had not broken the electoral law. Whether the so ardently desired Republic can now be as firmly established as sober reality requires depends primarily, once the first few days of the Republic's life have passed without major disorders, upon the Constituent Assembly which was elected simultaneously with the holding of the Referendum. This Assembly confirms the results locally obtained in the spring. The Christian-Democrats are by far the largest single party but less than Socialists

and Communists combined. They will have 35 per cent. of the 550-odd seats in the Assembly, while the Socialists have 20.6 per cent. and the Communists 18.8 per cent.: the other parties, in themselves too small to matter, Liberals 6.7 per cent., Republican Party (an old Mazzinian formation which rejects Marxist theory) 4.4 per cent. and the half-Fascist group calling itself the Party of the Ordinary Man (*L'Uomo Qualunque*) 5.3 per cent., but they may sometimes weight the scales when the bigger parties disagree.

As far as the new constitution which this Assembly will draw up can be foreseen the franchise will remain direct and universal and the same for men and women. After the rejection of dictators and kings it is safe to predict that the President will be required to be a symbolic figure rather than an active politician. The Socialists and Communists originally preferred the idea of a unicameral system until the latter was rejected in the French Referendum, but they are now willing to co-operate with the Christian-Democrats in favour of two 'Houses of Parliament'. Leading Christian-Democrat exponents advocate a second house also of over 500 members, elected by regional assemblies and professional groups not unlike the old corporations: they seem to wish for the two Chambers to have equal powers though such a proposal will obviously and rightly arouse opposition. After the over-centralizing policy of the Crown and then of Mussolini, there is a general desire to decentralize the administration, and this process will have to be co-ordinated with the composition of the Second Chamber in so far as this is to be elected by regional assemblies. Since the Monarchist majorities in the South, especially in Campania, the question of regional autonomy has become one of critical importance for the Republic. It is essential that the poverty and ignorance of the South be more seriously fought than ever before since they have bound the South politically to those very influences by which they were perpetuated: it was strange to reflect in Naples in May upon the ragged, illiterate creatures who had been persuaded to dread the Republic, for the latter is much more likely to improve their lot than ever the servants of the Monarchy. But while carrying through a long overdue agrarian reform which could do much to raise the standard of life after a time, it will be important to give the South a degree of financial autonomy to put an end to the feeling of grievance engendered by an incidence of taxation equal to that in the richer Centre and North.

The intervention of the Clergy in the Referendum and election campaign has reopened the Church and State Question in Italy and has reawakened dormant anti-Clericalism. It is an irony indeed that the Catholic Church, which was not on speaking terms with the House of Savoy from 1870 until the Concordat in 1929, should have made such efforts to maintain it. Instead the Catholic effort has brought into the Assembly a Christian-Democrat party twice as large as were ever Don Sturzo's *Popolari*. This amorphous mass, as its critics and enemies are wont to call it, will now be the guarantee of the Republic, for, with their doctrine of acceptance of the powers that be, the Christian-

Democrats have all become loyal Republicans, and their Party leader, De Gasperi, for many years a Vatican librarian, will be the first Prime Minister of the Republic. And yet, if the renewal of the Concordat or any other question affecting the Church should arise in the Constituent Assembly, the anti-Clerical parties would have a bare majority.

If the inevitable Monarchist attempts to invalidate the Referendum figures as "cooked", and thereby to accuse De Gasperi of a *coup d'état*,—an appeal to the Allied Commission was sent in on these grounds—have no serious consequences, the Republic, far from being a leap into the dark as its enemies also foretold, will give Italy an almost monotonous continuity. During the provisional pre-election period it was felt necessary, in order that no particular party should gain advantages, for the country to be governed by a six-party coalition, but this led to recurrent compromise and delay, and many people had hoped for a more homogeneous Cabinet after the elections. It seems, however, that De Gasperi intends to continue the coalition system, choosing his colleagues in mathematical proportion to the strength of their respective parties in the Assembly; the only change will be that the new ministers, instead of having been arbitrarily nominated, will express the legal outcome of a national consultation. After the Constituent period perhaps a less diffuse executive body may emerge. When the Constituent Assembly actually meets in July, after electing its own President in order to be able to function, it will proceed at once to elect a provisional President of the Republic for one year. Here, too, continuity and national unity are to be the order of the day for it seems that the person most likely to be chosen is the ancient Orlando who was born in Palermo in May 1860, the month when Garibaldi and his Thousand invaded Sicily to free it from the Bourbons and unite it with Italy—hence, no doubt, the names of Victor Emmanuel received by the Sicilian baby. Many years later Victor Emmanuel Orlando represented Italy at the Peace Conference after the first World War and it still pleases him to be called the Prime Minister of Victory. Those who wish him to be President do so chiefly because he is a Monarchist and a Sicilian and his election would therefore be a conciliatory gesture to the beaten party and to the South.

On June 10, the twenty-second anniversary of the murder of Matteotti and sixth anniversary of Mussolini's fatal declaration of war, the Italian Republic was declared in a half-hearted way: since the results of the voting in 118 sections had not been finally checked legal scruple prevented the High Court from making a final statement on the Referendum figures which stood at 12,672,767 for the Republic and 10,688,905 for the Monarchy, with no possibility of any serious modification, however the last 118 sections might have voted. June 11 was then celebrated as a national holiday, but with all the emphasis not upon triumph but upon legality and reconciliation.

THE JUSTICE OF THE PEACE

BY S. L. BENSUSAN

THE opinions of one of the rank and file of a Country Bench may be of scant value and, in putting them forward, I can only plead, by way of extenuation, that they are the result of more than thirty years service divided between three Petty Sessional Courts, and that this service followed, *longo intervallo*, three years study of the law—along a hopeful road closed suddenly by illness—and ten years residence in the Temple. My sojourn in that delectable corner of London brought me close to the Law Courts and into touch with some of those who practised there; it was possible to see and hear outstanding figures, Lords Russell, Alverstone, Esher, Scrutton and Mr. C. F. Gill, to say nothing (which is best) of Sir Henry Hawkins and Mr. 'Judgment' Day. The list could be indefinitely prolonged, but what mattered most were duels between Counsel, interposition by Judges, summings up which were marvels of forensic exposition. All these served to teach a listener something of the Laws of Evidence.

When appointed to the Bench in 1914 on the recommendation of my good friend the then Lord Lieutenant of Essex, the Court was Dunmow, the Chairman Mr. Foakes, a retired barrister. Then I sat at Epping under Mr. Edwards, another excellent chairman, and a little more than a dozen years ago reached my latest term of service with the Lexden and Winstree Division.

On the three Benches there are only two men left who have seen longer service, and I have been permitted to witness great changes, all for the better, in the administration of Justice.

The Children and Young Persons Acts of 1932 and 1933, the Probation of Offenders Act, only seven years old when I joined the Bench and still in its helpless infancy, but greatly strengthened in 1926 by Probation Rules made by the Secretary of State, the extension of the Borstal System, the humanizing of our prisons, the gradual extinction of imprisonment for debt, the institution of Approved Schools, the development of Prisoners' Aid Societies, the appointment of Local Advisory Committees to make recommendations for the Magistracy (1910), all these developments belong to the twentieth century but more important than any, is the change of attitude towards defendants. As a class they are no longer regarded as a danger to the State because they are in trouble; 'good stiff sentences' are no longer popular and the administration of the law is passing however slowly out of the hands of men whose failures were pilloried week by week in *Truth*. We must remember that the County Justices

held considerable administrative responsibility and were the Local Authority down to 1882, that County Councils are a modern growth and the County Justices combined the duties of County and District Councils, their judicial function being a subsidiary one. It was only in 1906 that an Estate Qualification Act died, after living too long; 160 years old, it reserved the Bench for men who owned an estate of a certain value, until the middle 'seventies when persons owning leaseholds and living in houses rated at more than £100 per annum became eligible. In practice the majority of the old-time magistrates were game-preservers to whom poaching was the eighth deadly sin. The use of spring guns in woods became a misdemeanour less than a hundred years ago. The Night Poaching Acts of 1828 and 1844 could hardly be enforced in their severity to-day. The Ground Game Act of 1880, as amended in 1906, has also availed to curtail old-time tyranny which in any event has been dying a natural death for many years past. The Criminal Justice Administration Act of 1914, by declaring that Justices shall take the means of an offender into consideration has stayed the imposition of heavy penalties upon poor folk by men who, however upright and painstaking, cannot deal quite equitably, because they have never known what poverty looks like at close quarters. For nearly thirty years now women have been eligible for appointment to the Bench and so far as a limited experience may justify a conclusion, they have earned the opening of doors closed to them through more than five centuries.

Yet, when all improvements are noted, it must be admitted that many people still look upon the Justice of the Peace much as Shakespeare did when he gave us Mr. Justice Shallow and as Dickens did when he presented Mr. George Nupkins to the admirable and immortal Mr. Pickwick, though the Statute (2 Henry V.) which requires that County Justices should be "men of the best reputation and most worthy men of the County" still stands. From time to time, not very often when we remember that the county holds over 1,000 Petty Sessional Courts, an ugly failure to do the right thing brings a Bench into contempt, and forthwith the hundreds that never have strayed from the path of honest endeavour and correct practice are condemned. Why is this? What are the weaknesses of the present system? Perhaps after a generation of observation some have been grasped and may be set down here, not in any spirit of carping criticism but in the belief that certain reforms would set the house of summary jurisdiction in still better order.

Beyond all doubt our legislature has granted adequate protection, save in a few exceptional cases, both to the law-abiding citizen and to those who offend. The purpose of punishment is no longer vengeance but reformation; a prison sentence is regarded to-day as a last and regrettable resource. The powers of a court of summary jurisdiction are both wide and adequate and where the desired results are not achieved, the fault lies all too often with the magistrates themselves. They are selected without any demand for *ad hoc* qualifications, they are not required to understand so much as the elements of the laws of

evidence, they need know nothing of what may be called the etiquette of the court, they may never have visited a prison, they may be irascible men apt to regard defendants as guilty before a case has been fully heard, if the alleged offence be one they hold in special aversion. At the same time it is impossible in practice to ask more than that Justices should be of good character and repute, able and willing to do their honest best as inheritors of a tradition more than 600 years old.

The competition for seats on the Bench is not so keen among suitable candidates in rural areas as to justify demands for a standard of knowledge. But magistrates might be advised on election to attend Quarter Sessions as learners rather than adjudicators until they have mastered the elements of evidence and procedure; there is much to be learned from the wisdom and experience of Quarter Sessions Chairmen. They might be advised to inspect the nearest prison, Borstal Institution, and Approved School; they could learn to appraise 'hearsay' and circumstantial evidence, the permissibility of 'leading questions', the need to walk warily in dealing with sex cases and licensing problems. They would learn that their personal attitude towards offences of whatever kind is of no importance to anybody but themselves, and above all to understand that they do not sit to make the law but to administer it. They would be speedily disabused of the idea that the duties of a Justice of the Peace consist mainly in imposing penalties, or that his position is a tribute paid to wealth and social standing. It is fair to state that the modern tendency is to appoint men for their qualifications rather than for their possessions and that to-day the net of selection is very far flung.

There are certain duties that a Justice of the Peace should perform, duties of which he seldom or never hears. The visiting of Licensed Houses may serve as an example. Many of those who attend the Annual Licensing Session know nothing more than the Police Report can tell them, some Benches have no special body of Licensing Justices. Then again, there is very little team work, but a Bench should not be a collection of detached men and women; it should be a corporate body, if this term be permissible, assembled with the avowed purpose and duty of improving the administration of the law and to this end there should be meetings at regular intervals to consider matters of interest to magistrates, complainants and defendants alike. I think I may say that such meetings are desired or at least approved at high levels, but the tendency to regard a magistrate's job as something limited to Court days is too prevalent, and *esprit de corps* is hard to come by. Many Justices tend to look to the Clerk and police for their facts, though they could master the rules of procedure if they so decided, and they might well be more guarded in their attitude towards evidence for the prosecution. Long experience tends to show that in the country courts the police are reliable, fairminded and kindly; certain glimpses of urban courts suggest that this opinion is not suitable for general application.

In dealing with offenders every Bench incurs grave responsibilities; it may seem very easy for any of us to come to conclusions without hearing all the evidence, to deal impatiently with nervous witnesses, to seek to solve a problem without first being sure that we have no prejudices founded on our attitude to some particular offence, or on intolerance towards the pleasant sins that may have become instruments to plague those in misfortune. A hasty judgment may make a criminal; while a temperate and well considered one may help an offender to understand that those who sit in authority can sympathize as well as penalize. But no intentions, however good, can cover a complete lack of knowledge of procedure, and if the Petty Sessional Court is to win the public confidence it sometimes lacks, there must be a wider knowledge of what the law stands for on the part of those who administer it. Five years are required to enable a man to qualify as a solicitor, but for those who must decide between the conflicting views of two solicitors, not so much as an hour with a text book is demanded.

It would be a simple matter to draw up a syllabus and for an Educational Authority to establish lectures; a short series would suffice to direct along right lines the minds of those who join the Bench. There are already some excellent aids to Magistrates in the form of text books and many of our Benches keep a small reference library.

How many Justices know that 'binding over' is a conditional postponement of sentence, that affiliation cases are 'claims for sums of money' that every Justice shares in the responsibility for the administration of the Licensing Acts and has the right as well as the duty to visit houses in his immediate neighbourhood? How many understand that Juvenile Courts exist to help children in trouble rather than to punish them for falling into it, or know anything of the achievements of Probation as a cure for crime? How many Justices who know nothing of the rules of the road and do not even drive their own car, decide the countless and complicated problems of motoring offences?

We all have our prejudices and we can't hope to lose them by being promoted to the Bench, but we may learn that they must take no part in our decisions and that, if they affect our attitude to either party, we have no right to sit in judgment.

The conduct of Benches has changed considerably. On the first I knew the Chairman was a hard, honest autocrat, who disciplined his team. He had been a barrister, knew his business, and whatever his prejudices they were associated with an obvious intention to maintain the letter of the law; he was not greatly concerned with the spirit. Strict in his attendance, scrupulous in his consideration of problems, he commanded respect and sought nothing more; his business to punish offenders, not to understand them.

In the second Court I served it was hard not to feel that many decisions were in accordance with the view-point of men who had never been forced to work for a living. It is quite easy to keep within the law while forgetting that the

defendant is a fellow citizen who may have been unlucky. I write of many years ago and the constitution of this Court has changed—for the better.

The decision of the present Lord Chancellor that a Bench should be drawn from men of all shades of political opinion, a decision supported by the view of several of his predecessors, is obviously sound and in keeping with the spirit of our times, though it imposes upon Lord Lieutenants' Selection Committees an extremely difficult task in staffing and reinforcing. Yet although selection be difficult, although a few men gain admission to the Bench by favour rather than merit, it must be admitted that the general standard of conduct in the Courts I have known has been very high. Throughout the long years, I can count on the fingers of one hand verdicts that were, or may have been wilfully prejudiced, and in each case an offender escaped or suffered an inadequate penalty; I have never known an innocent person convicted against the weight of the evidence. There may be irregularities, practised by those who know no better; even a slight acquaintance with the laws of evidence and the etiquette that should rule the Justices' retiring room would restrain those who wish to tell their colleagues about the character of a complainant or defendant before his case has been heard.

Most of us whose tenure of office is a long one have been approached by defendants who wish to explain their own innocence. Sometimes the influence is applied indirectly; a friend who knows no better may ask you to do what you can to help X who is terribly worried and is really one of the best of fellows. But so far as experience has shown, the men and women with whom I have worked have been concerned to do their duty; errors have been born of ignorance rather than ill-intent.

Nearly forty years have passed since a Royal Commission under the Chairmanship of Lord James of Hereford reported that the numerical preponderance of one party on the magisterial benches was noted and resented and declared that appointments influenced by considerations of political opinion and services are highly detrimental to the public interest.

Lord Hailsham and Lord Sankey have expressed like valuable opinions on politics and the Bench. But in spite of much sound direction the fact remains that even to-day the Country Benches are largely recruited from one party and that the Lord Chancellor has been assailed publicly and privately for stating that the ideal bench would be a chairman with some practical experience and some legal training, with two fellow magistrates on either side of him, two drawn from the right and two from the left . . . "the administration of justice is not the prerogative or preserve of any class or section of the people." Unfortunately, many working men who might make excellent magistrates cannot attend the Bench; their work forbids.

The Chancellor's view should command the assent of all reasonable folk but its reception goes some way to suggest that reason is not always in evidence even among the elect. People still seek admission to the Bench, not because

they are prepared to study and master the duties involved, not because they are prepared if need be to give long hours to the close and courteous consideration of dull and uninteresting cases, but because they regard the post of magistrate as a proper tribute to the services they have rendered to themselves in acquiring or inheriting place and fortune; inflated by success, "they have set their mouth in the heavens and their tongue walketh through the earth." I have not looked upon the comedy, one might say tragi-comedy, from an advantageous observation post for many years without being able to state that as things were in 1914 so, with unimportant modifications, they were in 1945 despite much honest endeavour. Canvassing is less blatant than it was but it persists, and if the Lord Chancellor calls for another Royal Commission, as he has intimated his intention of doing, many people must needs hope that some at least of the evidence may be taken *in camera*. There is no suggestion here that those who are appointed, whatever their undisclosed antecedents, their bias or their prejudices, will not do their best when they come to Court; the thing that matters to the country at large is the quality of that best. The hectoring employer of labour the superannuated man from one of the public services who is convinced that 'the country is going to the dogs because there are such a lot of damned Bolshies about—eh—what?', these people are still among us, very eager to express what they call their opinions, though this be but a courtesy title. Selection Committees have a dreadfully hard task, even when the Lord Chancellor has given them definite guidance. Here is perhaps the leading principle he has laid down:

The first and much the most important consideration in the selection and appointment of Justices is that the candidates should be personally suitable in point of character, integrity and understanding, and should be generally recognized as such by those among whom they live and work.

* * * * *

For the better conduct of Petty Sessional Divisions a few practices call for consideration. A return of attendance is made annually to the Home Office and should fulfil a useful purpose, but as compiled it is definitely misleading. To quote from the Division in which I serve: we have held fortnightly meetings in place of weekly ones since 1940, so that the total number of attendances in any year is twenty-six. But the returns may credit a magistrate who has not attended every meeting with well over thirty, the explanation being that he gets two attendances recorded if he is on the Juvenile or other Panel. Whatever the manipulation, thirty-odd into twenty-six will just not go, though it can apparently stagger as far as the Home Office.

Another matter that should be set right is the taking of depositions in long hand. Hours may be wasted on a case that is going to Quarter Sessions or Assizes because the Indictable Offences Act, now a century old, insists on the

practice. A few Courts are saving much time by employing a skilled typist with a silent typewriter and this practice may spread and satisfy authority. The cost of the innovation should be borne by the State or the County since Petty Sessional Courts provide a considerable revenue from fines.

If the Courts are to benefit by the hard work and sound judgment of men whose means are limited, there should be some provision for meeting their expenses when they go to Quarter Sessions or attend the meeting of any of the Quarter Session Committees to which they may be appointed. Appeals, Rating Appeals, Provisional Courts, Licensing and the rest. Nowadays Quarter Sessions may demand three days and a magistrate may live thirty miles from the County Town. Those who do not need any assistance would not ask for it, but there should be no financial impediment placed in the way of men or women who cannot readily face the expense. Principles admitted at Westminster where laws are made might well extend to the Courts where these laws are administered.

Subject to the provision of necessary and elementary knowledge, to be gained by a brief course of study that could well be suggested to candidates for the Bench, all reforms required might come from within. Given the necessary *esprit de corps*, reinforced by regular meetings convened by the Chairman, the Bench would work as a team on terms of perfect equality, a team charged with the safeguarding of a tradition six centuries old and with the maintenance of the highest tradition of the most enlightened Benches, so that all parties to a dispute are sure not only of fair play but of intelligent understanding.

It may be permissible to go further and suggest that no magistrate should be appointed to any Bench before the members have had time to make representations to Selection Committees or the Lord Chancellor's Office, if they have information that has not been before the Selection Committee. In this way things that should not be done would become far more difficult in the doing. There are grave objections to any interference with the prerogatives of the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Lieutenant, but it may be that the intention of both these high authorities would be met. This is a controversial question but one that could hardly suffer from expert examination.

Rudyard Kipling once wrote a remarkable story called 'The Ship that Found Herself'. The discovery was made when all the component parts ceased to function separately. "She's just irons and rivets and plates put into the form of a ship" said the skipper to a visitor; "she has yet to find herself—the parts of her have not learned to work together yet." The story ends with a reassuring statement "when a ship finds herself all the talking of the separate pieces ceases and melts into one voice, which is the soul of a ship." I'd like to commend this story to those of my brother magistrates who have not met it. There is something for all of us here.

PUBLIC OPINION IN GERMANY

BY TIBOR MENDE

BETWEEN 1933 and 1945 the German *Reich* had been more united in economic planning, educational policy, administration and purpose than ever before. Following the collapse four zones emerged, each representing a different social approach to the problem presented by Germany's economic and social break-down. The four approaches represent varying emphasis on different social and economic measures; propagate different ways as desirable for German reconstruction; and, are similarly at variance in their respective analyses in Germany's recent social past which concluded in the Nazi régime. All these attitudes receive disproportionate response under the presently widespread political opportunism. Thus, Germany just emerging from a profound and violent social experience, is forged by four (or, at least, three) divergent social philosophies, merely according to the geographical chance of her division under occupation. Under these conditions it is not easy to trace common denominators in present day public opinion in Germany. Those which equally affect all Germans in all four occupation zones are, first of all, material conditions, the question of denazification and the attitude towards the occupying Powers.

As a result of the bombing of German cities and the settlement of millions of eastern German refugees, it is safe to assume that barely more than ten to fifteen per cent. of Germany's city population lives in homes considered satisfactory before the war. The approximately eighty per cent. of ill-housed city population has also lost most or many personal belongings often involving daily necessities hardly or not at all replaceable under present conditions. This majority, as well as the less affected city dweller and rural population, have been living during the past two years on a near starvation diet, less than half the calories value of the present British rations, and had either irregular or, in most cases, no textile or footwear rations. Meanwhile, with the exception of a few essentials obtainable at controlled prices, money has almost completely lost its buying value. To live on a legal income is possible only if the person in question has an unusual stock of goods available for barter. The alternative is the black-market.*

* A family of three can subsist in Western Germany to-day on 150 to 200 Marks per month. The monthly salary of a typist or a skilled worker ranges between 100 and 140 Marks. The income of a University professor or bank manager ranges from 450 to 800 M. On the other hand, a pound of coffee costs on the black market, 400 to 600 M., a pair of shoes (otherwise unobtainable) from 200 to 600 M., a pound of butter 400 to 600 M. These prices are far higher in Berlin or other big cities. The weekly rations of a single person (bread, fats, etc.) cost, at controlled prices, between 8 to 10 M.

This is the rough background to any social attempt in Germany to-day as far as the material conditions are concerned. It explains why, for the overwhelming majority of Germans, the satisfaction of material needs has been their dominant, if not only, interest since the surrender.

Though the black-market, with the exception of a few big cities, never reached the institutionalized form as in Italy, Belgium or France, informal barter is very widespread and for most Germans presents the only possibility for procuring minimum necessities. The barter between town and country involves useful articles of all kinds. The farmer can obtain machinery only in exchange for food and the skilled labourer or the specialist of the towns, render services only in exchange for food or other necessities useful in barter. Business people, mechanics or skilled labourers add substantially to their rations this way. As many of these specialists were beneficiaries of the Nazi régime, their strong bargaining position represents political influence. It is "worth" being on good terms with the local chemist or mechanic even if he is a well known Nazi. These potentially useful people with dubious political views, and the shifting strata of destitutes who do not possess any object suitable for barter and have no personal ties or geographical dependence, together with the large majority of youth, constitute a social coalition whose future political allegiance is of great importance. Though the social background of these three groups is totally different, they have a common denominator in the ideological vacuum that characterizes their outlook. As a newly-appointed German official remarked to me: "To-day, these people are the 'unknown people's front'; the social conditions to reach and teach them, do not exist yet. They may be come one day the adherents of the most extreme slogans."

The other "unknown quantity" of the German social structure is the rural population. German farmers, generally speaking, are politically inactive or conservative. In the Western zones, up to date, very little attention has been paid to arousing their interest in the problems of the new Germany and the organizations of the new political parties hardly reached them. As a result, the farmers feel very little responsibility for higher production and their main interest is to secure the highest returns, preferably in goods. The main reason for this complacency is in the fact that rural areas have been little affected by the war and the influx of refugees has been the only major intrusion on the mental isolation of these rural communities. It is maintained that Nazi political propaganda directed towards rural communities was offset by the merciless controls enforced by the Third Reich. As controls, in the Western zones, are less rigorously enforced to-day, the farmers have often even gained economically. The influx of refugees and the reaction to the controls of the Nazi era, have produced an increased sentiment of local consciousness and lead to indirect support for movements of provincial autonomy and tendencies of separatism. This is especially noticeable in Bavaria.

Generally speaking, the attitude of the German people to-day varies according to the occupation zones and within the zones, according to politico-social groups. The word "classes", based on the traditional qualifications such as property, possession of means of production, or type of education, has largely lost its meaning. In Germany to-day social groups can be differentiated on the grounds of who has sufficient food or who hasn't, depending on factors like country connections or possession of a farm; or people who have or haven't the usual range of goods necessary for a civilized existence, depending on accidental factors such as whether the person was bombed out or suffered fire or looting. In addition there is the differentiation of former, active Nazis and other politically and socially disqualified individuals, running into several millions, as against the "new officials" who were put into positions of authority by the occupying Powers. Therefore a conscientious appraisal of public opinion must be based on the socio-economic groups of Germans living on regular rations, or those with access to extra food; people without bare necessities and people with pre-war articles; as well as Germans who enjoy the confidence, and share the authority of, the respective occupation Power, and those who are socially disqualified or live in permanent insecurity because of their former political activities. To complete the picture one would have to consider youth as a special group.

The general preoccupation with material conditions, often reduced to a struggle for mere survival, is the explanation of the apparent political apathy of the German masses. It also accounts for the extraordinary degree of political opportunism which is often misinterpreted as political docility. These misinterpretations often produce hasty and dangerous conclusions regarding the progress made in Germany's "political re-education".

How erroneous such misrepresentations can be, is best illustrated by the articulate response of Germans to an issue like denazification. It is one of the most widely discussed subjects among Germans and its implications are among the main factors shaping public opinion. Numerically it affects nearly every fourth German. Those affected argue for forgiveness and for a chance to return to the community as equal members. People with an anti-Nazi record insist on drastic measures. Political leaders, the parties and the Churches, are all out to make political capital through advocating this or that attitude towards them. As a whole, with the various approaches in the four zones, and its incomplete execution in all of them, it is an unsettled issue poisoning public life, causing bitter controversies and retarding the social conciliation which is the precondition of reconstruction. Many churchmen are openly preaching against the "victimization of the little Nazi" and there are cases where the Church opposes the denazification programme. Gaps in denazification, on the other hand, give rise to bitter criticism. In December 1945, for instance, uniform editorials in the British zone papers were obliged to defend denazification in

the zone against accusations of slowness and lack of severity.*

Meanwhile, in the Soviet zone, early in January this year, Communist leader Pieck came out in favour of the political rehabilitation of nominal Nazis and of giving them "the possibility of participating in the anti-fascist democratic fighting front so that they might free themselves of the shame of having been Nazi Party members and regain the confidence of the anti-fascists."† About the same time the Berlin Social Democrat daily *Das Volk* (2.1.46) urged that nominal ex-Nazis be "exempted from punishment and atonement." The only part of Germany where denazification was based on a schematic law, had been the U.S. zone. Each individual desirous to enter employment was compelled to fill out a detailed questionnaire (*Fragebogen*) stating all his affiliations with any Nazi organization or other political activity. Those who were members of the Party before May 1, 1937‡ were more severely dealt with and usually disqualified for employment. Penalties for false information were very heavy and the *Fragebogen* became the target of lively political controversy. In his message to *Christians in England* Dr. Wurm, head of the German Evangelical Church Council, referred to it in scathing terms. This method, he said, had not always given the impression of "higher justice or more humane spirit." Early in March, under the pressure of public opinion, the U.S. Military Government issued a new denazification law, classifying ex-Nazis into categories and differentiating between various types of party members. Each case is to come before a tribunal, composed of Germans who are acquainted with local conditions.\$

Denazification is by no means complete as yet in any of the occupation zones. In many cases crying injustices have been tolerated, causing great discouragement to people who were sincere friends of the Allied cause. Individuals whose presence can be only damaging to the Allied cause are given democratic privileges when it is evident that their aim is to exploit those privileges for their ultimate abolition. On the other hand, in the name of blind, schematic denazification, many relatively innocent and harmless individuals were rendered

* One of them, the *Kieler Kurier* declared (8.12.45) The British authorities acted only in those cases where the continued employment of Nazis would have hindered the work of reconstruction". After giving figures of the number of people arrested or dismissed, the editorial asserted that though British denazification is regarded by some as slow, it is quite thorough, and no Nazis will escape their just fate.

† From scattered accounts it would appear that action against active Nazis, higher officials and S.S. men has been very drastic and often involved deportation. Regarding the little Nazis the interesting methods of "compensation with work" is being used. Re-employed little Nazis have to "prove their intention of wanting to become a useful and decent member in the new German community" either with a certain percentage to be paid from their income or with a certain number of hours' work on public schemes, often clearing of debris.

‡ After this date formal adherence to the Nazi Party was more strictly enforced in Germany.

\$ *Hessische Nachrichten*, an American zone newspaper greeted the new law (6.3.46) as putting an end to the situation creating different classes with different rights. "Only the really guilty will be punished and the others will be lead back into the constructive body of the nation. Once denazification is over and everyone knows where he is, it can be expected that reconstruction will progress more swiftly also."

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terest in Poland's survival and prosperity.

The new Poland took shape at the Yalta Conference in January 1945 between representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain. It was then stated: "The three Heads of Government consider that the Eastern Frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line with digressions from it in some regions from five to eight kilometres in favour of Poland. They recognize that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the North and West Final delimitations of the Western Frontiers of Poland should thereafter await the Peace Conference." This Yalta decision meant the loss to Poland of 69,000 square miles in the east, of forty-seven per cent of its territory.

Then in July, 1945, the Polish Government was invited to the Potsdam Conference. It was agreed that final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should await the peace settlement and until then, that the former German territory east of the Oder-Neisse line and including Danzig and the portion of East Prussia not placed under the administration of the U.S.S.R.—should be placed under the administration of Poland. For Poland, as for other countries, an early and final peace settlement appears imperative.

Since July 1945, the Polish Government has in fact taken over the administration of these German territories, amounting to about 39,000 square miles. Europe east of the Oder has been the scene of vast uprooting of peoples in the last eighteen months. I was told in Warsaw that one out of every three Poles is still on the move. The difficulties in the way of this resettlement of millions of people are great. There is an acute lack of agricultural implements, horses and livestock. There is a lack of transport—I noticed that ill-fed horses drawing long carts bring in the food supplies of Warsaw. However, considerable work has been done on the land and I was told that this year ten million acres have been ploughed. Poland's land structure has been completely transformed. The big estates have been divided up. Some Poles argue that the division has been made too violently and that new holdings are too small to be economic—"too small to live in, too big to die in"—as an opponent of the Government told me in Warsaw. The average holding is from twelve to fifty acres. It must be remembered however that two-thirds of the people of Poland are farmers and farm labourers. The cry for agrarian reform and for the ending of the feudal structure of the Polish countryside, has been raised in Poland for many years. Indeed before the war, peasant leaders were sent to Polish concentration camps for advocating it.

Alongside this agrarian revolution there has been achieved the nationalization of Polish industry—though in some spheres private ownership has been allowed to continue. All factories employing over fifty workers are in theory—and I was told, usually in practice, nationalized. Industrial progress is considerable. Nearly all the Polish coal mines are in working order—Poland is now the only European country exporting any considerable quantities of coal.

What of the political scene? Poland is ruled by a Provisional Government

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consisting of representatives of various political parties. Four of these parties collaborate closely together, P.P.R., the P.P.S., the S.D. and S.L. The P.P.R. is the Polish Workers' Party—successor to the Communist Party of Poland. The P.P.S. is the Polish Socialist Party, the S.D. the Democratic Party and the S.L. the Peasant Party, which must be distinguished from the P.S.L., the Polish Peasant Party under the leadership of M. Mikolajczyk. Finally, there is the S.P., the Party of Labour, which is made up of Catholic Democrats.

There have been no elections since the liberation of Poland though in July a referendum took place. I was not myself present when the referendum was held. It is characteristic of the bitterness of Poland's political life that accusation and counter-accusation as to the electoral methods used have been violent.

Whether or not free election can in fact be held in Poland in present conditions is one of the many disputed issues there and it is not merely a domestic issue but one of considerable international importance. Historical events have made the internal politics of Poland an international concern. One of the conditions of the Yalta agreement to which of course the British Government adhered and as a result of which it recognized the Polish Provisional Government, was that free and unfettered elections should be held in Poland as soon as possible. Later at Potsdam, the Polish Government promised that elections would be held in the early part of this year. There are some who accuse the Polish Government of bad faith in this matter and assert that it is their fear of defeat at the polls which prompts the delay. The Polish Government case is that present conditions in Poland make the holding of free elections almost impossible. The people are still on the move, registration is nowhere near completed and finally, terrorist groups harry the countryside and conduct frequent assassinations of State officials and of the few Jews who have survived the Nazi extermination. The British Press has reported several murders of officials appointed to run the referendum. A Minister told me that 15,000 supporters of the Government and over 800 Jews have been assassinated by these terrorist bands since the war ended, including peasants who delivered grain to the Government, school teachers and four judges.

It is this lawlessness which the Government claims as its justification for the use of its security police. Unfortunately, political animosities appear to be increasing in Poland. Members of the Polish Peasant Party and others allege intimidation and worse at the hands of these security police. On its part the Government asserts that a possible Government defeat at the polls would be followed by reaction and terror. Some of the Ministers remember that before the war they personally suffered at the hands of their opponents. The Polish Premier spent a year in prison. The Vice-Premier, Gomulka, received a ten-year sentence, M. Witos, the then leader of the Peasant Party, was sent to a concentration camp. Poland, these Ministers say, is not England—the political climate is very different. However, the pledges of Yalta and Potsdam remain and despite the undoubted difficulties that exist, the question whether or not

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zone continuing with a diet of survival and the Soviet zone with about 400 calories over the U.S. zone rations.

It would be false to imagine that the impact of this "news" more than touched upon the fringe of the anti-Russian indoctrination in the German masses. It has, however, started a process which, dependent on future events, may result in important changes in German public opinion. Just because the terror of everything Russian is based on such hysterical and illogical foundations, with the increasing search for some dynamic and uniting creed to replace the legacy of Nazi teachings, it may easily collapse under the impact of factual information.

Beyond and above these formative issues and the somewhat dazed surprise of the German man on the street at all the social and political changes he suddenly has to face, there is a more and more conscious groping towards some sort of final form of existence which will mean new life in a future Germany. With the tired mental surrender of the masses, these first gropings are noticeable only among the older age groups or among people with higher education. Besides the older, liberal type of Germans who survived the Nazi régime, there is a considerable strata of politically conscious individuals, mostly pre-1933 adherents of one of the working-class parties. Both, however, are middle-aged or old, with their outlook firmly anchored in the 1930's. At the other end of the scale is the mass of young people representing a dangerous political vacuum, a bewildered and obstinate clinging to their Nazi conditioning and, at the same time, a curious searching for an alternative. Between the two are the politically nondescript masses with their oppressive daily worries and universal disgust with "wrangling political parties" and politics in general.

This politically incoherent mass of tired people is bombarded in the Western zones, day in day out with editorials, radio and public lectures, political speakers and occupation authorities, to realize the inherent values of "democracy" and to "establish it in their own country." The word democracy is used irresponsibly in every connection and as a German lady told me, "the best service the Allies could do to democracy in Germany would be to ban the use of the word for at least six months." Most Germans regard it implied that the sooner they "establish" democracy the sooner the occupation will end.* In want of a definite and constructive lead, Germans regard "democracy" as a return to the Weimar days which ended with Hitlerism and are inclined to regard it as a structural achievement which can be "completed" by a certain date. In reality, most Germans strongly distrust what they believe to be "democracy" and associate it with *laissez-faire* economics, unemployment and, above all, with numerous political parties. All these appear to them as a con-

* During the preparation for the January community election in the American Zone, the *Nuernberger Nachrichten* (9.1.46) quoted a Social Democrat Party announcement in Fuerth, saying: "... all reluctance on the part of the voters leads to an unfavourable criticism of the sentiments of our people. If the clear cut change in our attitude becomes obvious ... confidence in the healthy democratic attitude of our people will increase." (My italics.)

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scious dilution of the nation's constructive energies when facing the enormous task of reconstruction.

One cannot escape the impression that the politically articulate people in Western Germany, whose political outlook is associated with the Weimar Republic, unite in a fatal synthesis with the political attitudes of some western politicians who see Germany's re-education merely as a process of the reconstitution of institutions the inadequacy of which lead to the tragic end of the Weimar road. This attitude of re-establishment of old, instead of the creation of new social forms suitable to present day German needs provokes a uniform reluctance on the part of the Germans, expressed, for the time being, in a cynical political opportunism and a very widespread distrust of all political parties and political leaders.

If the political and social experiment, called Naziism, was a response to a search for new forms of social expression the justified part of that demand will have to be answered. Otherwise, Germany will remain a conglomeration of unlabelled social and political groupings portentous with further surprises.

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND SECURITY

BY LEWIS EINSTEIN

OF the seven Great Powers in 1914, only three survive and, although these have been Allies, they are to-day as pre-occupied as are the smaller States with questions of their future security. The problem of security in fact, become more acute not only because of the destructiveness of the new weapons but, paradoxically, owing to the completeness of victory and the proximity in which all nations now find themselves. The former pattern of security still remains substantially the same as before, although the relative importance attached to its different features has become more controversial. This pattern may be compared to a pyramid that is built on a foundation of armaments which then rises into a structure of alliances and is topped by an international organization of peace. Public opinion everywhere agrees on the necessity of having such an international organization but few statesmen are as yet prepared to place an unqualified faith in its efficacy. The doubts they entertain do not imply any lack of desire to adhere to an instrument that probably offers a last hope for civilization to escape from the annihilation that awaits it in another war. But no one can be blind to the many difficult and dangerous tests that will still have to be met before it can be possible to affirm that Great Powers are prepared to submit to the decisions of this organization when that judgment is unfavourable. Meanwhile the extent of scepticism that prevails can be measured in terms of the armaments that are stacked in a disquieting nearness to the Council Chamber.

Between the gamble which is still inseparable from a peace organization and the harsh realism of military preparations there lies a wide expanse that separates two opposite poles and contains elements that have something to do with each, yet belong to neither. It is within this zone that avenues are planned and traced which lead to understandings and alliances that supposedly make for the mutual protection of nations. From time immemorial this has always been done. The foreign policy of all States contains elements that are traditional, others that are functional, and still others that have the future in mind. The statesman's task is how to reconcile and utilize all three elements. Conventional meanings that we attached to common terms may however be misleading, as becomes clear when one reflects that Great Britain has made a pact with Russia but not with the United States.

Mr. Bevin has recently expressed his hope that the alliance with Moscow would be extended for fifty years. From a British point of view this pact is

intended as a pledge of peace. It may also remind some sceptics of the alliance that existed between Italy and Austria before 1914, and which was explained on the ground that the two countries had to be friends or enemies. Now that the German danger has ceased to exist for the time, there is regrettably little to suggest that Moscow feels any desire for close relations with her ally. Aware that she stands in no peril from attack, the Soviet finds a greater benefit in pursuing tactics that seem to have as their primary purpose a wish to exclude or, at least, to undermine British influence in different parts of the world. It is of course possible that these tactics will one day be reversed, and it would almost certainly be an error to suppose that the present estrangement is destined or even intended to lead up to another war. But, at least for the time, it seems clear that British calculations cannot count on any wish on the part of Moscow to cultivate closer relations between the two countries.

With Russia left out, the avenues that lie before Great Britain for a useful intimacy with other nations become somewhat restricted. It is generally understood that a closer friendship with France, and also with the smaller countries of Western Europe, would be welcome and would be in keeping with England's historic tradition. How far a policy of this nature may be promoted on grounds of economic benefit, and how far any accompanying political or defensive purposes will be interpreted by Moscow, as constituting a potentially hostile Western bloc is still uncertain. Every care, doubtless, will be taken to avoid arousing suspicion but the Soviet still displays an uncomfortable readiness to assume that any country not entirely under its control must be unfriendly, and this disposition will have to be reckoned with in shaping the foreign policy of every State. A Franco-British Alliance can have no aggressive purpose but it is less certain that taken only by itself and unless it is included in a much wider frame that it will add to the security of either nation.

England and France, in any event, are likely to move closer together even if the nature of their future relationship is still undefined. In a remarkable article that appeared in the January number of the *Political Quarterly* Mr. R. H. S. Crossman described the position of Great Britain to-day as being similar to that of France in 1918, left a victor, yet so weakened that she was no longer able to fight another war. Mr. Crossman gloomily suggests that in the event of a future conflict England might have to capitulate before the outbreak of hostilities, or else collapse in its early stages. The purpose of his argument is directed however to prevent Great Britain from being drawn into an American alliance owing to his fear that in case of war between Russia and the United States, she would become a sally-port with her cities and harbours exposed to destruction. He suggests, instead, that England, France and the smaller nations of Western Europe, together with their colonial empires, should form a neutral zone that would separate the two giants. Nothing can be more understandable than the desire to keep out of the consuming cauldron of an-

other war, although it is less easy to feel convinced that this aim would be attained by the method he proposes.

The possibility of a future conflict between Russia and the United States may almost be excluded, except for some cause in which also Great Britain would share the same anxieties and interests as America. Only in the Western hemisphere, which lies outside the Russian sphere, can it be said that American interests differ substantially from the British, although even there Canada remains to be considered. A possible future clash between Russia and America would far more likely happen because of some crises in Europe, or in Asia, and in either instance it would touch regions of close interest to Great Britain. Any refusal by England to deny her responsibility in that event or even an improbable readiness on her part to abdicate her position as a Great Power would not be sufficient to guarantee her own future security, and at best would be likely to obtain for her little more than the same kind of respite which she purchased so dearly at Munich. How long could she, in fact, expect to keep out of a future war merely by following with France a policy of defensive neutrality that would be tantamount to a negative appeasement?

If England is really quite so weak and vulnerable as Mr. Crossman suggests, and if her cities can be destroyed in the first hostilities, what reason would Russia have to respect British neutrality the day that she might find it to her advantage to use her ports and benefit from her industry? The argument put forward is based on the seemingly shadowy hope that an alliance with France, and the small countries of Western Europe, would be sufficiently impressive to compel respect from the warring powers. England in that event would have to undertake to defend the even more vulnerable eastern frontiers of some very weak countries on the Continent, whose neutrality will be difficult to guarantee. The assumption that the Colonial empires of Great Britain, France, and Holland, would add their strength so as to form a vast neutral zone is singularly blind to the fact that Canada, and probably Malaya, and Australia, would almost inevitably be drawn into the conflict. One ought not to forget that to-day the shortest distance by air between Russia and the United States passes over Canadian territory.

Ancient memories still cause nations to attach too much importance to former beliefs in alliances without realizing that a greater security may be found in ideals and aims which are held in common than in any military pacts. Alliances, as a rule, indicate contractual relations that nations enter into for purposes of mutual benefit. If this benefit is plain the treaty is unnecessary, and when it is not convincing no pact is likely to remain binding for long. When nations think along similar lines and agree on similar principles, there is much less risk of war between them. For better or for worse, Great Britain and America, to-day, are drawn together by ties that, in spite of their informality and in spite of what often are contrary appearances, are far more binding than is the text of any treaty of alliance. Neither nation could, if they would,

escape from these obligations that are imposed by a mutual relationship which is inherent to their own security.

The unwritten common law is often appropriately mentioned as constituting a great link between England and America. It also suggests how the relations between the two countries are continually being reshaped. There is no need to attempt to draw these into a rigid pattern, or to formulate something concrete which will later be superseded. Their mutual ties can in fact be compared to a civil marriage rather than to one that enjoys the blessing of the Church. The marriage may go well or badly, but there can be no divorce. Common aims and interests will always mean much more than some controversial text couched in a legal phraseology. It is far preferable that the undefined intimacy, under much surface jealousy and often angry words and snarling resentments, which exists between two countries should remain suitably vague and unformulated.

It seems a paradox to suggest that it may be quite as desirable for both Great Britain and the United States to have alliances with the Soviet, as it would be undesirable to sign an Anglo-American alliance. In the case of Russia, it might be possible for the contracting parties to state the nature of their relations so precisely, and so explicitly, that there should be little room for any future misunderstanding, whereas no declaration of a similar kind could ever be made to fit the far more intricate relations that exist between London and Washington. These are, in fact, much more implicit than they are explicit, and any attempt to reduce Anglo-American ties to the cold text of a legal wording would mean either excluding a great deal that could not form part of a treaty or else including a great deal that might be subject to criticism and controversy. The question would at once be asked against whom such a treaty was directed, and the Soviet would not unnaturally take umbrage and suspect that it was against her.

The relations between Great Britain and America have in them something so peculiar, so unprecedented and unique that they fit ill into any ready-made pattern, and cannot easily be adjusted within the framework of an alliance. The deeper interests that connect Great Britain with the United States will never remain quietly settled underneath the hard crust of a pact. Intercourse between countries that are in such close proximity cannot be stationary but will have ups and downs and improve or deteriorate in accordance with events and the state of public opinion. It is not unlikely that before long we may enter a period where, in the two nations, the application of very different economic policies can also lead to the exchange of many harsh words and arouse heated feelings on both sides. Let there come a time when some serious difficulty arises and a treaty will at once be thrown into the furnace of politics which means that in America, as in England, some ill-considered and bitter opinions will be expressed. This might, of course, happen without a pact, but the effect would then be less harmful. If, however, a pact of alliance is ever placed in

the shop window, sooner or later it will be soiled there and can never again recover its early freshness.

In one of his happiest phrases Mr. Churchill has compared the future of Anglo-American relations to the rolling of the Mississippi. Mr. Churchill is himself a living proof of how by personal meetings with President Roosevelt he accomplished more than could have been done by a dozen treaties.

Primarily, the strength of Anglo-American relations rests on the fact that they are based on the common desire for a lasting peace. Peace stands, however, for something so elastic that it conveys some very different meanings at different times, but broadly speaking the peace which the Anglo-Saxon countries have in mind does not call for any territorial expansion, admits the rights of other nations to the freedom of self-government, seeks to establish equal opportunities, and makes for decent human relations.

It is often lost sight of in the English-speaking countries, although never at Moscow, that Anglo-Saxon democratic aims mean much more than a mere profession of some commendable ideals that are sufficiently remote not to disturb the practical measures that seem desirable. These aims form, in fact, an essential part of the structure of Western security, and whatever gap they leave outside will have to be filled up by force. This is truer than ever to-day, for all countries are now jostled together in a proximity which is dangerous when it is not friendly. The Soviet is acutely aware of the silent process of osmosis, which goes on from both sides at different levels for, though the Democracies feel concern because of their dread of communist infiltration, Moscow shares a similar anxiety for democratic ideas. This helps to explain the iron curtain by which the Soviet tries to screen the countries under its control from the contact of Western influence. There is in this policy an admission of weakness which is concealed behind an expression of strength but the result is also to place the Anglo-Saxon nations in a quandary which makes them acquiesce in a denial of their own principles. The necessity of maintaining armies of occupation and military administrations still helps to obscure the issues in those countries of the Danube basin that formerly constituted a kind of borderland between Democracy and Totalitarianism. The acceptance of much that happens in these to-day can be explained by necessity but cannot possibly add to the feeling of general security. Unless the breach between East and West can be narrowed, there can be no assurance for a lasting peace.

Mr. Churchill in his speech at Fulton observed that Russia is only impressed by power and that Great Britain and the United States should stand together and demonstrate by certain practical measures their co-ordinated might. The English-speaking nations are near to each other less because of their power than because their standards and their aims are similar. If Mr. Churchill had seen fit to add that the basis for this common effort must be looked for in a wider agreement on aims rather than on weapons his address might have been less open to criticism. Plainly there would not be the same tension in Europe

to-day if Russia and the Western democracies could reach an agreement on the general aims before them.

The Soviet as well as some forty other countries have already subscribed to the same aims. The Atlantic Charter which all have signed contained some admirable purposes, and only a year ago at San Francisco the United Nations reaffirmed their "faith in human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small . . . and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained." Mr. Molotoff, in a letter which he later addressed to Mr. Bevin, wrote: "I would ask you to bear in mind that the Soviet Government attach exceptional importance to the strict fulfilment of obligations undertaken."

It is difficult to believe that these expressions of purpose are only empty words and hypocrisy. It is difficult to think this because although Russian methods are very different from Western ones, their professed aims in important respects are not dissimilar. Admittedly, it is no easy matter to apply these aims to questions of frontiers, reparations, economic controls and civil liberties. Western democratic governments who are listening to the pressing cry for demobilization are reluctant to assert opinions that might involve fresh responsibilities and lead them into new dangers. But also, Moscow has now understood that Central Europe is not yet ripe for Bolshevism, and that Russia has a better chance of gaining her ends by professing respect for democratic institutions which later she can hope to capture. This means that the situation viewed from either side is fluid and that fortunately there still is room for many adjustments and compromises between the Powers which may not too outrageously transgress the principles to which all have subscribed.

From much confusion, two important facts stand out prominently—the first is that Russia wants a war as little as do the Western democracies and that peace will not be disturbed so long as the three Great Powers do not fall apart. And secondly, that the full harvest of victory has not been garnered, and may not be for many years so that the common danger which brought the three nations together can do so again. A greater effort can still be made to try to bring together the points of similarity between the Powers rather than to emphasize their differences. Certain of these have been inevitable for the claims between allies have always led to clashes after a victory is won. Others are inherent in two systems of government. But there are also important common interests which should offset these differences and the task for statesmen when they draw up their balance sheet will be to show that these mutual interests are still on the credit side.

As time goes on the problem of Germany is much more likely to grow worse rather than better. The same causes which brought the Coalition together will exist under other forms and they will lead to the three Great Powers uniting or else falling apart. The future of the Reich can reflect either aspect of

this relationship so that it will become the tie that links them or else a solvent. Will Germany be Communist, Socialist or even Nazi under another name? Is it to be federal or unified? Will controls be exercised by Allied boards or is the conquered State to be divided into spheres of influences with the dangerous rivalries that will follow? Will any of the three Great Powers be tempted to make use of German manpower for their armies and swallow the baits dangled by the Germans in order to divide them? The perils that are inherent in a difficult situation may develop with a cumulative effect and will certainly lead to many crises. They will call for much understanding and a common effort if they are not to end in disaster. Sooner or later seventy million Germans forcibly kept within a reduced and impoverished territory and restricted in every way are bound to make their angry pressure felt with a violence that will serve either to hold the Allies together or else to tear them asunder.

Neither Great Britain nor the United States have any territorial ambitions on the Continent and both countries regard their armies of occupation in Germany as being unwelcome but unavoidable responsibilities. Both understand that victory must not again be thrown away by neglect and are aware that if they step out it is Russia that will step in to endanger future peace. Moscow also knows this for the Soviet has a real policy in Germany in a sense that neither England nor America can have one. The Western democracies have no particular preference for any German party so long as they carry out the orders they receive and are not too openly contemptuous of democratic principles. Yet it will make a vast difference to the world if decent human relations can again be restored in the Germany of tomorrow and this will be most likely to happen if the Allies are able to agree on the kind of nation that they wish to see rebuilt, and on the kind of life they will allow Germans to lead. In this respect there is little difference between England and the United States, because their aims and standards are much the same.

In the discussions that are taking place little effort has hitherto been apparent to secure a practical application for the aims which the Powers subscribed to at San Francisco. A code of fair dealing that should apply to the rights of men as well as to States still remains to be drawn up by the United Nations. Great Britain and America may discover that the security which they hope to find in future peace is inseparable from obtaining as wide an acceptance as possible for the principles of conduct and the guarantees of human rights that they should be prepared to endorse.

THE FUTURE OF THE UNIVERSITIES

BY J. MACKAY-MURE

IT was stated categorically in a recent article in *The Economist* that "the labour shortage is nowhere more acute or likely to be more lasting than among the ranks of administrators, business managers, scientists, teachers, architects and doctors—in fact, the professional and managerial classes as a whole." It was also suggested, in the same article, that this hunger for trained and educated men could not be dismissed merely as a legacy of war. Rather must it be accepted as the inevitable consequence of the development of a civilization "which puts so heavy a premium on so many professional skills, which would break down without its host of specialist advisers who alone master the techniques of its complexities, physical and human."

The result of these developments is a demand for increasing numbers of "educated" men and women possessed of the capacity to think and to act independently. To produce such educated men and women is essentially the function of the universities; and the report of the Barlow Committee on scientific man-power is a convincing statement of the need for the capacity of British universities in all departments of teaching and research to be doubled within a decade. While the primary task of the committee was "to consider the policies which should govern the use and development of our scientific man-power," the report gives welcome prominence to the importance "of an association which takes all knowledge as its province and in which all branches of knowledge flourish in harmony," and deprecates

any attempt to meet the increased demand for scientists and technologists at the expense of students of other subjects (even if, as is unlikely, the universities could be persuaded to make such an attempt) or to give any preference to science students over arts students in such matters as military service.

In reaching the conclusion that nothing less than an increase of 100 per cent., in the capacity of the universities will suffice, the committee has been rightly concerned to stress that, although it may not be possible to assess statistically the demand for graduates in the humanities, "the expansion of these faculties cannot be left entirely to trial and error if there is to be no danger of a growing 'lack of balance' in the universities." Having regard to the fact that in pre-war years 22,000 arts students were matched by 27,000 in the science faculties (if medicine, agriculture and architecture are classified as sciences), it is obvious that, if the culture and civilization of the country are to remain in balance, a large increase on the science side demands an only slightly smaller increase on the

arts side. It has, however, to be admitted that the Barlow Committee has been influenced by the urgency of the immediate need for trained scientists. Whereas there are to-day not more than 55,000 qualified men and women, with university or equivalent training, in the mathematical, physical, chemical and biological sciences, it is estimated that the number required by 1955 will be not less than 90,000. Nor should the achievement of this increase present insuperable difficulties in the science faculties, although it may be difficult for the arts faculties to reach the same proportionate increase in less than fifteen years. The science departments of the universities remained at almost full strength throughout the war—the numbers neither of students nor of staff falling to anything like the same extent as in the arts faculties. While there were 9,632 students studying medicine, science and engineering at London University in 1938-39, there were 8,500 in 1944-45; and at Oxford, where the number of arts students fell from 3,967 in 1939 to 1,755 in 1944, the number of science students only dropped from 1,065 to 815. Since the most acute bottle-neck in any scheme of expansion is the staffing, it is obvious that the science departments are more fortunately placed than the arts faculties. If it is assumed that it is not unreasonable on these premisses to plan for a 100 per cent. increase in science students in ten years, it is not inconceivable that a total student population of 100,000—or double that of 1938-39—can be envisaged as a practical target for 1960.

Judged by the pre-war position in other countries, a demand for an increase of 100 per cent. in the student population of Great Britain within the next ten—or even fifteen—years is extremely modest. A student population of 50,000 in 1938-39 represented a proportion of just over one per thousand for the total population. In New Zealand the ratio was 1 to 250; in France, 1 to 550; in Denmark, 1 to 650; and in Belgium, 1 to 700. In the United States there were 1,000,000 students and 100,000 full-time staff, "so that with a population less than three times as large as Great Britain's there were twenty times as many students and twice as many university teachers as the whole student population of this country." Nevertheless, such comparisons can be—to say the least—misleading; and the Barlow Committee, in seeking to estimate the proportion of the population inherently fitted to benefit from a university education, wisely echoes the warning given by the University Grants Committee in its quinquennial report of 1936, and draws attention "to the difficulty of ensuring that the institutions taken into account are of comparable status, that the students are studying similar subjects at comparable intellectual levels, and that statistics are obtained for the same year in the countries compared."

At the same time, having surveyed the results obtained in recent years on the distribution of intelligence (as measured by "intelligence tests") among the whole population and among samples of the members of certain universities, the Barlow Committee estimates that, although rather less than two per cent.

of the population now reach the universities, "about five per cent. of the whole population show, on test, an intelligence as great as the upper half of the students, who amount to one per cent. of the population." While it would be foolish to assume that all these possess the other innate capacities necessary to a university career, there is, clearly, in the words of the report, "an ample reserve of intelligence in the country to allow both a doubling of the university members and, at the same time, a raising of standards."

One of the most significant passages in the report is that in which the Barlow Committee answers those who have expressed doubts as to whether a sufficient proportion of young people will, during the next ten years, have been trained to the point at which they can enter the universities without causing a serious deterioration in standards. The passage reads thus:—

The recent Education Acts will not result immediately in a substantial increase in the number of young people completing their secondary education, and it might be argued that the rather higher proportion of weaker students to be found in Scottish Universities before the war reflected the fact that, under pre-1944 conditions, Scotland with her much larger proportionate university population was already beginning to "scrape the pot" for suitable material. We do not accept this explanation of the situation in Scotland before the war but, even if we did, it must be remembered that England has a long way to go before her university population is proportionately equal to Scotland's A very considerable proportion of fully-trained young persons is still being lost to the universities through a variety of reasons, mainly economic, and the new Education Acts will not take long to show their effects provided always that sufficient financial assistance is forthcoming to ensure that able students are not prevented from going to the university by lack of means.

The last proviso is of the first importance. There is reliable evidence to prove that the great majority of intelligent young people who have not, in the past, succeeded in entering the universities have been ex-pupils of the former elementary schools. On the basis of the tests, to which reference has already been made, it would be reasonable to assume that eighty per cent. of entrants would have been those who received their early education in these former elementary schools. In fact, in pre-war years, only about forty per cent. of university entrants were ex-pupils of such schools, the remaining sixty per cent. having been educated at one or other of the independent schools. While the Minister of Education has, in the scheme recently announced, accepted the principle enunciated three years ago by the Norwood Committee that "the winning of a college scholarship at Oxford or Cambridge, or a university scholarship elsewhere, should in itself constitute a claim upon public funds for assistance towards the cost of living at the university, subject to evidence that such assistance is necessary," and has extended its operation to include the holders of State scholarships, it is obvious that such a scheme will only provide assistance for a proportion of the total number for which it will ultimately be as necessary as it is already desirable.

But what of the problems with which university authorities will have to

contend if the student population is to be doubled? More than a year ago—in May 1945—the University Grants Committee invited all universities in Great Britain and the three university colleges of Exeter, Nottingham and Southampton to estimate the expansion in their student body which they were prepared to contemplate, assuming the necessary finances would be available, on the return of normal conditions. Although Oxford and Cambridge considered the further expansion of their numbers to be both impracticable and undesirable, the English civic universities indicated that an increase of eighty-five per cent. might be possible within the first post-war decade. The replies of the universities, taken as a whole, envisaged a potential increase in student population during this decade of forty-five per cent.—or rather less than half that urged by the Barlow Committee. While an acute shortage of staff may well have influenced the authorities of certain universities in making their estimates, it is not unreasonable to suppose that, despite the assurances of the University Grants Committee, financial considerations *did* enter into calculations.

The annual revenue of the universities was, in 1937-38, £6,500,000. Of this sum £2,500,000 was contributed by the Treasury, £600,000 in grants from local education authorities, and £1,400,000 from endowments and special services. What of the future? It might be argued that, if £6,500,000 supported 500,000 students in 1937-38 and if the level of prices has permanently risen by 50 per cent., £19,500,000 would support 100,000 students in 1955 or 1960. But, as has been shrewdly observed,

the figures are likely to be considerably larger. Standards of equipment, both for teaching and research and for other purposes, need to be raised and the cost per student will rise sharply if there is to be any increase in the residential proportion, either by the provision of more halls of residence for the civic universities (which are very badly needed) or by new residential foundations.

Indeed, the total annual expenditure for a student population of 100,000, part from capital grants, is likely to be nearer £30,000,000 than £20,000,000; and the greater part of this sum must inevitably be provided by the Treasury.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has already announced that he proposes to make available to the universities in 1946-47 the sum of £9,450,000, including grants of £2,250,000 for capital expenditure. Not only does this compare favourably with the pre-war annual Treasury grant of £2,500,000 but, in making this announcement, the Chancellor also intimated that, in order to encourage the universities to plan future developments over a term of years, he had told the University Grants Committee that he would be prepared, if good cause were shown, to ask Parliament to vote even larger capital sums.

Why, then, the seeming unwillingness on the part of the universities to embark on a policy of long-term development? Is it the fear that, as the sums voted by Parliament for the work of the universities increase year by year, the Treasury's policy of non-interference may be reversed? Or is there the sus-

picion in the minds of certain university administrators that the distribution of increased grants will be made conditional on university planning being controlled by a Government committee? Nothing, it will be generally agreed, would be more disastrous for British university education than for expansion to become synonymous with control; but is not the remedy in the hands of the universities themselves? If the student population is to be doubled, it is obvious that the expansion will have to be carefully controlled. The distribution of the expanded numbers will require to be determined. The facilities which each university will offer for specialization will need to be agreed. How better can these and similar problems be resolved than by the universities themselves taking the initiative and creating the necessary machinery by establishing a representative body, independent of the University Grants Committee, capable of meeting the Government on equal terms and agreeing on concerted plans?

While the need for a national plan for the universities is to-day indisputable, it would be nothing short of disastrous if such a plan were to be evolved by a committee or council not fully representative of the universities. The active association of regional interests and personalities has, to cite a single instance, given a specific quality to the civic universities. It is, indeed, this regional attachment which has linked these universities and their work to important local developments and influential local bodies. To weaken regional ties or to loosen the association of a university with its region would be to cut across the most marked development of the civic universities in recent years. The possibility that regional associations might be totally disregarded in the evolution of a national plan may have influenced the Association of University Teachers in framing its declaration that only the growth of responsible self-government in the universities can meet both the opportunities and the dangers of the future. University autonomy is a principle of peculiar sanctity; and it is not one which should be lightly overthrown. But a condition of its maintenance is that the universities determine for themselves, and in co-operation one with another, their purposes, functions and policies in relation to contemporary needs.

WHAT AM I?

BY DIETRICH BONHOEFFER

WHAT am I?—
Often they tell me
They see me march from my prison
Cheerfully, firmly reliant,

WHAT AM I?

As a ruler might from his castle.
What am I?—

They often tell me
They hear me speak with my warders
Openly, cordially, straitly,
As though it were I who gave orders.
What am I?—

They say of me also
I bear my days of misfortune
Serenely, smilingly, proudly
As one accustomed to conquest.

Am I then really what they say of me?
Or am I what I know myself to be—
Restless, craving, weak; beating my cage-bars;
Fighting for air, as though with hands that choked me;
Longing for colour, for flowers, to hear birds singing;
Parching for kindly speech and human nearness;
Harassed by waiting on great events to happen;
Vainly fearing for friends now lost in distance;
Stale, powerless to pray—to think—to fashion;
Wearied, half pining to bid goodbye to all things?

What am I?—this or that other?
Am I one man to-day, and tomorrow some other?
Or am I both at once?—before others an actor,
And to myself a worthless plaintive weakling?
Or am I, now, no better than the beaten army
That flees disordered from lost field of battle?
What am I?

My lonely questioning yields no sign.
But—that which I am thou knowest,
Since, Lord, I am thine.

Translated by Geoffrey Winthrop Young.

(Pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer, one of the younger leaders of the German Confessional Church who opposed Nazism from the beginning, was imprisoned for two years in Buchenwald and other concentration camps. In April 1945 he was murdered at Flossenbürg just prior to the liberation of the camp by the Americans, and wrote this poem shortly before his death.)

THE PROGRESS OF PROGRESS

BY DAVID N. LEFF

OUR age—the Age of Power as distinct from all past ages—is not the result of steam, electricity, and (now) atomic energy. Rather it is the result of *the scientific method* which harnessed steam, electricity, and the atom. Nowadays when we want some new effect or improvement—runless hosiery, three-dimensional movies, atomic bombs, or what-not—we simply engage a team of scientists to go after the cause and obtain the effect. As a rule, sooner or later they succeed. We have come to assume there is no limit to science; it always gives us what we want. In the techniques of living—transport, communications, warfare, entertainment, power, medicine, etc.—we assume, and rightly, that science can always improve, expand, speed up, modernize. Once the new model is on the market, we discard the old as being not only inefficient but outmoded.

Meanwhile, as we solve one technical problem after another, break the code on more and more of nature's secrets, the biggest problem of all continues to plague us. This one does not merely baffle the scientists; it defies scientific investigation altogether. This problem is nothing less than *the Problem of the Human Race*. It has been stated many times, by many thinkers in many ways. Here it is again:

In a world of men who have learned to control and shape their natural environment almost completely, the most part of mankind—now numbering over two billion specimens—is fed, clothed, housed, and generally environed below any civilized standard of minimum decency. Furthermore, at frequent intervals men kill each other in large and increasing numbers.

If a report like this, concerning some species of wild life, were laid on the desk of a fish-and-game commissioner, he would tackle the problem in a scientific manner. Certain beneficial laws would be passed, preserves fenced in, wardens assigned, notices posted, and so forth. Naturalists have successfully re-organized life for the bison, the mallard duck, the striped bass, and many other breeds threatened with extinction. To order the destiny of whole herds, or even entire populations, of bird, fish or animal species is all in the day's work for a trained conservationist.

So far in human history, anyone who ever put forward a conservation scheme for that non-too-rare specimen, *homo sapiens*, has been howled down as a dangerous or lunatic visionary—sometimes with reason. Except for such artificial preserves and sanctuaries as hospitals and prisons, and for some small-scale experiments in "community planning", the human race has never called

on science to help solve its problem. This is not due to any oversight, or to any deficiency or unreadiness of science, but to the fact that humans, unlike dumb animals, are governed by an unreasoning capricious influence we call human nature.

Except for missionaries, epidemic control experts, and such-like specialists, "mankind" these days is pretty well out of the picture. Instead of thinking of people as a whole, as humanity, we split up the human race into separate hard-shell units. Like bridge players, we tend to think of our fellow-men as "we" and "they." Men are "friends" or "strangers", "civilized" or "savage". We break people down by nationality, by race, by religion, by rank, by the side of the tracks they live on. Our minds, it would seem, refuse to grasp the idea of mankind entire, but insist on carving up this basic concept into sizes convenient to handle. From this mental habit grow the many problems which afflict us. We have the Russian problem, the Negro problem, the Security problem, the Crime problem, the Employment problem, and so on. Life, however—even modern life—cannot be interpreted and lived as a series of problems. Such an outlook misses the biggest problem of them all, the Problem of the Human Race, already stated.

Humanity by nature rejects the scientific method in arranging its own affairs, while relying on science to rearrange the affairs of nature. In 6,000 years or more of record, human beings have learned to control their natural environment to almost any desired degree, but have learned very little about controlling themselves and each other. As long as we behave like human beings, the potentialities of mankind can never be realized as more than mere laboratory curiosities.

The potentialities of mankind are: nothing less than full attainment of all our earthly desires—security, comfort, self-expression, the pursuit of happiness, or whatever. This statement is not meant as a sage bit of philosophical wisdom, but as a cool appraisal of our technological advancement. Neither is it a long-standing truism, but a new and recent state of affairs.

Only within our own lifetime has mankind developed agriculture and transport to the point where an adequate food supply for the whole world's population can always be assured. For the first time in human history, periods of famine and areas of famine can be eradicated, once for all. By the same token, in textiles, shelter, disease control, and other essentials of civilized life, techniques within our times have advanced to a point where high standards can be provided for every one of the two billion humans on earth. Past generations lacked the technical knowledge to produce adequate food, shelter and other social needs. We who have solved nature's riddles—and frequently improved on nature—now find that instead of solving our problem, we have simply uncovered new aspects of it.

So much for the economic side of the problem—food, clothing, shelter, health. As for the political side—the killing—there are many theories as to the causes of war, and they are all beside the point of this discussion. The

point is that we treat wars as we do spells of hot weather—to be deplored and warded off, but inevitable. We go through many motions as if to cope with war—treaties, boundaries, leagues, and the like. All of these devices were invented several thousand years ago to keep the peace. How futile and inefficient they are is shown by history and this morning's headlines. Yet after every war we reach for the same old blunted tools—treaties, boundaries, leagues—and never fashion any truly new device. For a mechanical engineer developing a new motor, such an attitude would be silly. In human relationships, unlike in mechanical matters, we cling to faulty worn-out contrivances. We explain this as "human nature".

It is human nature to be at heart ignorant of others; at heart fearful, distrustful, selfish. Thus no comprehensive system to administer the affairs of all mankind, complete in its every economic, social and political phase, ever has a chance. A sound scientific system might readily be developed on paper, but two billion human natures could never be sold on such a project. Even assuming general acceptance of some master plan, where in the world to-day could be found the individual or group sufficiently competent and impartial to administer it?

If humanity would scientifically apply all its resources of invention, production, and distribution, every man, woman, and child on earth could shortly (perhaps within a generation) enjoy adequate standards of life in complete security. Modern warfare is a living example of just such mass effort. To wage war, people will submerge their human natures, submit to mobilization, and even die. The "total war" just ended was on both sides the best-organized, best-equipped, best-manned enterprise that money could buy. To mobilize all our means for peace, however—for security and plenty—is "contrary to human nature . . . utopian . . . impossible . . ."

Failure to solve the Problem of the Human Race will lead to the extinction of that race. This dilemma is a commonplace of zoology which confronts species in all ages: witness the dinosaur and dodo. In the case of *homo sapiens*, the intriguing variation is that he brings extinction on himself. Earlier forms of life could usually blame it on the weather, volcanic upheavals, predatory enemies, etc.

This threat of extinction did not strike last summer when the first atomic bomb exploded. The bomb helped—it brought the threat closer—but the trend has been intensifying for about a generation. Once man achieved the technical means to solve humanity's problem, his failure to perfect the corresponding *social* instruments has meant his eventual extinction. This idea is neither novel nor really very deep. Stripped down, it can be stated thus: as long as man keeps developing better weapons and fails to end war, war will destroy more and more people, until human life becomes an uneconomical proposition.

Statisticians will promptly point out that more people die crossing the street

than on the battlefield, and that the number of dead in any war we have had to date is quickly replenished in the next generation. The possibilities of the atomic bomb have put a clincher on this argument, however, and the aftermath of war, especially of modern war, brings disease and depressed birthrates on such a scale as to add weight to the threat of extinction.

The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse—War, Famine, Pestilence and Death—are now motorized, mechanized, jet-propelled and atomically-charged.

To summarize: the human race is destroying itself by its own increasingly efficient weapons, in ever-bigger and more frequent wars; the wars are brought about by the outmoded political structure of mankind, and its faulty social and economic systems; human nature and lack of human leadership prevent the installation of sounder systems. Therefore, extinction appears inevitable.

The process could perhaps be reduced to a formula and plotted on a graph:

P=the Sum of *Human* Progress.

T=the Sum of *Technical* (that is *Scientific*) Progress.

S=the Sum of *Social* (including Political and Economic) Progress.

Since recorded history began (about 4000 B.C.), T has increased geometrically (that is, by doubling itself) at progressively shorter intervals of time. Millennia separated the discoveries of fire, of metals and of the wheel; only centuries spanned the invention of the compass, gunpowder and printing; mere decades marked the harnessing of steam, electricity and atomic energy.

S meanwhile has increased only arithmetically (that is, one unit at a time) at relatively constant intervals. The tribe, the town, the nation, the empire; religion, morals, law; money, credit, commerce—these are early examples of S. Later ones, Magna Carta, the Constitution, are still limited and insecure.

P is some combination of T and S that gives approximately equal weight to both. However, it is obvious that T is rapidly outstripping S, and at some point technical and social progress will lose all relationship to each other. At this point we may expect human progress (P) to cease.

T is readily measurable in terms of m.p.h., h.p., and similar units. S is much less easily measured, but it can be appraised, for any given society, in terms of (1) the value of human life; (2) the status of the Four Freedoms; (3) the dignity of the individual.

When we contemplate technical and social advancements as equal components of human progress, it appears hard to explain how the same human beings can have achieved such an impressive record of technical advancement coupled with such rudimentary and faltering progress in the organization of human society.

The threat of human extinction seems as remote and unimportant as the fact that the sun will grow cold in ten or 100 million years. Such indifference implies that when destruction comes it will all happen at once. But extinction—especially self-extinction—does not work that way. Once started on the skids, mankind goes down and down, like a new drug addict picking up the habit. From now on, life on earth is going to be less and less pleasant, less

and less secure. Little by little the dykes will crumble. One by one the fires will die.

This means that while we ourselves may all die natural deaths, we will not live natural lives—the lives we knew while humanity was still on the upgrade; before our technical discoveries had entirely outstripped our social scheme of things.

As extinction comes closer, within our lifetime, the ganglions of modern living will begin to pull gradually apart. World communication will falter and lapse. Standards of living will decline. Civil liberties will fail, and violence mount. Disease and famine will spread, and birth-rates sink. Stable family life will deteriorate. Men will live and die amid "wars and rumours of wars." Or perhaps just one more war . . .

While humanity still teeters on the edge, is there any salvation possible? If we are indeed headed for self-destruction through failure to adapt our scientific knowledge to the complex of human living, and if this failure is due to the stubbornness of human nature, then the only thing that can save us is a shock that will jolt human nature out of its rut. If mankind had any sense, last summer's atomic bomb would have done the trick. Human nature the world over would promptly have shattered its old idols. Leaders would have quickly got together to frame new rules for humans living in an atomic age.

If the atomic bomb could not shake us, nothing on earth can. If nothing on earth can save us, what about something not of earth? A fresh religious impulse capturing all mankind's imagination could rescue humanity from extinction and, of greater importance to us, from the decay of society which presages extinction. Now if ever is the time for the Second Coming of Jesus; this is the hour for Messiah. Unless Someone or Something can teach humanity overnight that all men are brothers, then all men are goners.

"Aha," thinks the discerning reader, "now it comes. All this is just build-up for some 'faith' movement or other." Not at all. The argument goes no further. The writer has no message from on high. Having pointed out that neither science nor reason can save humanity from its own nature, he merely suggests that human nature might respond to a sufficiently compelling mass appeal, if one were forthcoming. There is none in sight.

Let us say that all the foregoing is reasonable; even valid. Humanity, then, is inevitably on the down-grade, starting now. Where does this leave the individual? A number of distinct courses are open, and while there is no point in recommending a choice, it may be useful for a person to know which tack he is pursuing:

- (a) *The Crusader* will try to promote a moral or religious revival movement to bring new brotherhood into the world.
- (b) *The Corner-Brightener* will recognize the inevitable and devote himself to good works calculated to cushion the blows of impending extinction.

He will try to make life (while it lasts) more bearable for some of the worst-hit groups.

- (c) *The Desert-Islander* will try to get away from it all. A few will actually set up housekeeping on islands; more will withdraw from society in other ways.
- (d) *The Windmill-Tiller* will buck human nature by trying to put over some new scheme to reorganize humanity, or some segment of it, in spite of its nature.
- (e) *The Storm-Survivor*, overlooking the handwriting on the wall, will hope to ride out of the current turbulence into a new era of peace and prosperity. Meanwhile he will lie low.
- (f) *The Brass-Ring-Grabber* will reason that since society's ship is sinking, he may as well go down first-class as steerage. In various degrees and places, he may be a profiteer, a gauleiter, a stooge or a boss. His philosophy of life: "Well, somebody's gonna make a good thing out of it; why not me?"
- (g) *The Crystal-Gazer* will endeavour to take sights on destiny and triangulate the future state of man's affairs. He is interested in the passing scene and the current event, as is his brother,
- (h) *The Spectator*, who regards the toboggan of mankind simply as a spectacle. He watches with interest to see "how it all comes out," but never leaves his seat in the audience.

The only purpose of this discourse is to invite the observer of humanity to squint through the right end of the telescope. That's all.

(The author is a young American serving with the UNRRA Yugoslav Mission.)

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

THE VISUAL ARTS

By F. W. WENTWORTH-SHEILDS

THE visual arts in England are in a sorry state. The report of the Arts Enquiry presents a minutely careful diagnosis of their condition and prescribes some constructive remedies.* It deals not only with the affairs of the painter and the sculptor but also with those of the commercial artist, the illustrator and the designer for industry. Thus the scope of its survey is wide, and it is appropriate that it should be. For, whether we are aware of it or not, art touches our lives at many points.

The visual arts are, or should be, concerned with clothes and furnishings, cigarette cartons and radio sets, daily cartoons and stage back-cloths no less than with easel pictures and sculpture. They are concerned with a quality that is, or should be, common to all these productions, and the best definition of this common quality is design. Design is the touchstone. It is an universal standard of judgment which presupposes, however, that those who apply it are able to distinguish good design from bad.

The starting points of design are form and colour and texture. These are the basic studies of the painter and sculptor. It is from these rudiments that great artists create a pattern expressive of the age in which they live. In commerce and industry, the finest designs are those which are a social adaptation of original artists' research into the characteristics of their times. Therefore it is lamentable to realize the gulf that now separates artist and public, a gulf so wide that they have all but lost touch with each other. The problem of bridging it is full of difficulty. For the public have no standards of judgment and, mistrusting their own likes and prejudices, think of art as an incalculable mystery; while the artist thinks of the public as uninformed and deprecates their timid lack of discernment.

But the public cannot be expected to seek out the artists, nor can the artists find their way to the public except through dealers or some other agency. From time to time, artists have banded themselves together into societies for the dual purpose of identifying themselves with some aesthetic idea, and of furthering their interests by exhibiting their work. But these groups have seldom attracted much interest or patronage, and the aesthetic idea which first held them together has often become obscured or outworn. To quote from the Arts Enquiry's report "... membership, even of the Royal Academy, no longer carries weight with the discriminating buyer."

The present need for an authoritative sponsorship of painting and sculpture is apparent and urgent. During the war years, the Council for the Encouragement of Music and Art did remarkable pioneer work with its travelling exhibitions. In their proposals, the Arts Enquiry have suggested that CEMA should be reconstituted as an Arts Council with wider terms of reference and much the same administrative character. It is very gratifying to record that, since the Arts Enquiry's report was prepared for publication, this proposal has been adopted.

It is hoped it will be adopted in detail. For one of the main functions of the Arts Council (as envisaged by the Arts Enquiry) would be "to promote a nation-wide service of art galleries and art centres." Frequent exhibitions of pictures in all parts of the country, presented in such a way as to attract the greatest number of people, should go

* *The Visual Arts: The Arts Enquiry*. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

a long way towards re-establishing contact between the artist and the community. Familiarity with good contemporary pictures will make for a better understanding of the artist's idiom, prompt criticism or admiration and discussion and waken an interest that has slept for too long.

State sponsorship will be of little benefit to the artist, however, unless it involves a measure of benevolent patronage. Hitherto, this patronage has been preoccupied with the preservation of works of the past. The recently published findings of the Massey Committee reveal that the Tate Gallery, the only national collection of contemporary art, has never had the assistance of a single farthing of public funds. The Arts Enquiry recommends coincidentally with the Massey Committee that the State should allow an adequate grant to the Tate Gallery for the purchase of outstanding modern works for the nation. State patronage conferred by the purchase of contemporary painting and sculpture and by the employment of artists on Government commissions might well set an example to other patrons.

Concurrently with the appointment of an Arts Council, it was reported that the Board of Trade had established a Council of Industrial Design. This is a most welcome indication of the Government's interest in raising the quality of design in industry. The room for improvement is limitless. Since the Industrial Revolution, when quality was shouted down by a clamour for quantity, industrial design has been pitifully bad. Ugliness has become a typical trait of our furniture, textiles, ceramics, publishing, advertising—all our products. Brave efforts have been made by individuals and movements have been initiated by societies in the hope of emphasizing the need for better design. But for the most part, industrialists have remained unconvinced, the public unaware, of the pressing requisite. The criterion in the mind of the producer is "what the public wants."

What the public wants is a highly debatable matter. The idea that the public wants articles of good design is very rarely entertained. Consequently the scope of the artist in industry is unhappily limited. An authoritative sponsor is required in this field as well as in the field of fine art. The Council of Industrial Design should fulfil this function by encouraging a closer degree of co-operation between producer and designer and, by pursuing a policy of exhibitions, set a high standard for industry to follow. At the present time, when everything is in short supply, and what the public wants is everything that the producer can supply, there is an unique opportunity of influencing public taste by the good presentation of good design. Apart from this responsibility in home markets, English success in overseas markets will depend greatly on a capacity to produce articles whose design is of the highest possible standard. The forthcoming "Britain Can Make it" exhibition will illustrate the degree of our capacity.

The encouragement of good design in art and in industry cannot be considered without reference to the training of artists and designers and the education of future patrons and consumers. The Ministry of Education is responsible for the supervision of most of the art schools and for the teaching of art in general education. The Arts Enquiry makes a fitting recommendation that the Minister of Education should also be responsible for the appointment of the Arts Council. They stress the need for the closest possible liaison between the Ministry, the Arts Council and the council of Industrial Design. The co-ordinated policy of this trinity should exert an educational influence of great value.

The quality of discernment in an individual or a community is only acquired from a long association with high standards. It is a matter of education. When a liberal education becomes available to every member of a community, there is a hope that, out of this instruction of public taste, a tradition of appreciation will emerge and grow. For "The visual arts", says the preface to the Arts Enquiry's survey, "are one of the manifestations of quality by which a nation is judged, and no society can afford to dispense with their humanising influence."

BRITISH SECURITY. *Royal Institute of International Affairs.* 8s. 6d.

In this Chatham House publication an attempt is made to restate the essential elements in British foreign policy and their possible application to post-war conditions. The result is disappointing, though that may be rather the fault of world conditions than of the team who wrote the Report. Obviously the bulk of the work was done whilst the war was still in progress. Obviously, too, much of what had already been completed required reconsideration in the light of the atomic bomb. The result is a hesitancy of tone which in the circumstances is entirely understandable. For example, the Report concludes with the hope that "the efforts of the whole nation should be concentrated on the fulfilment of the Charter, the whole Charter, and something more than the Charter." (p. 157.) Yet on page 141, we read:

There is always a risk that when a document of the general and ambitious character of the Charter of the United Nations is accepted and signed, it may tend to become a convenient fiction, rather than an effective instrument for treating difficult realities. Emphasis must therefore be laid on the fact that the new international peace system is here considered not as being in itself the answer to the question considered above, but as providing the most favourable conditions for dealing with them. No Charter or Covenant, no statement of principles or resolves, however sincere, no constitutional structure, however well designed, can guarantee the maintenance of peace or ensure that international affairs will be handled with that spirit of justice and co-operation which would be both the cause and the consequence of stable peace. It is not on such Utopian hopes that the conclusions of the foregoing chapters have been founded.

It may well be that a reconciliation between the two statements is possible, but it can hardly be denied that they represent different approaches to the problem of security, or at least different degrees of emphasis, and the variation is all the more serious because it was precisely for this reason that Great Britain spoke with uncertain voice in the inter-war period, with disastrous results. It would probably be

no unfair criticism to summarize the general line of the Report in this way: The United Nations Organization is not a World Government, because World Government is not welcomed by the various nations at present. It is probably a useful way of amicably settling international disputes, at least for a period. But that means that we must continue to look after our interests as we have been doing in the past. It is more difficult to do this to-day than it has been before, but after all, these islands have always held out in the past, and experts say that it is not impossible for them to do so again. But we must maintain the best possible relations with the United States, and in spite of the difficulties, we must do what we can to reach an agreement with the U.S.S.R., especially over the future of Europe. The United Nations Organization is a good thing, and ought to be encouraged, but it is not a substitute for security, and too much reliance ought not to be placed upon it.

It may be, of course, that this line of approach still satisfies some persons, and since no one can positively foresee the future, their faith may after all be justified. The most disappointing features of this Report, however, are the failure to grasp the consequences of a perpetuation of power politics in an age of atomic weapons, and with the added complication of ideological differences, and further, the failure to analyse the reasons for the breakdown of the League, and with it, the collapse of the Anglo-French system in Europe. It is upon these points that all discussions of national security must concentrate to-day, and if it is desired to extend the discussion more widely, it would be important to consider the implications of the stationary or falling birth-rate of Western Europe, the Dominions and the United States, as contrasted with the sharply rising birth-rate of the U.S.S.R., China, Japan, Africa, India, and the Far East generally, if, as this Report implies, world government does not become a reality during the next three decades. The matter becomes all

the more urgent in view of the widely differing standards of living between countries of stationary population and those of expanding population—a difference of which the East is now more fully aware than ever before.

G. W. KEETON.

CZECHOSLOVAK DEMOCRACY AT WORK, by Edward Taborsky. Preface by Sir Ernest Barker. *George Allen & Unwin*. 8s. 6d.

BRITISH DEMOCRACY, by Robert M. Rayner. *Longmans*. 7s. 6d.

Sir Ernest Barker, in his Preface says that Dr. Taborsky, in *Czechoslovak Democracy at Work*, has done a great service to students of government in this country. He is right. Dr. Taborsky has avoided overweighting the book with unnecessary detail but has provided, first, an account of the political background from which the Czech constitution was derived, second, a description of its organs, and, third, well-informed and practical criticism of the way in which they work.

The essential features of the Czechoslovak Republic of the interwar years were a bicameral legislature whose chambers were elective, the only difference between them being that for the Senate members of forty-five and upwards were elected by electors aged twenty-six and upwards, whereas for the chamber of Deputies the respective ages were thirty and twenty-one; a Cabinet which was completely responsible for the government of the country and the conduct of its administration; and a President who, in external affairs, represented the Republic and ratified treaties, commanded the defence forces, and, in internal affairs, was responsible for summoning, proroguing, and dissolving the National Assembly and for appointing ministers and high judicial officers.

The Presidents, Professor Masaryk and Dr. Benes, were the two outstanding statesmen of the Republic's history; and

their sense of responsibility, knowledge of affairs, especially international affairs, their prestige and judgments, made them the most important Czech political leaders of their time and ensured that their voices were frequently decisive. Thus, while in constitutional law the President of Czechoslovakia appeared to have less political influence than the President of the French Republic, in practice he tended to exert as much influence in domestic politics as does a President of the United States.

The nature of the parliamentary system, too, tended towards this result. The racial and religious divisions of the country were in themselves likely to produce a multiplicity of parties, and this tendency was accentuated by the peculiarly rigid system of proportional representation. This reduced the personal relationship between a deputy and his constituents to nothing, and forced the electors in effect to vote for a series of party labels. The deputy and senator, in consequence, owed little to their constituents but everything to their party, which in turn exacted an oath of loyalty and obedience. And this was enforced, not only by the threat of not supporting the individual's candidature at a future election, but by the taking of steps immediately to unseat a member who displayed independence in his parliamentary conduct.

The effect of multiplicity of parties was that none of them could ever get a clear majority, and that all governments were coalitions. The effect of the rigid strength of the parties was that, both in forming a coalition and in conducting its business, there could be no question of an approach to individuals; it was all a matter of hard bargaining between the parties. To conduct this effectually there arose an inner cabinet of the party leaders concerned, which hardened into a recognized institution known as "The Five". And these were the real force behind the Government of the day. In these circumstances, with two such great men as Masaryk and Dr. Benes, and with such a practical nation as the Czechs, it was natural for the President, detached from the conflict be-

tween the parties and with only the interests of the State at heart, to become the most influential of its rulers.

Mr. Rayner's range is so wide and embraces so many subjects that there is necessarily not much that is new he is able to say about any of them. His sub-title, "An introduction to Citizenship," explains his purpose; but it is unfortunate that, in a book designed for schools, he should have allowed so many minor inaccuracies to creep into his account of our institutions; there are examples of these at pages 32, 42, 44, 47, 50, 61, 63 and 64, and only a teacher who was exceptionally sure of his ground could be recommended to use this as a text-book. It is a pity, because Mr. Rayner has succeeded in compiling a great deal of relevant and important information and in presenting it in an interesting and arresting fashion. But laborious accuracy is an indispensable quality in a man who

writes for young students, and, without it, Mr. Rayner has succeeded in writing a stimulating book that none but the bravest—or the most indifferent—teacher will wish to pass on to his pupils.

W. T. WELLS.

THE WASHINGTON LOAN AGREEMENTS, by the Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery. C. H. Macdonald. 8s. 6d.

This book, cogent in reasoning and vigorous in language, is sub-titled "a critical study of American foreign economic policy." Its criticism rests on the premiss that the success of multilateral international trade during a short period of the nineteenth century was due not to virtues inherent in multilateralism, but to historical circumstances; that it was, in fact, but one aspect of *laissez-faire* economy whose rules and preconceptions cannot claim to be valid for all time.

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To deny Mr. Amery's premiss, one must deliberately close one's eyes to reality. To-day, the decline of nationalism, spiritual and economic, and a return to the internationalism of the years 1850 to 1880 appears less likely than at any time since 1919. The evident growth of a new Russian and a new American nationalism can only reinforce this view.

The long isolation of the American economy from the impact of external economic forces and its immense internal expansion have delayed by a half century and more the effects of international competition and of the conscious emergence of the working class as the dominant element in politics which have inevitably forced the rest of the world more and more along the path of economic nationalism The ordinary American's outlook to-day tends, in fact, to be very much that of the ordinary Englishman of 1846, a vision of economic world conquest, presumed to be for the benefit of the world itself, but above all aimed at strengthening and stabilizing America's present predominance. (p. 89.)

The economic philosophy of the Washington agreements thus appears to Mr. Amery as what it really is—sham internationalism cloaking aims and desires far removed from those which it officially professes.

The author's historical approach cannot hope to prove by a + b his interpretation of economic trends. But added to other, mainly economic, considerations it does provide him with strong supporting argument. Were it even possible to put the clock back to the past of unrestricted multilateral trade, the concrete acts of American economic policy are self-defeating. Free multilateral trade requires abidance by certain rules and practices which the United States is perfectly willing to preach to others, but by no means prepared to follow itself. It rules out discrimination by "tied" loans, by preferential Customs agreements of one's own, by immigration laws which are all part of American policy—together with fervent insistence on non-discrimination by others, centred on the enforcement of the Most-Favoured Nation clause. Thus, this kind of internationalism is "for export only". It accepts the assets,

it rejects the liabilities, of multilateralism. Chief among the latter is the acceptance of a large import surplus to offset the permanent surplus in the United States' balance of payments.

It is on such grounds that Mr. Amery criticizes, strongly, pertinently and in detail, the Bretton Woods scheme and the "Proposals for Consideration by an International Conference on Trade and Employment" (Cmd. 6709), making skilful use of many arguments drawn from the history of tariff legislation in this country and abroad. It is still time to heed his warning against the Trade Proposals whose implications are indeed far more dangerous than even those of the Bretton Woods scheme.

In Mr. Amery's view, the present United States policy harms not only British interests, but also the interests of all those countries which see no inevitable alternative between a régime of unrestricted *laissez-faire*, on the one side, and totalitarianism, on the other. If that choice were forced upon the world, the author fears that totalitarian control, with its relative security, is likely to win.

To those who see no alternative to the Washington agreements, Mr. Amery proposes both a long-term and a short-term solution. The first is Imperial preference, interpreted in a liberal spirit which would allow for the link-up, by regional agreements, of countries outside the Commonwealth. The solution may not appear fully adequate to those who observe the effects of economic nationalism within the Commonwealth itself. On the short-term issue, that is the problem of Britain's balance of payments during the first post-war period, Mr. Amery's view pleads for acceptance of temporary hardships and even privations, in the confident knowledge that

If America is to export to a world which has no dollars, it must either open its doors to imports till the dollars have been earned, or give or lend dollars to those who have not got them, or be prepared to take other currencies on terms of one sort or another. (p. 148.)

The author's forceful condemnation of sham internationalism might have been balanced, to some extent at least, by a warning against the excesses of economic nationalism. If tariffs are used in the main to improve profit margins rather than efficiency of production, their sleeping-draught effect has dangers that might at least have been hinted at in passing.

Mr. Amery's book will no doubt annoy impenitent multilateralists. In their present mood, they are not satisfied with the mere acceptance of Washington policy, they clamour for enthusiastic and unqualified approval. Anything less is in their eyes "a page of British folly." Mr. Amery should find consolation in the thought that the "folly" of to-day has more than once proved the wisdom of tomorrow.

R. P. SCHWARZ.

THE REVOLUTION IN WAR-FARE, by Liddell Hart, *Faber & Faber*. 5s.

THE PORTSMOUTH LETTERS, by Admiral Sir W. James. *Macmillan*. 10s. 6d.

Warfare, Captain Liddell Hart argues, has undergone a revolution in two forms through the development of weapons and the manner in which armed forces are used. Armaments have been reinforced by a vast increase in the number and size of artillery, the tank and aircraft. He holds that these developments have been accompanied by a misinterpretation of their use, in part due to a misreading of the writings of Clausewitz, in part to a facile acceptance of the theory that the offensive is the stronger form of war.

Though the German offensives succeeded in a most striking fashion the successes were not due, in his opinion, to

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the offensive character of the German strategy but rather to the failure of the Allies to develop the appropriate defensive weapons and methods by means of which the attacks could have been defeated. A false estimate was also made in Britain before the war of the offensive power of bombing the war-making resources of the enemy: the belief that decisive results would be obtained by that form of attack was disproved by the experience of the war. While aircraft have brought about a greater change in warfare than any previous technical instrument they have neither become the sole instrument of victory nor superseded the older forms. The principle of liaison of arms continues to hold good.

The change in the character of war from the limited form to the unlimited "totalitarian" form he traces to the adoption of conscription in the time of the French Revolution. It was accompanied by unlimited action, looting and robbery on a grand scale, and, though the Peace of Paris was marked by a wise moderation, later generations developed the theory of "total" war, with total victory as its aim. Whereas a gradually developing civilization since the Thirty Years War had imposed limits of the acts which might licitly be performed in war, and had rendered the making of a real peace possible, unmarred by hatreds, those restrictions were all cast aside in the revolution of thought and reached the unavoidable climax of the brutalities of the late war and the final insistence on unconditional surrender.

While some of this, though pitched in a somewhat high and dogmatic note, may be accepted, Captain Liddell Hart draws some singular conclusions in the course of the development of his arguments. In spite of the notorious breaches by the German aggressor of recognized procedure—the use of gas, disregard of the Geneva Convention at sea and on land, the submarine and mining warfare, the treatment of civilians and the introduction of the robot weapons—he represents the aggressor as one who tends to rely on

conventional weapons; and lays the blame for extensions upon the attacked parties. He finds that Hitler restrained the use of bombing till Berlin was bombed: that the destruction of Warsaw and Rotterdam "conformed to the old rules of siege bombardments": that the bombing of the British cities only took place after provocation. He makes the extraordinary discovery that the doctrine of unlimited bombing derives from the "traditional" British naval strategy of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which, he says, was "inherently more barbarous than the military type of the Continentals, and condemns the brutality of what he calls the "starvation blockade". His opinions and assertions on these matters will find no support in the calm atmosphere of history—a source to which he continually advises his readers to go for their understanding of war.

Admiral James's book is wholly unpolemical. It is a record, in the form of a running correspondence conducted at varying intervals, of the every day doings of the Portsmouth Command in the late war, of the ideas and speculations that occurred to the Admiral concerning both the local events and the war in other parts. It gives a kindly picture of the people of all ranks and occupations with whom he came into contact and of the life during the years he held the command. It is thus a footnote to history.

HERBERT RICHMOND.

THE STORY OF BURMA, by F. Tennyson Jesse. *Macmillan*. 10s. 6d.

LEAVES IN THE WIND, by Henry Baerlein. *Stanley Paul*. 16s.

AN INDIAN ALBUM, by Cecil Beaton. *Batsford*. 12s. 6d.

The story of Burma, like that of so many other "undeveloped" areas that have come under British suzerainty, is a tale of incompetence and indifference at headquarters, mitigated by the strenuous and often unrewarded efforts of a succession of brilliant experts on the spot—

Burgess, Sladen, Scott, and the rest. Miss Tennyson Jesse, however, is never unfair to the British in Burma, though she obviously feels keen sympathy for the Burmese themselves—and indeed, as she paints them, they are an engaging people, despite their faults.

Starting with a summary of Burma's history, the origin of which emerges from legend at about the time of the Norman Conquest, the author shows how it was by a mere accident that Burma came to be administered through India, perhaps the greatest of the many mistakes of British rule. For the Burmese are *not* Indians; they are fundamentally of Mongol stock and have much in common with their north-eastern neighbours, the Chinese, and much friendly regard for them. It was probably inevitable that the Kingdom of Ava should fall; as things were it would have been vastly modified even without the excesses of the drunken Thibaw and his strong-minded consort Supayalat, and their polyglot hangers-on. But the Burmese were less shocked by these excesses than the British were pleased to believe; and how much better the later history of Burma would have been, as Miss Tennyson Jesse says, if the advice of Sir Edward Sladen had been taken on two occasions: first when he urged King Mindon to appoint an heir; and later when he counselled putting a popular prince on the throne after Thibaw's fall! How much better, too, if we had appreciated Buddhism at its true value, and had used the influence of the monks as it might have been used, instead of allowing many of them—not the best—to become centres of disaffection.

Nevertheless, despite mistakes both administrative and psychological, we are left with the impression that the future of Burma is far from hopeless. In an epilogue added after the ejection of the Japanese, Miss Tennyson Jesse shows how those ephemeral conquerors, by their arrogant manners, alienated even the most anti-British Burmese. They have left the country a ruin indeed, but a ruin in which

we have an excellent chance to build up, in sympathy and understanding, something better than what has been destroyed.

This book, intentionally modest in compass, nevertheless leaves a clear impression of a country and its people. This reviewer, however, would have wished for a more detailed map on one of the end-papers, with a better indication of communications; also for a clear ruling on when to say "Burmese" and when "Burman". The photographs appear well chosen, and the production is pleasant, no unimportant consideration in these days.

Mr. Baerlein's miscellaneous papers, mostly anecdotes of travel, though including a few historical and fantastical pieces, are best taken in small doses. Indeed, they were preferable in the detached form in which many of them, if not all, originally appeared.

At all events, the author is well qualified to instruct on how to enjoy unconven-

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tional travel, and he is at his best on out-of-the-way tracks in Spain and Eastern Europe. If the reader is on the look-out for sharply-pointed anecdote, he will be disappointed; if, however, he is searching for vividly illuminated episodes, Mr. Baerlein is his man. The author is essentially a recorder of the unquiet years between the wars; he has a fine nostalgia for the 1920's. When he strays into other periods, we have found him flat and unconvincing.

His publisher has served him ill; the pages are blindingly close-set and the photographs have an annoying way of possessing no connection with the text which they apparently illustrate. Mr. Baerlein's art is difficult and delicate, and does not stand up well to this treatment.

Mr. Beaton has obviously thoroughly enjoyed himself in the production of this photographic record of India. With his unrivalled eye for a picture he could scarcely have done otherwise, having a vast and varied sub-continent over which to roam at will. If one section of his work is to be praised more than another, we should select his pictures of the Indian people as especially outstanding.

It is essentially the India of the towns and the plains that he has portrayed with his accustomed skill. The few mountain scenes—North-West Frontier and Khyber Pass—seem almost insignificant alongside the pictures of farm and factory and student life. Perhaps one day Mr. Beaton will go to India again and let us have his impressions of the wilds—there is, in all conscience, enough material in India for twenty albums of photographs. Meanwhile we owe him our thanks for a vivid pictorial record of many of her multiple facets.

L. RUSSELL MUIRHEAD.

LATIN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION: Colonial Period, by Bailey W. Diffie. Stackpole Sons, Harrisburg, Pa. \$4.50.

No doubt the most notable and most serious reproach to British historical

scholarship in the present day is the meagreness of the facilities for teaching or studying Russian history and institutions. There are signs that this has been appreciated. There are very few signs of any desire to remedy our weakness in Latin American studies or of shame in the backwardness of our position compared with that of the United States.

The force of this reflection is strengthened by the character of Mr. Diffie's book. To say that it is a secondary work means very little. There is a vast amount of snobbery talked about "original" documents, as though one newly discovered document must possess more importance than ninety-nine printed documents. But Mr. Diffie's book is secondary in the sense that it is an exhaustive and comprehensive study based on the works of other writers, a careful and judicious survey of a vast field. It could not have been written as it is unless hundreds of books and articles had been written first; and distressingly few of these books and articles were written in this country.

A bibliography which ranges from Torquemada down to very recent articles in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* is not in itself a matter for surprise, for the making of bibliographies is an essential part of American scholarship and Mr. Diffie had several excellent ones at hand. He has, however, avoided both of the besetting dangers; that of quoting the titles of books when they illustrate no point in the argument and that of preferring recent books and more particularly recent articles for no other reason than that they are recent. It is the measure of his discrimination that he makes as much use of early chronicles as of the work of contemporary scholars.

The title *Latin American Civilization*, is amply justified, since Mr. Diffie describes, often in much detail, trade, industry, culture and the arts, as well as the better known subjects such as the conquest and the civil and ecclesiastical systems of government. For continuous reading, there are probably too many quotations and too many statistics, but it

would be quite unfair, both to Mr. Diffie and his readers, to suggest that his work is a mere resumé of that of other men. Unlike so many authors who have attempted to describe contemporary Latin America he does not seek (thank goodness!) to give a "bird's-eye view" from a "personal slant". But he has his views, and they are worth careful attention. He sees the Spaniards descending on no peaceful Utopias but on peoples racked by the struggle for land and for water; possessing cultures certainly but cultures which (despite inverted snobbery) were inferior to that of the invaders. But for the mining of precious metals the rate of conquest and development would have been far slower; and that development, once started, was a continuous and expanding process. It only remains to add that the book is admirably equipped with maps and illustrations, and that anyone who really wants to know about the subject would be very well advised to acquire it and to read it (as it must be read) carefully.

W. L. BURN.

GARDEN CITIES OF TO-MORROW, by Ebenezer Howard. *Faber & Faber*. 6s.

GREEN-BELT CITIES, by F. J. Osborn. *Faber & Faber*. 12s. 6d.

It is well that these two books should appear together, and be read together, for the second tells of the exemplification of the principles laid down in the first. When Howard produced his masterpiece in 1898, the experience of a world war had not come to disturb belief in inevitable progress, and the book is written with an ingenuous simplicity which spells the utmost faith in not only the ultimate, but the early, realization of his ideas for the building of garden cities.

As Mr. G. M. Trevelyan tells us, by the advent of the "manufacturing towns", given over to factories and machine industry, and quite dissociated from the rural life of the country around, the harmonious fabric of old English society suffered a perpendicular cleavage between

town and country, as well as expanding the old lateral cleavage between rich and poor. And it is with the overcrowding and squalor which followed that Howard concerns himself. He sees a cure for these ills, as especially evidenced by our largest cities, by the new establishment of "garden cities", a term which is meant to convey the idea not so much of cities of gardens, or whose houses are provided with gardens (though all this is included), as of cities set in the countryside. He envisages a town of 1,000 acres girdled by an agricultural belt of another 5,000 acres. The country belt is to provide ready access to nature for the town dwellers and to furnish them with their requirements of fresh food. But the fundamental proposition is the outright purchase at the start and the retention of freehold of the whole site, so that rents of farms and of town leaseholds shall go to fructify all the efforts of the inhabitants towards self-improvement and that development may

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be controlled by the freehold-owning company.

Theory was first put into practice in 1904 at Letchworth, and again in 1920 at Welwyn, and it is of these two ventures that Mr. Osborn tells us in his fascinating complementary record. Though he mentions in an addendum the setting up of the Reith Committee, he probably did not look forward to such early fruit as the introduction, last April, of the New Towns Bill, with its powers of immediate site purchase and of overall development on the most enlightened town-planning lines. The new Bill is Howard's dream realized, but with his plans relieved of the handicap of site purchase by private negotiation, and with the possibility, therefore, of selecting the proper location unhindered by numbers and refractoriness of original owners.

Green-Belt Cities pleads for the relegation of the inter-war "Age of Chaos", when the scramble for house-building swamped all ideas of proper location and, by adding to the suburbs of already overgrown towns, merely intensified the mechanical problem of getting workers to and from their jobs and the growing anonymity of fringe development. Assuming a population problem, the author develops a strong argument for a re-development which, while avoiding excessive urban growth also escapes the desperate expedient of extensive flat-building and the starving of the citizen of his desire for a house and garden. There are revealing comments for the financially-minded on the folly and needlessness of subsidizing house development on expensive sites.

The fascination of the book, and it is a story of adventure as gripping as any work of fiction, lies in its account of the working out of Howard's theories in practice (though more emphasis might be laid on the practical interaction of town and country belt), and one finds that the problem of getting the factory owner, the shopkeeper and the householder to settle does not loom so large as a passive contemplation of London's difficulties

might suggest. The manufacturer is relieved of much of his anxiety about expansion room and is not so tied as he once was to a limited number of centres of industry. Most interesting experiments are described in the early provision of shopping facilities.

Anyone with experience of local government knows the weaknesses of town planning control as generally understood, and wistfully compares that control with the opportunities of large estate development. Here it is, then, given the new statutory powers, for all to take a hand in, the contrivance of homes and work within urban attractions in a country setting; a convenient distance, yet not intermixed; hope of brightening the life of the farm worker; a healthy variety of industrial pursuits and a proper balancing of factories, shops and dwellings; an opening from the beginning for the skill of engineer, architect and landscape artist, and withal the securing for the general benefit of the increased values created by the presence and activities of the community.

R. H. WRIGHT.

A HANDBOOK OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, by Kimball Young. *Kegan Paul. 21s.*

This invaluable summary of recent work in social psychology by the Professor of Sociology in Queen's College, New York, has appeared in an English edition. It is not so much a record of the author's original investigations as it is a masterly discussion of the researches of others, collated, from such apparently separated fields as those of history, anthropology, laboratory experiment, advertising, politics, warfare, entertainment and industry. An enormous number of data are so arranged that the reader can always see the wood. From an English standpoint it may seem to be discursive and contain many repetitions but, as a matter of fact, this makes for an easier understanding—if one is doubtful as to the significance of some point, one can leave it in abeyance confident of its being dis-

cussed again. Straying as it inevitably does into politics—industrial, national and international—sociology is a science apt to be manipulated in the interest of some "cause". Of this Kimball Young cannot be accused, indeed it is only because the bulk of his material is American in origin that one could deduce his nationality. If a British reader may regret an absence of reference to important British sociological contributions, he is compensated by having given to him a wealth of data which display the peculiarities of American culture.

Professor Young argues cogently—indeed we may say that he proves—that every individual is moulded by social contacts from the cradle to the grave to an extent that few of us tend to realize in ourselves although we may admit it in others, particularly if the "others" are foreigners. Each of us imagines that his opinions and outlook are of his own manufacture, that what he shares with his fellows is "human nature" and that if those in other groups depart from this norm they are somehow perverse, even inhuman. But Kimball Young does prove his case (largely from anthropological material): what the uninitiated take to be basically human characteristics actually vary greatly from people to people.

One would expect the author, having established this thesis, to support the view that social groups were active units having their own identity, separate organisms as it were, and not just the algebraic sum of the aspirations and fears of the component members of the Society. Yet he dismisses this formulation as "mystical"—a stock term of abuse used by critics whose ignorance of what mysticism really is seems to be a matter of pride. Professor Young's dynamic unit is the individual, which is the stranger in that he admits the group to have a kind of immortality enduring, as it may, for countless generations. As one example of where his view leads him we may take his interpretation of war. This is, apparently, just a vehicle for expression of pent-up aggressiveness originating in the frustrations imposed on

the individual by authority in order to mould him, from infancy onwards, into the family, community and national type. Were this the whole story those peoples would be the most warlike whose conventions most curbed individuality, producing the most urbane manners and morals but thereby causing the greatest accumulation of latent, explosive aggressiveness. Actually Young's citations of anthropological data prove just the contrary. The most militaristic of peoples are prone to tolerate, or actually honour, individual aggressiveness within the group.

Some biologists have adopted a position antipodean to Young's and claimed that societies should be regarded as organisms. Objections to this view are obvious, but that the 'ontology' of societies should be studied seems to be a matter of urgency in this sorry world.

J. T. MACCUDY.

REFLECTIONS IN A MIRROR.

Second Series, by Charles Morgan.
Macmillan. 8s. 6d.

It is significant that Menander was said to be the close friend of Epicurus. Did Mr. Morgan have that semi-myth in mind when he chose so appropriate a title for his weekly discourses in *The Times Literary Supplement*? For undoubtedly the search of that essayist, either in current topics or literary assessments, has been for a means of maintaining the dignified and leisurely gesture in the art of living. It is an effort that to-day needs a great backing of confidence, and a detachment so austere that it may fairly be called a discipline.

And what emerges from this stance? A liberal figure, determined to keep at all costs his individual liberty of mind and manners, in a world tending towards all that he detests. It is a figure troubled with fears too, fears that the overwhelming impact of the wartime world, coming upon men and women after the seeping processes of the false interregnum since 1918, may so unbalance the age-old

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THE FORTNIGHTLY

AUGUST, 1946

A NEW CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL?

BY HERMANN MANNHEIM

SINCE my article on Prison Reform was published in this journal a year ago, the prospects of seeing a new Criminal Justice Bill before Parliament fairly soon seem to have greatly improved, and it may be introduced in the House of Commons before the end of the year. As this will be a piece of legislation likely to dominate the whole course of penal reform for many years to come, public discussion on the subject can hardly begin too early, and although the present writer can claim no inside information as to the intentions of the Government, he may be permitted to outline some of the major issues to be considered.

I

There is first of all the fundamental question of the field which the Bill will have to cover. It is only natural that, after the excessive strain of the war years, the whole machinery of criminal justice may have to be regarded as in need of a thorough overhauling. This is true of the criminal law itself as well as of the constitution and procedure of criminal courts and of the penal system proper. However, to cover the whole field of criminal justice and its administration would be a task much too vast for one single statute. Moreover, adequate information is hardly available at present on all points at issue, and it would take some years of intensive work to collect it. For similar reasons the Bill of 1938 was strictly limited in scope; it provided neither for the reform of the criminal law nor for that of the constitution of the Courts, and although it proposed a few changes in court procedure its principal object was to modernize the penal system. If, as has to be expected, a similar course will be followed now, this will mean the exclusion of such important and difficult problems as the raising of the age of criminal responsibility and the revision of the McNaghten Rules on the responsibility of mentally disordered offenders. The reform of the Magistracy, on which the appointment of a Royal Commission has been announced by the Government, and of the Juvenile Courts will, in all probability, also be left for a later stage. As, on the other hand, some items concerning the treatment of juvenile delinquents, such as remand homes and observation centres, are certain to be included in the Bill, the consequence will be that the whole subject of juvenile delinquency, at present chiefly dealt with in the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, will

CLXVIII

Ruskin, he did not have 'to post o'er land and ocean' in quest of colour and romance, but found them at his own modest East Anglian door." So now, in a sister art, in another corner of England a poet writes:

I sing the chequered acres of my home,
the little realm that is my universe,
and of the lanes and skies and twining hills
studding the diadem of that dear crown.
Of mortal flesh, to mortal flesh I sing,
nor pitch a high-keyed anthem to the skies,
chanting of gods all-metaphysical;
and they who sniff their way along the
streets,
seeking the whine of economic wrong,
shall seek in vain from me, as shall those few
who melt in ecstasy upon a plough,
or weep before the shrine of crafts long
dead.

As in Constable's pictures, it is "a living reflection of the English countryside" which enchants in Lieutenant-Commander Peel's ambitious poem, a sustained creative effort of six thousand lines that sing the cycle of the year from his own loved retreat in the Chilterns. *Mere England* is composed mainly in contemplative blank verse, homespun more than pedestrian, rising to lyric grace, and recalling at times both Cowper (who was significantly among Constable's favourite authors) and Wordsworth; but this measure as it winds its unhurried way, like some wide English stream, "slow and pure and deep" through the twelve months, is mitigated by passages of rhyme, and skilful devices of alliteration and half-rhyme so as to avoid monotony. Furthermore, the poem is frequently interspersed with lyrics of real beauty, those of a homely but genuine singer, several of which should find their way into the Anthologies. Of December:

Supple in its dotage,
gracious in decay,
earth is busy casting
memories away.

Now in single splendour
bleak and trim and spare,

boughs and hedges quiver
naked on the air.

Gone the swallow singing,
gone the green and gold,
gone the winsome growing
—all the earth is old.

As usually happens when an artist loses himself in a "sheer pure love" of his subject, we get a portrait of the author here of a man withdrawn, courageous, modest and, yes, grateful:

O spirit of this land and of this time,
I pray you grant
that words shall well within me to convey
the measure of the fullness of my joy
when summer sun and half-forgotten stream
conspire to banish sorrow from the world,
leaving delight and love in sorrow's stead.

And later:

O that I had ten thousand lives to live,
that I might mark the seasons come and go
upon the well-loved features of these haunts
—hillock and valley, river, mead, and wood,
tall towering Bledlow and sequestered
Thame—
that now, in mortal frame, elude my ken,
and will not give themselves entire to me.

It seems that this poet in his straightforward enthusiasms, and refusal to be bamboozled by contemporary cults, has inherited Constable's 'simple, manly, and unaffected character.' If I had wished to carp, it would be possible to suggest that the poem might have been better had it been shorter, for there are—perhaps inevitably in a work so extended—redundancies of thought and feeling and image. The cuckoo, I think, is mentioned over-much, and I missed many favourite creatures whereby a greater variety could have been achieved, notably some butterflies, the willow-warbler, and the chiffchaff. However, these are personal considerations.

But I knew as I finished reading *Mere England* that I had found a poem to which I should return many times for its faith and hope, for its belief in England, for the delight of its paean to nature.

JOSEPH BRADDOCK.

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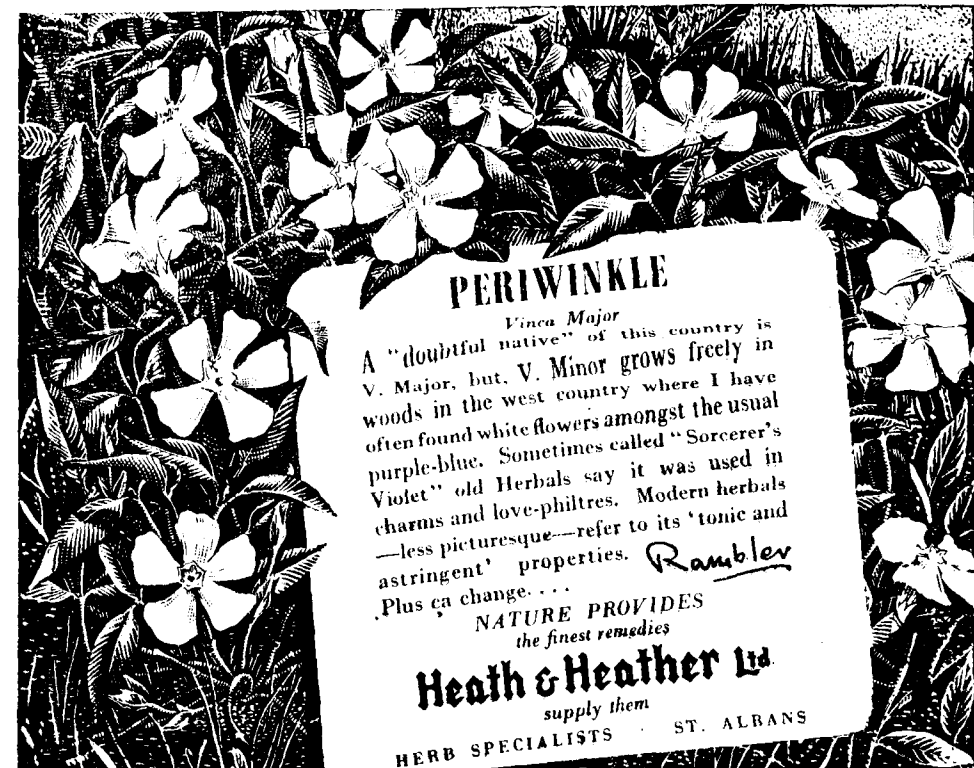
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PERIWINKLE
Vinca Major
 A "doubtful native" of this country is V. Major, but V. Minor grows freely in woods in the west country where I have often found white flowers amongst the usual purple-blue. Sometimes called "Sorcerer's Violet" old Herbals say it was used in charms and love-philtres. Modern herbals—less picturesque—refer to its 'tonic and astringent' properties. *Rambler*
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be re-examined in a piecemeal fashion—a legislative technique which will make it difficult for Parliament to see the problem, as it should be seen, as a whole. It might therefore have to be seriously considered whether the Bill, even at the risk of some further delay, should not rather aim at a complete restatement of the law of juvenile delinquency.

However, even within the boundaries of the penal system proper, the pre-war Bill was by no means exhaustive. Its most conspicuous gap in this respect came from its failure to tackle the awkward issue of the death penalty. Will the coming Bill be more courageous? In the middle of a post-war crime wave, the abolition of capital punishment would be a bold step indeed, and for tactical reasons it may even appear unwise to saddle the Bill with an issue that is bound to prove more controversial than all its other clauses taken together. On the other hand, tactical considerations are not always the best guide in matters of right and wrong and, quite apart from the many other criticisms to which it gives rise, it has to be stressed that capital punishment remains an anomaly in a progressive penal system. As the issue will have to be faced one day anyhow, why, it might be asked, not face it now? Certain technical difficulties would arise, it is true, from the fact that the matter is closely connected with the reform of the substantive law of murder, and in particular with the conception of "constructive murder" in English criminal law.

The Approved Schools, too, were excluded from the reform programme of the 1938 Bill. As wartime experiences have shown, it would be desirable to strengthen the hands of the Government by enabling the Home Office to establish such Schools in areas where local authorities fail to do their duty in this respect.

The scope of the Bill will also be affected by the extent to which the device of delegated legislation will be used. The pre-war Bill was content, even in matters of the greatest practical consequence, to provide merely the framework, leaving it to the administration, and in particular to the Home Secretary, to fill in the gaps. It was mainly for this reason that no definite judgment on the merits or otherwise of many of the provisions of the Bill was possible since the most important questions still remained to be settled. To give but one illustration, the Home Secretary was to be authorized to provide certain new types of institutions for certain categories of offenders and to make rules for their management and, especially, "for the classification, treatment, discipline and control of persons detained therein." No doubt, such a technique, first introduced in penal legislation by the Prisons Act of 1898, is in many ways indispensable, and it would be a mistake to attempt to tie too closely the hands of the administration, and of the Courts, by overloading the Statute with matters of detail. On the other hand, however, it might well be considered whether certain guiding principles of policy might not with advantage be formulated in the Act itself.

II

One of the most important among the various branches of the penal system certain to be included in the Bill is Probation. The forty years which have elapsed since the passing of the Probation of Offenders Act, 1907, have been a period of healthy development, interrupted only by the two wars, and the Probation Service of this country can now justly claim to be one of the best in the world. There were, a year ago, about 750 full-time probation officers in England and Wales, as against 325 in 1926, whereas—another welcome sign—the number of part-time officers had gone down by 230 to about 400.* Although no up-to-date figures are available for the whole country, already a few years ago the number of Probation Orders made was given as approximately 35,000 per year and that of persons actually under supervision at any given time as about 50,000.

Concerning the success of Probation as a method of preventing further anti-social conduct on the part of the probationer, it is unfortunately impossible at present to give an accurate estimate. Adequate information is lacking as no thorough follow-up studies of individual cases over considerable periods of time have ever been made in this country. Such statistical figures as have occasionally been published do not give one the impression of being compiled on scientific lines; their value is therefore very limited and if—as has sometimes been the case—the results appear to be unfavourable, they may have done a certain amount of harm to the cause of Probation. It is significant that the National Association of Probation Officers has recently suggested that the Home Office should "institute some permanent simple but scientific form of survey and research into the results of the methods now being employed by the Courts in the treatment of offenders."

In spite of the lack of adequate information, most competent observers are firmly convinced, however, that for many, and perhaps even the great majority of offenders, juvenile and adult, Probation is not only the cheapest but, if competently handled, also by far the most efficient method of treatment and that any lack of success has been due to certain accidental weaknesses in its present structure rather than to any inherent faults in its conception. Most of the changes in the law provided in the pre-war Bill, being of a technical and comparatively minor character, encountered hardly any opposition. The only hotly contested innovation, concerning the notorious question whether Probation should always be preceded by a formal "conviction", was later dropped, though in a perhaps not altogether unequivocal manner. Some of the most useful clauses of the Bill provided for improved facilities for mental treatment during Probation, clarified the distinction between Probation proper and simple binding over without super-

* These and the following figures are taken from various articles in *Probation*, the journal of the National Association of Probation Officers.

vision, and authorized local authorities to contribute towards the expenses incurred by private persons or societies in establishing Probation homes and hostels. In view of the particularly urgent need for more and better-equipped and staffed places of this kind, it might be suggested, as in the case of Approved Schools, that the Home Secretary should be given power to take the initiative where local authorities are reluctant to do so. Equally welcome was the attempt of the Bill, by making the setting up of special "case committees" imperative for every petty sessional division, to impress on local magistrates their duty to review and assist the work of probation officers in individual cases. Notwithstanding such and other amendments, there is little doubt that, in the light of more recent experiences, the pre-war reform programme can no longer be regarded as adequate, and some further suggestions might be tentatively put forward under three headings: concerning (1) the administrative structure of the Probation Service; (2) the application of Probation by the Courts; (3) the status and work of probation officers. While some of the reforms suggested below could be carried through already under the existing law, others would require an Act of Parliament.

(1) Concerning the changes affecting the administrative structure of Probation: although the idea of nationalization has occasionally been mooted, it is highly improbable, especially in view of the strong opposition on the part of probation officers, that the administration of the Probation Service will in the near future become as uniform and centralized as that of English Prisons has been since 1877. Nationalization might have its advantages: it would make it easier to raise the status of the profession and to avoid inequalities in the treatment of officers in different areas. On the other hand, opponents of nationalization are afraid that it would not only mean the transformation of an enthusiastic social worker into a "mere bureaucrat" but also endanger the good relations now existing between the probation officer and his magistrates. Whatever may be our views on the question of wholesale nationalization, it is arguable that in some directions at least the powers of the central authority might well be somewhat strengthened. For example, even if the system now in force in the Metropolitan Police Court district, under which all appointments of probation officers are made by the Home Secretary, should not be extended over the whole country it would be highly desirable to provide that only persons who have successfully completed a course of training as prescribed by the Home Office Probation Training Board should be appointed by local justices and Probation Committees. Although already under the present law every full-time appointment has to be confirmed by the Home Secretary within a year, the percentage of trained candidates appointed has so far not been higher than seventy. Probation work being of a highly skilled nature, it can no longer be entrusted to untrained persons whose only qualifications may be good intentions and a certain amount of practical experience.

(2) As far as the application of Probation by the Courts is concerned, it

would seem to be desirable, first of all, to improve the methods by which cases are selected for Probation in adult Criminal Courts. Whereas Juvenile Courts are bound by law in all except trivial cases to order preliminary enquiries into the personal circumstances and home surroundings of the juvenile, no statutory provision exists for cases of adults, and already in the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction (1936, Cmd. 5122) the practice of ordering such enquiries was described as "far from universal." In the words of that admirable Report, "for any Court to make a probation order without having full information before it is to take a leap in the dark." Surely, if a suitable formula on the lines of Section 35 of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, could be devised for adult Courts in the coming Bill, this would not only reduce the frequency of mistakes in the selection of cases for Probation—it might also, as a welcome by-product, to some extent secure greater uniformity in its application throughout the country (the percentages of adult offenders placed on Probation for indictable offences in 1938, the last year for which figures for the whole country have been published, ranged from twenty-four in London to three in Liverpool).

In recent years, well-informed critics of the Probation system (Mr. Claud Mullins and Judge Gamon, for example) have suggested that, to avoid the impression of its being "too soft", it should be possible to combine it with certain measures of a more penal character, such as fines or, in the case of juveniles, with some form of compulsory training. If wisely exercised, such powers might indeed be useful for well-selected cases. The idea of "Compulsory Attendance Centres" on the lines of the Bill of 1938 has not met with universal approval, partly, it seems, because of the difficulty of establishing such Centres in rural districts, partly because the framework given in the Bill was too vague, and partly because no organic link was provided between this new method of treatment and Probation. If these Centres could be combined with Probation and perhaps administered by the Probation Service, their constructive value might be greatly enhanced. It might, by the way, be equally advisable to place Probation homes and hostels under the administrative control of the Probation Service. Such an organic link between Probation and institutional or semi-institutional methods of treatment would make it easier for probation officers to become thoroughly familiar with the institutional side of the penal and reformatory system; it would facilitate frequent interchanges of personnel and eliminate potential sources of friction.

Whereas under English law Probation is an alternative to imprisonment, in Continental countries it means a suspended prison sentence plus supervision during a probationary period. In some parts of the U.S.A. both the English and the Continental systems are in use side by side, and it might be worth considering whether, for a small proportion of cases too serious for the English form of Probation, the more rigid Continental version should also be placed

at the disposal of the Courts. This would make it possible to avoid the weakness of the present law that, when the Order is made no clear indication can be given to the offender of the consequences that will be in store for him in case of misbehaviour.

(3) To enable probation officers satisfactorily to perform their immensely delicate duties as social welfare officers and advisers of the Courts their position needs further strengthening. Once it is realized that probation work is no less responsible and skilled than that of the legal profession in criminal cases, once the prescribed training has been raised to academic standards, the inadequacy of the present rates of salary will have to be recognized and further steps be taken to attract to the Service men and women of the highest qualifications in sufficient numbers. Even this, however, may not be enough. If magistrates are to derive the fullest benefit from the social training and practical experience of the probation officers, they must be under a legal obligation to consult him before deciding a case. It was recently suggested by a former Justices' Clerk of very long experience (Mr. Shaw of Manchester) that the probation officer should always be heard before a Probation Order is made, and it is to be hoped that the Bill will include a clause to this effect.

In addition to providing a legal basis for the exercise of his advisory functions, a broadening of the legal scope of the probation officer's activities is also needed. It is common knowledge, and explicitly laid down in the Probation Rules, that the officer's work, of which so much has necessarily to be performed in splendid isolation, is in vital need of being supplemented by outside bodies and persons. So far, teamwork, collaboration with others has been the legal duty only of the probation officer, not however of those on whose assistance he so largely depends: parents, school-teachers, employers, club-leaders, and many more. Would it not be appropriate to make it clear in the Bill that such collaboration has to be on a mutual basis? In particular, where juvenile delinquency is due to parental neglect or bad example, it seems advisable to strengthen the probation officer's position by providing that, in addition to the present power of Juvenile Courts to fine the guilty parent, it should be lawful in suitable cases to put the parents on Probation, either together with or in the place of the offender.

Space forbids to deal here with the many other functions of the probation officer besides the supervision of offenders on Probation. There is, however, one aspect of his activities that is likely to come under discussion in connection with the Bill: his share in After-Care work.

III

Next to improvements in the administration of Prisons and Probation, the reform of After-Care will probably be the most difficult task of the legislator. Whereas the pre-war Bill had abstained from proposing drastic changes in

the present system, it is doubtful whether the same policy can be pursued any longer. There are two large categories of offenders discharged from institutions—the ex-local prisoner and the ex-Approved School boy and girl—whose after-care is in need of reorganization, and at least the basic features of the methods to be employed for them should be outlined in the Bill.

(1) Should the system of discharge on licence, which is now used for the inmates of all but one of the existing categories of penal and reformatory institutions, be extended to the local prisoner who is at present free from compulsory supervision after discharge? The 1938 Bill proposed to give the Courts power to order persons with previous convictions, sentenced to imprisonment of at least twelve months for certain offences, for a period of one year to report changes of address to an After-Care Society designated for the purpose. As the detailed provisions of the Bill show, the object of this innovation was, as in the case of the nineteenth century Prevention of Crime Acts, to protect society. While this is fully justified, something more constructive on the lines of real after-care work is equally needed in the interest of the ex-prisoner himself. Secondly, should the present multiplicity of Societies be replaced by one uniform After-Care organization for ex-prisoners which, in view of the coming abolition of penal servitude, would have to include the ex-convict and ex-preventive detention prisoner, and should this new organization be run on centralized rather than regional lines and by the State rather than by voluntary effort? Since the Report on the Employment of Prisoners, Part II (Employment on Discharge) was published (1935, Cmd. 4897), much has been done to put its principal recommendations into effect, the further amalgamation of local Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies and the reorganization of the central co-ordinating body: the Royal London D.P.A.S. was established in the place of three separate societies operating in the London area, and the Central Society was transformed into the National Association of D.P.A.S. Nevertheless, it seems that too many small, and necessarily inefficient, local societies are still in being, and that with increasing classification of prisons according to type and needs of prisoners rather than on regional lines the time will soon come for a corresponding reorganization of the After-Care system.

(2) The second big problem is that of After-Care for Approved Schools. Various methods have been tried in the past, and each of them has its advocates: supervision by the heads of the schools themselves or by specially selected members of their staffs; supervision by Welfare Officers appointed by the Home Office for a number of schools in the same district. Last, but not least, the wholesale transfer of the work to the Probation Service has also been strongly suggested, especially in view of the fact that in many districts much of it is already being done by probation officers. Many arguments can be put forward for and against any of these solutions, and to bring to an end the present state of uncertainty it is much to be hoped that the matter will be settled in the coming Bill.

PERON IN PERSPECTIVE

BY 'J. C. DEL VALLE'

THE South American war of liberation owed its inspiration to the ideas of the French Revolution, and to British trading interests; but the mass of the people who marched the colonial streets, stormed the town-halls, and fought the Spaniards, were moved by a more obscure, instinctive urge: dimly, inarticulately they felt that they were destined to be the creators (as Columbus had been the discoverer) of a new world. They did not succeed in that gigantic task, but their craving was inherited by later generations, and is still the impulse which prompts the masses in South America to acclaim revolutionary leaders.

Of the past hundred years of South American history, Waldo Frank wrote in 1930:

The hour of the *mestizo** is the century of turmoil which has succeeded the Emancipation. Look for no ordered progress in this chaos. It is a dark time. It has its political, economic and intellectual stages. But deeper in significance is the very darkness. The *mestizo* is expressing himself. In his bewilderment, he is a child: not ready to think or act in terms of law. When he is forced, like a child, he imitates. He sets up inappropriate republics; irrelevant constitutions. What he is really doing is to articulate his instinctive needs. Only by releasing to the air of action his clotted conflicts can he emerge to the true dawn of action. Creation of this kind is tragic and long; and is beyond the mind and will of man to gauge. Struggle, error, must be its traits; and the disorders of a century are but one hour of its travail. When he has created his world, the *mestizo* nature which is the nature of transition will have disappeared. There will be no more *mestizos*; there will be new Americans, instead.

The latest, nationalist phase in Argentine affairs should be seen against this background.

In Argentina the Emancipation was followed by wholesale immigration, the breaking up of the large *estancias* (a process which is still proceeding), the rapid growth of local industry, the influx of Euro-Asiatic ideologies. During the 1939-45 war, Argentina began to export manufactured goods in considerable quantities. The old towns expanded (the population of Buenos Aires was 300,000 in 1880; to-day it is 3,000,000), and new towns suddenly appeared, fitted with the latest accessories of modernity. The local production of petroleum and of armaments was developed intensively. Prosperity and self-confidence reached unparalleled heights. Gradually, under the

guidance of General (at that time Colonel) Perón, a group of militarist-industrialist leaders grew to see the possibilities of the new European social and economic theories (so had the imagination of their predecessors been caught by the ideas of the French Revolution). The work-people, eager for better living conditions, and also (like the *mestizos* of the earlier period) in some deep, dim way aware that Destiny demanded of them a creative effort, provided the driving force that General Perón and his colleagues required. He borrowed from the programme of Mussolini, the technique of Hitler, the vocabulary of Karl Marx and the British Labour Party. It was he who directed the *Laborista* movement, charmed, timed, and finally struck. But the physical power of his campaign was in the work-people. It was they who, in October 1945, secured his release from prison. It was they who subsequently marched through the streets, cheered the balcony, carried banners, painted slogans on walls and railway carriages. It was they who, four months ago, cast the huge avalanche of votes that have now given the Presidency, legitimately and democratically, to General Perón. At the beginning of the last century the *mestizo* blindly knew that imperial Spain could not create the world of his needs. To-day the working-man is convinced that neither the *estanciero*, nor the "liberal" politician (which term includes the kindly socialist leaders, Dickmann and Repetto), nor the ever-pushing U.S.A. can make for him the new world towards which he is feeling.

The oleograph of General San Martín—the dark, handsome, military strategist who led the Argentine army across the Andes to emancipate the people of the Pacific Coast—hangs in every Argentine school and public office. The newly-hung portraits of General Perón bear some resemblance to those of the nineteenth century liberator and, moreover, there is a definite link-up between the two rôles. General Perón plans to liberate Argentina economically, as San Martín liberated Argentina politically. Economic liberation signifies freedom from the hold of the foreign investor; industrial development (Argentina is to be made self-supporting, and is further to increase her exports of manufactured goods), and economic security for the work-people. In proclaiming this policy, General Perón challenges the U.S.A. not only within the borders of his country, but also beyond the frontiers. There is no doubt that he sees himself as the twentieth century San Martín who will cross the Andes (by means of commerce, finance, radio, press, etc.) and "liberate" the other peoples of the southern continent. In Chile, Perú, Ecuador (and probably elsewhere) there exist local nationalist parties which are in close sympathy with his aims. And the Russians see in him an admirable weapon against the Colossus of the North.

The rise of General Perón to power coincides with a period of high prices and intense industrial activity. The world is hungry for the meat and grain that Argentina produces so plentifully. Other vast natural resources are awaiting exploitation. A huge lower-class population is ready to be supplied

* Waldo Frank here uses the term *mestizo* to cover mixed races, generally.

with consumer goods. Argentine capitalists, whether they supported or opposed General Perón during the recent elections, trust that he will now abandon the revolutionary social theories which he used during the electoral period, and settle down into the good old conservative tradition of Argentine Presidents. They hope that he will merely assist them to produce more goods and acquire more wealth: briefly, that the electoral policy which attracted the masses, will now be bogged in prosperity. The workers, of course, look to him to fulfil all the near-socialist plans which their former, less dynamic leaders failed to put into operation, but which he in his public pronouncements adopted as his own. When in 1945 he resigned from the army and appeared on the balcony in his shirt sleeves, he appealed to the work-people as an equal (he is a wealthy landowner, but that is beside the point). An Argentine President can afford to betray the voters who brought him to power. He is solidly installed in a most lucrative post, and nothing but a large-scale military rising can overthrow him. But I doubt whether General Perón will be content to remain a figurehead. His vitality and ambition will drive him forward in the path that he has clearly chosen for himself: that of becoming a twentieth century San Martín. This mirage haunts his vision. To achieve such ascendancy, he needs the support of the working-man, just as San Martín needed the help of the *mestizo*. General Perón will have to create his own industrial and intellectual aristocracy, unless the aristocrats of the old order can be won to his cause (there is evidence that many of them are already under his spell). His greatest need, however, is to harness the power of the workers, their enthusiasm for a planned prosperity, and their urge to forge a new South America in which Argentina shall be the guiding inspiration and the prevailing force.

In spite of his great ability, energy, and personal charm, General Perón could not have attained the position which he now occupies, had he not been a typical *Porteño*. Buenos Aires is a city of horizons. It retains the quality of the countless immigrants who have arrived here from cramped Europe; the innumerable newcomers who have landed here dreaming of horizons, living on distances, living in advance of themselves. The inhabitants of Buenos Aires to-day are flashy and confident; they believe in prosperity; they are easy-going; they are superficial in their judgments and tastes; in other words, they are uniformly young, fertile, elemental. The *Porteño* is a man who dreams; a man of unbounded optimism; a worshipper of glitter and extravagance. The early adventurers came to South America to find gold and silver; they came to plunder palaces, to pick up precious stones, silks, wine, luscious girls and the elixir of eternal youth. Their successors, seeing the huge areas, the enormous herds of cattle, the wandering masses of wild horses, were dazzled by the vision. Thus was the dream maintained. Thus did the *pampa* determine that the newcomer and the resident and the future generations should continue to live with their eyes on the horizon; that their eyes should be filled with

space and distances. The *pampa* is ever promising, and promises dominate Argentine life. The humble factory worker, the underpaid clerk, the weary salesman, they are all filled with the promise of the *pampa*. They are living ahead, far away. The poor man sits proudly on his horse, because he can see the shimmering promise of the horizon. The lower-class town-worker wears a smart new suit: the kind of suit that he will be able to afford "tomorrow" (but which he must meanwhile pay for by instalments). Any citizen of Buenos Aires, if he goes to the top of one of the skyscrapers, can see the *pampa* beyond the edges of the city stretching away for ever and ever. Or, by going down a few steps from the centre of the town, he can see the gigantic, brown Rio Plata, that other watery *pampa*, eternal promise of fertility and wealth. The *Porteño* lives in the imaginary world of the immigrant, the El Dorado, where success is easy and where lovely women are waiting in abundance. The newcomer sees first of all and all the time the "afterwards". The afterwards continues to govern the life of the resident. He stands on the horizon of the *pampa*, on the horizon of himself.

General Perón is a true *Porteño*, and is the embodiment of the *Porteño's* dream. He is handsome, wealthy, given to display, eloquent, lavish with promises. His success has been rapid and spectacular. He has even married a woman whom any *Porteño* would envy: the actress, Eva Duarte. But he offers more, much more, because he is an exceptional *Porteño*. The average *Porteño* is not sufficiently trained in the school of progress to dedicate himself systematically and surely. His personality is not disciplined; it weakens to easy luxury; it is more eager to be quickly prosperous than to be prolongedly powerful. Imagine, then, the glamour that surrounds the leader of their dreams, when he informs them with all his charm and with the weight of his military and political achievement, that he will make their dreams come true for them as for himself, that he will *organize prosperity!*

In this undertaking, every possible national and international collaborator will be mobilized. The work-people will be assured a better standard of living; the landowners will be given a market for their produce; the industrialists will be protected in so far as the import of consumer goods is concerned; the Catholic Church will be persuaded that the social and economic stability which they require, will be ever more strongly maintained; the Army will be promised the heavy armaments which they at present lack; and the young people in general will be given flags to wave and hymns to sing. In international affairs, Perón will juggle with competing foreign interests. The North Americans have fewer inhibitions than the British. They have already forgotten Braden (the "puerco atómico" of the Perónista enthusiasts), and Perón, for his part, will be willing to let bygones be bygones—on terms, and after a decorous delay. It will suit him to have a short memory. And, while holding in the one hand the railways and similar British investments, and, in the other hand, an accumulated sterling balance of £140,000,000, he will manoeuvre spectacularly to obtain

from Great Britain the vital supplies of capital goods that he needs. His first large British aircraft has already, and at an appropriate moment (July 9, Day of Argentine Independence), paraded before him and the assembled masses of his people. Shortly, the empty blue sky of Argentina will be filled, as the Brazilian sky has so long been filled, with air-liners and cargo-planes—and (who knows?) bombers and fighters. This will be his personal achievement, and one which will fascinate the already dazzled public. Meanwhile, the two British economic missions now visiting Buenos Aires cannot fail to be impressed by the power and resources of Perón and his Argentina. A new economic agreement satisfactory to both parties will be drawn up (the present agreement expires on August 20), but this will be essentially a great Perón victory, a triumph for the new nationalism. While negotiating with the nominees of British Capital, Perón will be on most friendly terms with the official representatives of the British Labour Government. Simultaneously, he will smile with that well-known charm as he shakes the hands of the Russians and the North Americans. Each in turn will be kept in uncomfortable suspense, yet generously beamed upon. Oh! that disarming smile, that sleek head, that massive, confident, powerful figure, those applauding crowds, those illimitable cornfields and pasture-lands, those busy factories, oil-wells, mines (shortly to be exploited to the full), and . . . those teeming soldiers! Is it possible that this man, who has all the cards in his hands, is it conceivable that he should fail? It seems to him and to his people that nothing on earth can hinder his progress.

NEW PATHS TO WORLD SOCIALISM

BY KARL RENNER

THE radio has converted all the countries of the world into one vast listening chamber, the aeroplane has reduced the ether into a single highway, and atomic energy has appropriated the entire globe as a field for manœuvres. It is therefore only logical that all the States represented in the United Nations Organization are trying to create a single central administrative power, for the working classes of the world are at present lacking in anything in the nature of unity—those very classes which first gave an example of solidarity to the chaotic disorder of nations.*

It is necessary above all to examine two phenomena, from which conclusions may be drawn for the formulation of political practice. The first of these arises out of the change in the class structure of western society. At the time of the philosophical conception of the Socialist doctrine over a century ago, before Marx, the proletariat, even in the most progressive countries, stood everywhere outside the bastions of the State and simply as underlings in relation to public authority; the revolution of 1848 that followed shortly afterwards miscarried.

Since then the working classes of all countries have, as a result of their perpetual, mutable, and on the whole successful struggle, become more and more integrated in the State: on the purely political plane by virtue of their franchise victories, and on the economical through social legislation and self-created economical ascendancies of every kind—and in particular through Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies. The period 1848 to 1938 shows a gradual progression from their preliminary participation in the State apparatus (the issue of "Ministerialism" during the Second Internationale) to their temporary assumption of public power (the first Labour Government in England), and finally to their total usurpation of the State in Russia (Bolshevism).

This factor common to all countries, even if following individually on differently constituted lines of development, does not refer only to time sequence: at the same moment the masses in individual countries stand in relation to their States in varying stages of ascendancy and mental outlook: at one and the same time the working classes of the younger nations are still powerless, of the more progressive nations semi-powerful and in Russia all-powerful.

* With misgiving and sorrow every Socialist admits this. Socialism must scientifically probe into the causes of this backwardness and point out the way in which this lag can be repaired.

The international slogan "Workers of the World Unite" has lost, as much from the march of time as from its spatial dissemination, more and more of its old single meaning and self-evidence—a natural consequence and not the result of theoretical error. The main problems, which are to be found in the First and Second Internationales, have differed from country to country and from decade to decade, and tactical antitheses have arisen; they have grown into major theoretical issues, and from now on prove destructive not only of the theoretical unity of Marxism (Revisionism) but of the Second Internationale itself. The Third Internationale takes the stage.

The Imperialist high tide at the turn of the century split asunder nations and the Internationale so effectively that any decisive and expansive success was denied to the world proletariat. The Basle Congress of 1912, with its strong and forceful peace demonstrations, marks the highest level reached to date by the international European working class movement. With the first World War, which broke out in spite of Basle, and which the working classes were unable to avert, retrogression set in. Up to now this has not been repaired.

Without being dogmatic it may be assumed that the successive and parallel differences of economic foundation, such as the State superstructure, have forcibly bred differences in thought and action among the working classes of various differently constituted States. And this is because each working class is bound up to a different degree in its own particular State. These political organisms have arisen out of economic laws, but are also based on special historical antecedents. The working classes of Petersburg in 1917-18 may not have differed very much in their social way of life from their Berlin comrades, but while the former lived within a political organism that, in addition to those parts that faced the West, embraced immense provinces and populations still untouched by democracy and ripe for collapse, the latter lived in an undivided and closed State which had enjoyed democratic general franchise since 1867, with an unusually large and not yet corrupted middle and upper middle class and a completely upright agricultural population. The former chose tactics that are more reminiscent of Blanqui than of Marx, but the tactics of 1848 favoured by the latter proved just as fatal for they led to a splitting of proletarian solidarity and thereby a restoration of the Junker capitalist ruling class. In the light of history these are facts and not faults, necessary differentiations and not theoretical errors.

The two world wars and the twenty year inter-war period stirred up powerful tendencies that were already latent in peacetime when the life of the individual worker and the condition of his whole class were closely bound up with the State. In times of free trade the living standard of the masses tended to be levelled; in times of high tariffs and autarchy the standard of living began to rise for some and fall for others. Both wars caused the State to become the absolute destiny of class and country, and victory and defeat have brought

about a rift between the working classes of different countries, not only in mental outlook but also in their material existence. The conditions between the workers in Germany before the Fascist advance of 1933 and after the catastrophe of 1945 cannot be compared. Their standard of living and that of workers in the U.S.A. was practically equal in 1933, but from 1945 it will be different for many years, possibly for many decades—the outlook for the one being as promising as the other is hopeless; war psychosis has in many cases accentuated these material and mental differences to a point of hostility. Marxists too, have often forgotten to differentiate between the causes of war and war guilt, and have not hesitated—in an attempt to whitewash the rulers in their own countries—to accuse the proletariat of being jointly responsible for war and its atrocities. The origins of war lie in certain factors the existence of which, however, do not exonerate the guilty. The working classes themselves being entangled in the policies of their respective governments, not they but their governments must take the full responsibility; these alone bear the whole war guilt, and many of the conquerors are equally implicated. The elucidation of this fact is the duty of every Socialist, and to neglect it at the present time is the greatest and most dangerous crime that could be perpetrated against the international proletariat.

An even greater chasm exists to-day between present and past. The time has come for the relegation of both Second and Third Internationales to history. We must close a book full of useless discussions and open a new one to study whether a true and workable Internationale can be successful either now or in the future. A judgment thereon can under no circumstances be made on the strength of old citations or the examples of past historical periods, but only through a precise examination of the true and many-sided position of the working classes of different countries—this time no longer on the limited platform of the Western European world, as during the campaign of Marx and Engels, but on the stage of the whole inhabited world.

As opposed to the Second World War, in the future drama of humanity outside Europe, not only the U.S.A. and Japan but China, India, Indonesia, South Africa, Australia, etc., will play the part of equals and often more important partners. These partnerships cannot be regarded primarily as military and political, but as economic and social, and as a consequence former leading players will often be assigned smaller rôles, and Europe itself become more of a side show than the main stage.

Socialism will have to "learn to think in continents", and the Fourth Internationale will from its very inception have to be on such a broad basis that all the problems of its predecessors will seem narrow and trivial by comparison. This expansion of its foundations is already in itself a difficult problem of reconstruction, and at first sight appears to be practically insoluble. Also, the working class of every country is deeply bound up in its own State, and each to a different degree from that of its neighbour. In a State where the proletariat

stands in irresponsible opposition to authority it will naturally raise claims that no longer hold good in a land that has a Labour Government, and the former will most readily espouse and eagerly resort to the prescribed revolutionary tactics that were employed in the 'forties of the last century. All the intermediary stages are to hand and parties run the risk, if nothing worse, of Congresses speaking at cross purposes. The question immediately arises: what in the way of similar and unified conclusions can still be drawn from these endless differentiations?

A like economic driving force comes up against a difference in social superstructure. The latter shows itself in the main as a difference in State constitution, in relation to which all social traditions become operative. We have failed in a systematic analysis of superstructure. Had it not been for this failure we should long since have realized that the same economic class struggle in the Third French Republic would have had to be carried out with other postulates than in the land of the Czars.

But this is not all. Let us suppose that rapid progress in all the important countries of the world brought the working classes to power simultaneously. It is hardly credible that this progress could have succeeded so far as to even out the economic and social conditions of all countries at the same time; there are countries with rich and poor soils, countries with abundant food and raw materials and others ill-provided with both, so that economic and class structures must of necessity be different, and States will exist who are dependent upon the exchange of their products, resulting in many antagonistic differences. But apart from this, each country and each race brings with it a legacy from the past, and the working class that comes to power takes over this legacy and must deal with it in one way or another. Added to this, linguistic, cultural and social differences must always be taken into account, even if they do not present difficulties as great as the economic ones.

There are creditor and debtor States—the commonest differentiation. But there are also States that to a varying degree attract the ground rents of others (as in the case of England and Ireland, or lands with a monopoly of raw materials which ensure the monopoly rent of all purchasing countries for themselves); States that have seized the trade of their neighbours and monopolized mercantile profits; States that have taken possession of the production capacity of another nation and treated their citizens as foreign labour to lay up surplus values for themselves, and finally there are States that exploit their own workers, and even though they allow their citizens a share in the profits must be considered as capitalist States. Following the war there will undoubtedly be countries that are more or less proletarian States and the proletariat on assuming power will have to accept the legacy of such anomalies for better or for worse. The British Labour Government now finds itself in this rôle with regard to India; in various other respects a future Labour Government in the

U.S.A. will find itself in a similar position towards her British counterpart when considering the future indebtedness of England to the U.S.A.

None of these facts is new but their full significance has not been taken into account. Anyone who now thinks in terms of a world-wide victory for Socialism, anyone who hopes for the materialization of a true proletarian Internationale, must substitute for a vague pacifism a well-planned and goal-conscious community. Moreover he must be thoroughly convinced that such a community is a historical necessity, and therefore is competent to achieve practical results. Obviously it will be clear from the start that the slogans of the previous Internationale cannot simply be repeated.

In the world of the past, from earliest times right up to the Imperialist eras, the maturer, richer and more powerful nations have forced weaker ones through warfare to become incorporated in themselves—or to serve as protectorates and colonies for plunder. This hard and bloody way has after centuries brought the victims of its sacrifice into the cultural sphere of the conquerors, and it cannot be denied that the modern world has been drawn nearer into what we now call the European sphere of culture. Thus it was that from the ancient Roman Empire, born of conquest, a family of peoples emerged in which all the provincials eventually became Roman citizens, and all the races of the contemporary inhabited world were finally absorbed in the Christian cultural community. This universalism of Christianity, which to-day only continues to exist as a claim of Catholicism—posthumous superstructural phenomenon of the first order—serves as a prime example of how a superstructure can outlive its historical foundations for centuries.

It is clear that the proletarian Internationale, therein at one with all men of culture, will basically discard these methods and struggle for unity as a result of the experiences learned from the last two world wars and the devastating effect of the atom bomb, and will accept the thought of an organized world peace more unanimously and more earnestly than before as the crux of political deeds and action. Should the workers fail to do this they would be denying their basic duty to themselves and the whole of humanity and through this failure would make themselves equally guilty in the certain catastrophe that each new world war must bring upon men.

But has not this creed of an international peace community always been incorporated in the battle-cry: "Workers of the World unite"? Has it not, I ask all the Socialists of the world, always been our dream and our goal since the birth of our movement to outlaw war and to bring about an era that will change the course of history and usher in a lasting peace between nations? Was not this the motive behind our century-old struggle against militarism, and our protracted feud with Imperialism? Have we become so untrue to ourselves and so weak in our endeavour that we have lost confidence in our slogans just at this moment when they are beginning to conquer the world?

The battle cry of 1848 no longer expresses our aim. All three Internationales

were merely a fraternization of the proletariat of various nations who were gradually becoming conscious of themselves—but only to the degree of consciousness reached. They were convened for the express purpose of awakening this self-consciousness through their common slogans, and thereby to rally the masses. To-day the proletariat of nearly all nations has been awakened through our efforts including such countries as the U.S.A. where they have bypassed the many stages through which the European proletariat had to go. They have taken our deeds as a model instead of the dicta of our teachers, and have responded to the proletarian necessities of to-day while paying scant attention to the teachers of our youth. The old slogans no longer completely cover our battle aims and though the old flag may still lead our shock troops it can no longer lead the whole army.

The *avant-garde* of to-day comes from the technical schools and scientific institutes. Numerous workers have attained a standard far surpassing that of the *bourgeoisie* and can no longer be styled proletarian. The idea of Socialism has to a large extent taken hold of the intellectual élite of *bourgeois* origin, and the international idea in particular has now penetrated into all classes of society. Consequently our old battle cry may be clarified and expanded into the words:

Socialists of all countries *know*. We are the Internationale, we are the new mankind! Be strong in this belief, be ready to put it into action. It no longer suffices merely to display these our thoughts and desires every three years at a World Congress, but to impress them indelibly on all countries through our organization day by day.

This warning clearly manifests that which is more or less instinctively operative in all Socialist parties and is being accomplished—even if sometimes only timidly—on all the platforms of the world to-day. Conscious deeds are superior to purely instinctive action. It is no coincidence that in these post-war months UNO, an organization of united nations, has been created, and that thus an attempt is being made to introduce the Internationale in the above-mentioned sense of the word as a living institution. It is no coincidence that the Socialist Spaak was in the chair at the first session, and that the Socialist Trygve Lie was appointed Secretary. All this clearly proves that our ideas are on the march, that we Socialists are the appropriate tools of historical necessity, the harbingers of future mankind.

UNO is naturally only an attempt, the second of its kind. The first took place at the First World War after the attrition of the working classes, on the ruins of the Socialist Internationale, with reluctant capitalist classes among the victors and a score of hypocritical nationalist-Imperialist reservations. It died from its congenital defects. But this second attempt is being made with the prominent participation of the Socialists. It dare not collapse, for if it did, Socialism itself would be undermined; it need not collapse if world Socialism carries out its mission.

We are now at the stage of organizing world peace through UNO. The proletariat must bring all their strength to bear to make it really operative, and to equip it with every necessary weapon. A certain section of the *bourgeoisie*, together with certain capitalist countries, will only give their allegiance to UNO with great caution and reserve—but the loyalty of the proletariat must be unconditional and ruthless. Socialists of all lands must create their own special organization to supervise its controls and aims. This suggested special organization which should comprise the best elements of the working classes of the world, might well be called the Fourth Internationale, in order not to break with tradition! It must become the pillar of the peace movement, irrespective of whether its members are from a country where they are in the ruling majority or from one where they are in opposition.

This can only occur if the fact is recognized that the maturing process of nations is gradual. But the acknowledgment of this fact must not lead to the conclusion that the maturer and more powerful nations should dominate the lower. They must serve rather as leaders, helpers and teachers and by means of conscientious supervision the Fourth Internationale must ensure that this condition is only temporary, and prevent it from ever deteriorating into tyranny and exploitation. Its rôle is clear: to control the powerful, and to aid and support the weak. The wounds that Capitalism has inflicted for centuries will be healed by Socialism though it may take several decades. Success can ensue only if the establishment of the rights of both be laid down in clear international norms capable of adaptation to each stage of progress. This will entail a new and original international law, which it will be one of our opening tasks to create. It will not succeed—or at best have only a partial success—if left to capitalist interests, acting on the Radical principle of "all or nothing". The whole-hearted co-operation of the entire proletariat and of Socialists throughout the world is therefore indispensable.

This task coincides with the more difficult test of the international state of mind and intelligence: the overcoming of class differences between governments and their peoples. And to achieve this we must avoid all dangerous Utopian experiments; we must make use of and profit by the experience gained in our century-long struggle. I repeat: as the rise of the working classes in every country has been only gradual—an historical formative process—so the rise of primitive and proletarianized nations must also proceed step by step so as to avoid plunging the world into a new catastrophe; it must be an advance from success to success, an historical process and not a nine days wonder or the stroke of genius by one sect or leader, and certainly in the light of world peace no longer the result of some Socialist crusade.*

* A far more attractive programme for many would be some form of "Red Army" that would subdue the hostile capitalist States by force of arms and bring world Socialism to victory. The outcome of the second world war has certainly shaken this hypothesis! It would prove too costly, and result in the impoverishment of victor and vanquished alike. For Socialists, a war of aggression is out of the question, but the necessity and value of defensive armies remain unimpaired.

The days are passed when creditor States collect the interest on their Government loans with bombarding warships; but the reigning difficulties continue and have been further accentuated by two world wars. There will not only be proletarianized nations in the outside world like India, who up till quite recently had to deliver all her attainable surplus values to a ruling State, for we shall have our own India in the middle of Europe, and possibly for a long time into the future—perhaps until the old India has herself achieved emancipation.

The results of the last World War with its fantastic achievements in the realms of news, travel and armaments has, so to speak, telescoped all countries together like a concertina. To-day the Far East is nearer to London in travel time than Berlin was to Vienna when Karl Marx was a youth. In the course of a very few years, if the world chooses peace, a proportionately more active and speedier exchange of goods will develop so that world prices for all commodities will become stabilized. We shall, just as we do to-day, as the result of war necessity, enjoy Canadian, Argentinian and Manchurian in addition to Hungarian wheat, as well as wheat from the Beauce, without questioning its origin. This is only one example, and a thousand others could be cited. Production conditions will become equalized in the future all over the world faster than before the World War. And this too with particular regard to the centres and means of production. The most important colonial territories have, as a result of two world wars, been highly industrialized; certain raw materials have become world commodities thanks to capitalist development. Crude oil is now being prospected in all parts of the world, rubber is to be found in both hemispheres and coal is now extracted not only in Wales but everywhere—even in the Arctic Circle. It will be observed that the majority of commodities have become "cosmopolitan" before men.

Equalization of wages will inevitably follow closely on the heels of stabilized prices. The far reaching impoverishment of whole nations must either induce a direct lowering of wages in nations having a high standard of living or in a transfer of production centres to localities allowing of lower wage and production costs. The lowly-paid coal miner in Poland and elsewhere has a depressing effect on the formerly well paid English miner. Phenomena of this kind will become more and more the order of the day.

The working class is bracketed economically with the wage and salary earners as opposed to the *rentiers* and profit earners: the interest of the former is represented by the Trades Unions organization. The worker spends his wages in the open market, mainly on consumer goods, and his interest as a buyer tends to centre itself in the co-operative organization. Naturally neither of these bodies as yet exhaust the whole field of their interests and are augmented by countless associations for physical and spiritual culture, but both are the main pillars of the extensive ramifications which the working classes of all lands have created for themselves during the past century. A marvellous creation—consciously erected by man—no less than the new superstructure that has arisen

from below and parallel to the traditional structure of society, that will gradually surpass it and in the fullness of time overwhelm it.

To abide by our comparison: just as in our towns with their million inhabitants that have risen from the soil, much old rubbish and historical artifice will be found among the strong new buildings, so there remains beside the modern workers' organization much ridiculous feudal and outmoded residue together with many similar yet venerable superfluities that in the course of time will prove to have a certain degree of utility—such as Christian universalism by the side of the modern Internationale.

The interests of the Trades Unions and the Co-operatives which are bound up respectively in wages and commodity prices, force the working classes of the more progressive nations to take an interest in their less mature brothers in order to meet respectively the burden of wages and prices. Imperialism and Fascism have tried to achieve the latter by means of an autarchic closure of the home country and the subjection of other countries, by means that not only led to an antithesis, but engulfed mankind in the catastrophe of a world war. The socialist internationale is on the contrary, bound by its nature, to achieve its goal through its political and cultural activities, the education and elevation of the weaker to the standard of the maturer peoples. The plan of UNO aims in this direction.

The new superstructure, the new organization of the working classes from its inception spreads out its branches beyond its own land towards a union which would be above all nations: in this spirit both the Trade Unions and the Co-operatives as well as the associations for physical and spiritual culture have created their own internationales—their number is by no means insignificant—and have maintained them despite the division of the political movement into a Second and a Third Internationale. The reason for this difference in development is that these former movements grew directly out of the economic and cultural foundations of life, that is to say from that sphere which does not so directly touch the State as does the political striving which, according to our premisses is much more differentiated and more burdened with tradition. Labour Governments very often cannot, as they have already proved, avoid differences of opinion (Bevin-Stalin) and cannot avoid bringing them to a head. The economic cultural internationales will be in a better position to smoothe out and overcome these differences once they have been properly organized and grouped. It follows, therefore, that the initiative in the formation of a Fourth Internationale must first and foremost be supported by the Trade Unions.

Each of the above-mentioned organizations fulfils an especial economic, social or cultural individual function, which is the same in principle in all nations. The political party, on the contrary, embraces the totality of all the State functions of the individual country and stands in opposition to the joint traditional superstructure which varies from State to State. Political parties must therefore extemporize and be adaptable, for each one struggles in its own

country against other classes and parties, against other actualities and ideologies, altering its slogans and tactics accordingly. It would have been the obtusest Marxism if in 1918 for instance, one had insisted upon the English working class fighting their capitalist opponents with a tactical programme such as the Russians used against the Czarist régime which they overthrew. The formula coined by Blanqui: "Destroy the Power of the State" is an exemplary recipe for a working class that stands completely outside its Government and opposed by an hostile and hermetic State apparatus. But it is insanity in a land where—as exists to-day in the progressive countries—the power of the State has so changed its functions, that the preponderant section of the community itself serves in the protection of the working classes and participates in the management, and is itself composed of organized socialists and trained Trade Unionists. It must therefore be more a question of nationalizing and developing than of destroying the apparatus. Intermediary stages between these poles of development are innumerable and it is in consequence often unavoidable that in strong cases of class differentiation two or three proletarian parties can exist in one country, and by their competition better serve the interests of their class. They can therefore without difficulty—despite these local differences subscribe to the supreme organization within the structure of the Internationale if they are prepared to submit to it without reservation. Amalgamation is not always advisable and is only of use when material and personal conditions for unity and concordance of action are to hand.

All this goes to prove that an international central organization cannot be borne by the political parties primarily and alone. Its foremost aims must be to group together all the institutions serving the mutual national-cohesion of the working classes; to rank as a free replica of UNO; and to control, inspire and defend and, above all, save the latter from paying attention, nay from succumbing to capitalist and imperialist influences. It must be permanent and in material equipment should not lag too far behind UNO; its spiritual content, however, should be untrammelled and more flexible than that of UNO which naturally is fundamentally at the mercy of changing governments. If UNO is to represent the united governments, the Internationale must represent the united nations themselves for at least as long as no system of direct representation is feasible. The immensity of the tasks to be faced will soon result in the fact that all the disputes of the first, second and third Internationales will be forgotten, and it will direct the thought of the working world towards the burning questions of the present and the high aims of the future.

(Dr. Karl Renner is the President of the Austrian Republic.)

YUGOSLAVIA REVISITED

BY HAL LEHRMAN

I AM prejudiced in favour of being allowed to go and look. Last September I came away in a huff because I had been ten weeks in Yugoslavia, and all ten of them in Belgrade. When I tried to poke into Yugoslav Macedonia, to check on charges that Greek rightists were beating the *ouzo* out of Slavs in Greek Macedonia and chasing them over the border, the War Ministry in Belgrade said No. They kept on saying No until I packed up and announced I was taking off for Budapest, and then they waited until just before I left and said Yes.

It is a pleasure to testify that matters have now improved in this regard. This time Macedonia took and survived the risk of my personal inspection. I managed it by the simple guile of obtaining a visa from the Yugoslav Legation in Athens and crossing the frontier by jeep directly into Macedonia from Salonika. Later I learned I hadn't been supposed to get back into Yugoslavia at all, of which more below. But the point is that I did get in, after which I was able to move freely in every direction. During the better part of a month, I covered more than 2,000 kilometers. I needed permits, of course, but they were forthcoming without fuss. In addition to Macedonia (in Bitolj, incidentally, I found several hundred refugees from Greece and confirmation of last year's reports) I toured Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Serbia. Here and there official stooges attached themselves to my investigations, but on the whole it was possible to get at the people and the facts without the inconvenient assistance of Partisan shepherds.

Of all the federated Yugoslav republics, Macedonia seems to be the most contented with its new deal. Nobody there is concerned about individual liberty, because nobody knows what it means. But they do have national liberty, at least the trappings of it, and that is what the Macedonians were demanding for half a century. (Here in Sofia, every Bulgarian politician I meet has a relative, also a politician, who was shot, stabbed, or blown up by some Macedonian patriot.) Now they have their own flag, and an autonomous Parliament, and are happy, except that they would like to bring Greek Macedonia in and maybe a piece of Bulgaria. They are busy concocting a Macedonian culture—twenty-three high-schools and 15,000 students, as compared with eight high-schools and 3,800 students in 1940. A suitable proportion of these are for the Albanian and Turkish minorities, unlike the old régime. The Vice-Premier of the Macedonian Republic is a Turk, the Minister for

Social Welfare is an Albanian. A Rumanian sits in the Praesidium, and a Serb—washed of the sins of Macedonia's ancient Serb tyrants—is Minister of Health. Moslem women are being emancipated as fast as they can stand it. In Debar, on the Albanian frontier, Zinet Krlija, eighteen years old, is a member of the town governing committee. Her mother, Finet, presides over the local Anti-Fascist Women's League. Zinet dresses collegiate, but Finet still wears the veil to placate the Debar Tories.

In Macedonia I had my first glimpse of the appetite for work which the Partisan régime inspires. The citizenry streams out of Skopje, the capital, on Sundays to donate its labour to the State. Near Boletin I met a gang of 200 youths cheerfully repairing the road without pay. They had hiked ten kilometers over the mountains to get there, and brought their own lunch. Elsewhere in Yugoslavia there aren't as many Partisans, but enough to have restored the country's highways, bridges and railways within a year since the Germans, Italians, Hungarians and Bulgarians finished destroying them. You can go in a cosy *wagon-lit* from Skopje to Belgrade now, and all along the track may be seen the skeletons of trains and the fragments of twisted rail left from the war. Lately the public energy has also been applied to rebuilding Yugoslavia's homes. From Zvornik to Sarajevo, eighty miles where last year every village lay blasted, I saw houses this time rising up everywhere, of wood and plaster or brick when it can be found, everybody building everybody else's home, scarce materials coming painfully over tough mountain roads, peasants bravely returning to settlements which had seemed eternally blighted.

The same devotion has been applied to the land itself. Autumn sowing achieved at least ninety-five per cent. of the pre-war norm—monumental in view of the loss in draft animals and tools. Spring sowing was slumping to around seventy per cent, despite UNRRA-donated tractors, because of the seed shortage. Nevertheless, thanks to the rain which finally soaked a bumper but thirsty crop during Easter, Yugoslavia may soon become uniquely self-sufficient.

Meanwhile UNRRA has saved large sections of the country from starvation, as officials admitted to me wherever I went. It is another credit to the Partisan régime that a nation-wide distribution system—facilitated by UNRRA trucks but impossible without Yugoslav energy and design—managed to spread our supplies fairly evenly. K-ration packages, tins of pineapple spread, cartons of Ten-in-One salvaged from Allied Army stores, stare at you from the unlikeliest primeval places. I was especially sensitive to the phenomenon of Yugoslav vigour because of my recent tour of Greece, where the only labours of note are politics and oratory. In Yugoslavia, the black market has literally been checked by the rope. The same treatment has snuffed out monetary inflation. Alone of all the central and south-east European countries, Yugoslavia is free of foreign exchange speculation, a reign of terror against manipulators has kept the dinar at 200 to the pound, when natural economic law, dearth of public funds and absence of adequate cover should have booted it down long ago.

Having said all this, I am constrained to put my remaining stock of superlatives away. The rest of Partisan Yugoslavia, to this groggy but still convinced liberal, is on the edge of darkness.

Taking obvious things first, there is the Army. The New Yugoslavia is a forest of uniforms. Just before I left, demobilization of a few classes was widely publicized; but the *Cluzhbeni List* (Official Gazette) for March 29 says with more conviction that over half of the year's federal budget—10,500,000,000 dinars from a total of 20,602,000,000—will go to "national defence." Mikhail Sergeicic, the Russian ex-colonel who is chief of the UNRRA Mission delivering mainly British, Canadian, and American materials to Yugoslavia, denies that the soldiery are "unproductive mouths". He told me they help on public works. This may be, but I have never seen a Yugoslav soldier do anything more arduous than salute, except when on guard or manoeuvres. In manoeuvres, I drove down a Croatian road and passed a solid mile of parked three-ton Dodge trucks and GM weapons-carriers. The carriers were loaded with troops. The trucks were attached to artillery. UNRRA has supplied thousands of vehicles like these to relieve the acute crisis in transport of civilian food and reconstruction supplies.

The Army is packed with political commissars, *à la russe*. I shared a train compartment once with one of them, a lieutenant-colonel, aged twenty-five, who had been a Montenegrin peasant, with four years of elementary schooling, until he went into the mountains and excelled in killing Germans. He teaches the troops how to think politically. He explained that the Army was necessary "for defence against fascist invasion." He said the chief danger at the moment was from "fascist Italy." This was when the deadlock was beginning to harden over Trieste.

There is certainly no danger from inside the country. The Opposition is completely flattened. I sought out most of the Opposition ex-leaders. They are beaten, bitter men. They blame each other for not having united in time and contested the elections. Hindsight shows that despite the obstacles to organizing and campaigning placed in their way by the régime, Subasic and Groll could have established at least a foothold in Parliament. Instead, Parliament is a unanimous nonentity.

None the less the liquidation continues. Anyone who was not a Partisan or does not bow three times daily in the direction of Tito is *ipso facto* a fascist reactionary.

The theory that workers should eat more than non-workers is admirable provided that work is equally available to all. Every Yugoslav has a *karakteristika*, a sealed record of his political reliability. Not knowing its contents, he cannot appeal its verdict. He must present it when applying for a job. If it isn't good, he isn't hired. If he isn't hired, he gets fewer rations, including UNRRA rations. Holders of workers' R-cards pay ten dinars for a package of K-rations. Holders of non-workers' G-cards can buy the same package from

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the Government's surplus supply, for thirty dinars. Fuel and clothing are distributed through individual coupons. To get such a coupon you apply to your trade union. Obviously, you have to be a worker to belong to a union. Furthermore, a satisfactory *karakteristika* must accompany successful applications for entry into trade schools or universities. The middle class is systematically being weeded out of the Yugoslav educational system.

The middle class is also being systematically impoverished. The co-operative system in Bosnia-Herzegovina is symptomatic. No independent artisan there, no self-employed worker or businessman, no professional man may belong to a consumer co-operative (*zadruga*). The best he can do is a State store (*granap*), where free market goods sell at much higher than *zadruga* prices—a clearly discriminatory tax against private initiative. Yugoslavia's nationalization laws are anything but terrifying on paper; the State has modestly taken over only the normal minimum such as forests and mineral resources. But in effect virtually all industry and commerce above the level of craftsman and small retail store have been grabbed, under the cloak of collaborationism or war profits. Assessments of the latter frequently have gone beyond the total value of profits, installations and stock. The gouging has dug so deep, in fact, that a halt was recently called in order to consider downward revision of the assessments. Meanwhile the sheep whose factories were seized by the Occupants during the war or who simply closed down have been exterminated along with the goats who made bagsful of money by working with the enemy. The result is that individual enterprise is disappearing. There is no desire to invest private skills or money, and no credit is forthcoming from the State. Chambers of Commerce are on their last legs. Lodging rents, one of the staple revenues of the Yugoslav middle class, have been slashed and frozen inequitably low in a rising market. The national reconstruction programme deliberately favours the provinces at the expense of the capitals. Apart from clean-up of debris, for example, and the repair of wrecked dwellings there has only just begun. So has the Moscow system of packing several families into one flat. The evident purpose of the Government in all branches of national recovery is to raise the living standard of backward areas like Montenegro, at the same time depressing the standards of the great Yugoslav cities, seat of the "reaction".

The irony of all this is that not even workers of Partisan persuasion have much beyond their enthusiasm to keep them going. Factory managers and their top assistants have been fired, their places taken by "experts" chosen for political rather than technical qualifications. The strain of the war and the damage to machinery have helped also, but the dubious capacities of this new managerial "élite" have contributed no small part to Yugoslavia's present industrial doldrums. Too many State-controlled enterprises show a deficit. Despite the New Order's promises of joy everlasting, too many workers who are doing their jobs competently cannot rise above mere subsistence level. Fore-

men in the largest factories have a maximum wage of nineteen dinars hourly. Nobody in Yugoslav industry, not even the executive head of a chain of plants, can earn more, by law, than 6,000 dinars monthly. The worker buys rationed foods at fair, even cheap, prices. But non-rationed food, and those other items which mark the difference between existence and civilized living, are frequently beyond his reach. Even the leather which he must find for the pair of shoes to which his ration coupon entitles him costs from 900 to 1,200 dinars.

Partisan Yugoslavia is at the moment in a quasi-NEP stage. Although Commissions to devise a national economic plan are burgeoning, the plan itself is still little more than a gleam in the eye of Yugoslavia's Soviet-inspired brain-trusters. A system of regional production quotas is now operating with some result, but this was largely inherited from the Occupation. It is generally believed that a Partisan Economic Five-Year-Plan cannot materialize much before 1948. But the Partisans have a very definite Political Plan already well in progress: to make Yugoslavia a one-party State.

I had no way of checking reports, a half-year after the fact, that fraudulent voting registers enabled the dead and non-existent to troop to the Yugoslav polls just as they did in Greece. I was able, however, to gather sufficient confirmation from varied sources that many of the other Greek iniquities, which the Partisan press loudly exposed, were also committed in Yugoslavia.

The Communist Party, presumably just one of the groups in the People's Front, enjoyed many special advantages at the balloting. The vote was supposed to be secret, the elector publicly dropping a little ball from his clenched fist into one of several sound-proof urns. There was one urn for those who didn't want any part of the People's Front (a kind of vague "Nein!"), and then one or more urns for different groups in the Front when these were contesting particular candidatures. In Belgrade the technique worked fairly well; in many country areas a mysterious shortage of sound-proofing material prevailed, and the ball dropped with a breathtaking thud. This undoubtedly induced many voters to demonstrate their fealty in front of the Communist urn. That urn was arbitrarily placed first in line, a favoured position and the traditional spot for the Government party in previous Yugoslav elections. The urn was invariably festooned with garlands and the portrait of Tito, who technically was leader of the entire Front and not any part of it. When a British Parliamentary group observing the elections set out to look at the polls, a flying phalanx of small boys went on ahead to spirit the pictures and wreaths out of sight before its arrival. Soldiers were instructed by commissars to vote Communist; speakers from other Front parties were banned from the barracks. On Election Day, columns of soldiers marched to the polls chanting "*Armija glasa partiju*" (The Army Votes for the Party).

A peculiar aspect of the vote count is that it took four days to add up the ballots in Belgrade and more than ten days in the provinces. The time habitually required before the war was midnight of Election Day in Belgrade and

twenty-four hours in the provinces. This slowness cannot be entirely explained away by the breakdown of communications. On the first three days the Government press published detailed results for each district, and then ceased. Taking Serbia as a sample, it should be noted that the final official count showed 77.16 per cent. voting, of which 88.59 per cent. were for the Front, and 11.41 per cent. against. The independent newspaper *Novostny* (since expired for "lack" of paper) tabulated the first three days' detailed returns, as officially reported, and found that of the eleven departments in Serbia nine had been fully counted before silence descended and these nine showed only 65.51 per cent. for the Front.

It is a Rabelaisian oddity that Groll's opposition Democrats, who boycotted the elections and are now practically invisible, form a legally-recognized party; on the other hand, Yugoslavia is the only country in eastern Europe or, for all I know, in the world, where the Communist Party is still illegal. This is due to the renowned Communist weakness for secrecy. Yugoslav parties were required to file their by-laws with the Interior Ministry. The Democrats did, and the Communists didn't. Indeed, the only public admission of the Communists' existence is their official newspaper *Borba* (Struggle), which confesses it in the masthead. Not even the number or identity of Communist deputies in the Skupshtina is formally known, because they all registered themselves in the parliamentary lists after election as "People's Front" or "Independent".

Notwithstanding this mummerly, the Communists are in full control of the country, and the other parties which once had some meaning in the Front have become ciphers. I detected this first at a session of the Macedonian Republic's Parliament. A Yugoslav newspaperman who was elucidating matters for me at my elbow revealed that the only deputies who retained their party organization were the Communists. "Their Party was the only one which totally fought the Fascists in the war," he said. "The other parties are simply members of the People's Front." The efficacy of this became abundantly clear when the Finance Minister (Communist) finished reading his report on the Budget. A deputy said: "Let's not waste time discussing this." Everybody voted Aye for the Budget, and that was that.

The Finance Ministers of all six Republics, and of the Federal Government, are Communists. So are the Premiers and the Ministers of Interior. In the Federal cabinet, furthermore, Communists held the key portfolios of national defence, labour, industry, transportation and foreign commerce; a Communist Vice-Premier heads the all-powerful Control Commission newly-created to supervise all Government agencies and enterprises; a Communist Minister Without Portfolio directs Education and Culture. The "Big Seven" in the centre of this system—Tito, Rankovic, Kardelj, Djilas, Juevic, Hebrang and Pijade—are all Communists. The Praesidium of the Federal Parliament contains nearly all the ministers of the central Government, plus the premiers of all the Republics, plus some ministers of the republics. The Praesidium, which

takes the place of the Chief of State in the new Yugoslavia, is thus composed entirely of ministers, responsible for themselves as administrators and to themselves as executives.

Russia is a land of commissars and soviets; Yugoslavia is a land of secretaries and committees (*odbor*). There is a governing *odbor* for every community, from the hamlet upward. Except in the rare isolated localities where the Party has not yet penetrated, the secretary of every *odbor* is also the secretary of the local People's Front and at the same time the secretary of the Communist Party. This trinity of secretaries, along with the interlocking in the Praesidium, is what the Partisans call *Jedinstvo Vlasti* (Unity of Power). It is a basic principle of the Constitution's structure. Its avowed purpose is to abolish Montesquieu's separation of the executive, legislative and judicial branches. Its secret purpose is to concentrate the executive and legislative power (the so-called People's Authority) in Communist hands. As for the judicial power, it resides, by a special refinement of the new Constitution, in the public prosecutors rather than the magistrates. It is superfluous to add that these prosecutors are Communists. "Where did you study law?" I asked a prosecutor with whom I dined at Bihacs, in the Lika. "I didn't," said he, "I'm a surveyor by trade. Being a lawyer wouldn't matter, because we have different laws now." This man, who spent four of his twenty-seven years as a guerrilla in the mountains, has the power to reverse all court decisions affecting the 200,000 persons in his jurisdiction.

Apologists for the Partisans point out that the Communists were the only party which had branches in all parts of the country after Liberation; if they had not taken hold, Yugoslavia might have been torn by factional and regional conflicts, and become another Greece. This could be true. One does not condemn the Communists for being in power, but for what they are doing with that power. Last year, in fact, I reported enthusiastically that the régime had eliminated—through federation—the sectional hatreds which had wrecked the old Yugoslavia. This is still true; but new hatreds bred by Partisan intolerance have split each section inside itself more deeply than even the fumbling King Alexander could have managed.

The Communists are physically and spiritually incapable of taking criticism; a critic is automatically a "fascist", something to be hounded and eliminated or, if that is inconvenient, to be gagged. I speak with authority on this subject, though not with spleen, I hope. My own private travail with the Comrades was rather good fun, in fact, except for the sombre implications anent freedom of expression for Yugoslav citizens who, unlike myself, are unable to get up and go. It all started the day I arrived in Belgrade. I was received as an "enemy of the people" by the Information Ministry. During my previous visit to Yugoslavia, in the summer of 1945, I had filed some fifteen dispatches. All but two were straight news stories, the bulk of them favourable to the régime, and none of them against it. The remaining two were articles pub-

lished simultaneously in *The Nation* and in *The New Statesman*. For the first of these articles, a factual account of events in Yugoslavia during the early half of my visit, I received the thanks of the Information Minister (now Ambassador to Washington), Sava Kossanovic. The second article, cabled from Belgrade just before my departure, attempted to analyse the good and the bad in the Partisan system. For this, while I was somewhere in Hungary or Rumania, the official Yugoslav Government newspaper *Politika* devoted three columns of its first page one day to proving I was a hopeless reactionary.

Upon my return, the two Information Ministry worthies with whom foreign correspondents must unfortunately deal, one Vuksan and one Baum, gazed upon me with round and startled eyes, then recovered sufficiently to give me a sneering welcome, with many subtle remarks about my "objective correspondence" and some secondary sniping at certain colleagues of mine who had failed to be "objectively pro-Yugoslav" (sic) when covering the Trieste dispute. I pointed out that objectivity requires a little something besides ecstasy before the Partisan shrine. Messrs. Vuksan and Baum subsided sufficiently to promise to arrange interviews which I requested with various Government spokesmen. I telephoned daily thereafter, and was assured that everything possible was being done but that the people on my list were busy, ill or out of town. Finally I went off for a week on an UNRRA-sponsored tour, along with fourteen foreign correspondents from Rome and Vienna. We returned to Belgrade the night of May 8, to learn that I would be officially barred the next day from the Victory Parade and a Tito reception.

The correspondents went on strike. They refused to go to the parade unless I were allowed to go too. After we had all waited an hour in the Hotel Moskva while the drums rolled, somebody reached the Yugoslav military and persuaded them to rescind the Vuksan-Baum edict. Two staff cars driven by colonels roared up, piled us in, and raced us away to a spot directly across from the reviewing stand, where we could see Tito, the People's Choice, resplendent in his fourteen stars, crosses and medals and the new, natty blue uniform of his own design. In the afternoon, the correspondents foregathered with Baum, who demanded to know whether they intended to boycott the Marshal's reception also. He explained that I was being barred because I had written "various articles, some of them from outside the country, which we consider disloyal." (I had written one critical article; until the present story from Sofia I have never filed a word about Yugoslavia except from Yugoslavia; I am not aware that I owe any loyalty to a foreign state.) Baum went on to disclose that I had gotten back to Yugoslavia through an official error, "legally but by mistake."

And now I'm going home to America to take a good deep breath of that air which, I am reliably informed by the Balkan press, contains absolutely nothing but racial-hate germs, mechanical-civilization germs, and other fascist-reactionary germs with dirty old capitalistic feelers and creepers. But I remember dimly that there are a few little liberty germs bobbing about too.

THE DYNAMIC OF TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING

By GILBERT MCALLISTER, M.P.

THE New Towns Bill introduced by Mr. Lewis Silkin, the Minister of Town and Country Planning, which, as I write, has passed through all its stages in the House of Commons and happily begun its progress through the Second Chamber with an unopposed Reading, gives legislative form to an idea which has been keenly discussed for almost half a century. In 1898 the London firm of Swan, Sonnenschein & Company published a little book called *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*.^{*} Its author was an obscure Law Courts reporter named Ebenezer Howard. There was nothing about the publication calculated to arouse more than a passing, casual and restricted interest: it might very well have fallen stillborn from the press. Instead it had a remarkable reception. It was reviewed at length in newspapers of every political complexion and of none. It was reviewed curiously enough, in the *Court Circular*: it was reviewed equally favourably in Robert Blatchford's Socialist weekly *The Clarion*. The name "Garden City" immediately sprang into current usage and retained its popular and inspiring qualities for close on half a century before it began to wither slightly under the misuse of the speculative builder and the word-snobbery of Bloomsbury and Whitehall. It was adopted not only into the English language but into most other languages, quite recognizable as *Cité-Jardin*, *Gartenstadt*, *Cuidad-Jardin* and *Tuinstad*.

Within a few months of the publication of the book a meeting was held in the Holborn Restaurant to form an association to give to this airy nothing of the imagination a local habitation and a name. The chair was taken by the late Ralph Nevill, K.C., who thus became the first president of the Garden City Association, with the late Dr. Thomas Adams (afterwards famous as the town planner of New York) as the first secretary. The Association set out to raise the necessary capital to embark on the building of the first prototype Garden City. They found the public not unresponsive. A company called First Garden City Limited was registered and a site was chosen in the remote and inconvenient, but of course cheap, part of Hertfordshire where the town of Letchworth now stands. The Association crystallized the idea of the Garden City which it defined as

a town designed for healthy living and industry, of a size which makes possible a full social life but not larger, surrounded by a green belt, the whole of the land being held in common ownership or in trust for the community.

^{*} It was republished in 1902 under the title, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*. A new edition, edited with a preface by F. J. Osborn and with an introductory essay by Lewis Mumford, was published this year (Faber & Faber. 6s.) and reviewed in the July issue of *THE FORTNIGHTLY*.

There was of course nothing startlingly revolutionary about this conception. It was the idea which had motivated Robert Owen at New Lanark and at Orbiston. It was the idea which pervaded the writings of Ruskin who in *Sesame and Lilies* sketched the idea of the walled town with

no festering or wretched suburb anywhere, but clean and busy street within and the open country without, with a belt of beautiful garden and orchard round the walls, so that from any part of the city perfectly fresh air and grass and sight of far horizon might be reachable in a few minutes' walk.

It was the idea expressed in William Morris's *News from Nowhere*. It was the main theme of Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. It embodied the Patrick Geddes trilogy of Place, Work, Folk. It was the reply not only to Cobbett's criticism of London but to Lord Rosebery when, as Chairman of the London County Council, he said:

I am always haunted by the awfulness of London: by the great appalling fact of these millions cast down, as it would appear by hazard, on the banks of this noble stream, working each in their own groove and their own cell, without regard or knowledge of each other, without heeding each other, without having the slightest idea how the other lives—the heedless casualty of unnumbered thousands of men. Sixty years ago a great Englishman, Cobbett, called it the great wen. If it was a wen then what is it now? A tumour, an elephantiasis sucking into its gorged system half the life and blood and the bone of the rural districts.

Prince Peter Kropotkin gave something like scientific clarity to the ideas floating in the air and certainly foreshadowed the Report of the Barlow Commission forty years later when in *Fields, Factories and Workshops* he advocated the limitation of town growth and the decentralization of population and industry.

Letchworth was built; and, after the first world war, Welwyn. That the two towns succeeded cannot be doubted. They survived the test of ordinary commercial enterprise and paid their way. They had their difficult periods, of course, but each has paid for many years the maximum permitted dividend. They proved that it was possible to create beautiful residential estates within walking distance of well equipped and well laid out factory estates, and these not for light industries only but for heavy industries including at Letchworth a steel-works and at Welwyn heavy engineering. Above all they succeeded from the health point of view. They have the lowest death rates in the United Kingdom. Their infantile mortality rate is so low that one has to go to New Zealand for a comparison. When Manchester Corporation, first among the local authorities to possess the imagination and the determination necessary to emulate the Garden City example, embarked on Wythenshawe and moved the population from Hulme district to the new satellite town, every death rate fell by half within three years.

Years of propaganda and of demonstration did not have the desired effect. The State and the municipalities were reluctant to embark on an adventure which small groups of private people had successfully undertaken. Overseas the idea grew and was translated into reality. France, Holland, pre-Hitler

Germany, the Soviet Union, Australia, where Canberra the capital was a direct inspiration from the Garden City movement, and the United States, where President Roosevelt's "green belt cities", although largely and mistakenly dormitories, were built—all proved more eager than Britain to follow the example so clearly demonstrated. It was the impact of Munich which finally shattered the complacencies. Under the threat of aerial bombardment it became as strategically necessary to adopt a policy of dispersal for industry and came as strategically necessary to adopt a policy of dispersal for industry and population as the state of the distressed areas—to which a policy of centralization had contributed so much—had made such a policy socially and economically desirable. The Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population, the Barlow Report, published as the population was lustily but prematurely singing "We'll Hang Out the Washing on the Siegfried Line", contained recommendations advocating a precisely similar policy to that urged by the Town and Country Planning Association. The Association had put in the forefront of its policy—as did the Barlow Report—the necessity for the creation of a central planning authority. This was implemented in some degree when Lord Reith was appointed as Minister responsible for the physical planning of Britain's town and countryside. The Reports of two committees set up by him, that under Lord Justice Scott on the future of rural land use and that under Mr. Justice Uthwatt on the vexed question of compensation and betterment, completed the Whitehall survey of problems which had to be solved if the reconstruction of Britain after World War II was not to be subject to interminably frustrating delays.

It would be foolish, however, to imagine that any Government or any Minister of Town and Country Planning would have had the courage or the imagination to go forward with a New Towns policy. History will, I think, give full credit to Mr. Lewis Silkin, the Minister of Town and Country Planning, for having pressed forward with a policy which, for the first time since town planning became the subject of legislation, takes physical planning out of the rut of restrictive, negative, permissive and fairly futile regulations into which it had fallen: the New Towns Bill for the first time makes planning not merely a matter of zoning for industry here, for a rural belt there and for ten or one to the acre in this place or that, but a matter of taking the plan from the drawing office to the site and clothing it in three dimensions. In my view there is no other form of planning.

And yet, now that the vague aspirations of half a century are about to be fulfilled some stray doubts creep in. Some of them have been quite needlessly produced by the Minister who, ignoring the recommendations of the Lord Reith Committee, says that the State-sponsored corporation (and no great municipality such as Manchester or no inspired group of enthusiasts) shall alone build a new town. He stakes everything on the idea that the State corporation can always do things better than private enterprise however controlled, however restricted, however willingly it parts with its time-honoured freedom of action.

Such a view has breath-taking implications. It means that in the Minister's view the State corporation will build not only better than Welwyn or Letchworth but better too than Bath, better than the New Town of Edinburgh, better—dare we say it?—than Nash.

Then there are all the other questions which obtrude themselves at such a time. How far is it reasonable to encompass an old community and destroy its way of life in order to provide a new community? Have we the right to uproot and dispossess? What of agriculture? What of the community life in the new towns and can community life anyway be thrust upon a population? Stevenage was in some ways a bad start. Even if an unpopular but widely circulated national newspaper had not sought to exploit the situation for the sake of Party advantage—or something—there was nevertheless a reality of bewilderment and dismay which could have been avoided if the whole scheme had been clearly and timously explained to the indigenous population. And what of the people who are to be moved out from the huddled slums but also from the colourful streets of our overcrowded cities? These are all relevant and important questions. They do not suggest, however, that the whole question is an insoluble one: they merely confirm that it is a complex one.

The problem may be shorn of some of its complexities however when some simple considerations are taken into account. The first of these is the question of alternatives. These are so glaringly before us that they have only to be considered to be dismissed as intolerable. They are suburban sprawl, ribbon development, rural scatter, or their antithesis, urban congestion. Ribbon, sprawl and scatter are the best devices for ruining agriculture and the countryside yet conceived by man. They provide their inhabitants with the worst of both worlds since they lack equally the amenities of the town and the refreshment of the countryside. Urban congestion, on the other hand, is a device which appeals to many who, loving the countryside themselves, would nevertheless condemn the mass of their fellow citizens to inadequate sunshine, light and air and would deny them that ready access to the soil which answers one of man's deepest needs. Such a one, for example, is Dr. C. E. M. Joad who in his latest book *The Untutored Townsman's Invasion of the Countryside** puts forward a plea for flats which does credit neither to his knowledge, his logic, his philosophy nor anything else that becomes a responsible man. He talks of the Karl Marx Hof in Vienna and praises it and bids us follow the example of the gay Viennese. How gaily, how wantonly the Viennese embarked on these massive machines for living, history, did Dr. Joad but know it, already records. The Viennese flats have been condemned not only by responsible architects and officials associated with the venture but by many visiting British housing experts who expected to find well-planned apartments and instead found living boxes 400 square feet in area. The flats were to be the answer to suburban sprawl. Behind the medieval encircling wall the workers

* Faber & Faber. 8s. 6d.

modern barricades, the crèche, the communal laundry, the communal recreation room, those places where everything is in common and the only uncommon things are privacy, solitude, quiet and the right of a man to be himself by himself. Cramped in their hygienic cells, frustrated in their birth-control barracks, the sun and wind and soil starved in their cement and stucco wildernesses, the wretched inhabitants of these final monuments to a necropolitan civilization did the natural thing. It is easier to lay down rules than to have them carried out; and the Viennese workers were not so easily tamed. They went out to the outskirts of Vienna and they dug their allotments. They did more. They built sheds—at first to hold their gardening tools. Later the sheds were converted into shanties which became the Vienna workers' equivalent of the English week-end cottage—hardly an effective way of preserving the countryside.

But Dr. Joad had no need to look to Vienna. He should have read his Abercrombie. Before starting out on a work of this kind—unless he wished us to look upon him as the arch example of the untutored townsman—he should have read his County of London Plan. There he would have seen how one million people moved out of the County of London area in one decade before the war. Why? Why did the “best elements” of the County population move out? They went for simple human reasons. They went because they were tired of the noise and the dust and the lack of sunshine of inner London. They went because they wanted to have a house of their own with a bit of garden round it where the children could play, the housewife could occasionally rest, and the husband could find exercise for his body and rest for his spirit in one of the most harmless of hobbies. And if they went to Hendon or Burnt Oak or Mill Hill or Becontree and not to that older, more spacious and altogether more elegant suburb in which Dr. Joad resides, they went for very much the same reasons as impelled him to make his home in Hampstead.

If we can put a limit to our cities by encircling them with a green belt and place the overspill in new towns beyond the green belt, each having its own agricultural belt inviolable against building, then we shall be able to thin out our existing city populations, re-house their still numerous inhabitants at not inhuman densities and provide for the inhabitants of the new towns an environment fairer and better than the mass of people in this country have ever known.

Only the new towns solution provides the answer to so many problems. The answer to the preservation of the countryside: to the re-building of our cities in a more spacious way: the answer which will put an end to some of the needless—stupid and depressing—as well as expensive—straphanging which is the lot of so many millions to-day. Only the new towns solution brings housing into its proper relationship with work and brings both into relation with every other facility and amenity of town life—the school, the church, the theatre, the shopping centre, golf-courses, tennis courts, etc.—and the whole were to be restrained from free access to the land of their fathers by those

with convenient access to a thriving and unspoilt agricultural background.

Will the workers want to go to these new towns? That raises a larger question: does the worker ever choose where he will live? In the main he does not. His first quest is for a job, a steady job with security and a modest wage. When Messrs. Stewart & Lloyd moved from Lanarkshire to Northamptonshire, they had not the slightest difficulty in persuading ninety per cent. of the population of two large villages, Bellshill and Mossend, to uproot themselves and go *en masse* to a new and alien country. It is also not irrelevant to remember the mass emigration of the working class—again some of the best and most enterprising elements—to America, to Canada, to New Zealand and Australia, which was a feature of the nineteen-twenties. If that proved anything it proved that the working class were willing to move to the other end of the earth and start life anew if only they could be satisfied that there was work to do, a little more money to be earned and a fairer start for their children. There will be no difficulty in populating the new towns if the Board of Trade and the other Government Departments responsible see to it that industrial development keeps pace with residential development.

What will the new towns look like? That is a question which no one can answer. Much will depend on the architect-town-planner responsible for the site layout and for setting the general pattern of the building development. It will depend in one instance, I feel sure, on Sir Patrick Abercrombie; in another on a Thomas Sharpe, or a Gordon Stephenson. It will depend on whether the architect is a disciple of Le Corbusier or Frank Lloyd Wright or whether he prefers to follow the more traditional ways of Sir Raymond Unwin, Sir Edwin Lutyens or Mr. Louis de Soissons. I hope that the New Town Corporations will be catholic in their approach to the problem and that we shall see in the new towns architectural and building conceptions wholly integrated in themselves but differing from one another and each somehow reflecting the best tendencies, socially as well as aesthetically, of the age in which we live.

The architect-town-planner is important. No less important is the sociologist, the man who has studied the ways of his fellowmen and can in some degree satisfy even his unexpressed desires. For we are not embarking on this gigantic project in order to build for the sake of building. We are building for the community, for the nation, for the family which is the heart of the community and of the nation. We are trying to create an environment in which every good human impulse will have room to grow and to express itself. We are saying goodbye to the ugly and the mean, to all those things which degraded our town building in the last hundred years and that produced the Gorbals (no miracle there except perhaps that in that sunless slumdom the human spirit did somehow survive, warm-hearted and generous), that produced Salford and a hundred other denials of man's personality.

The new towns which are to be built may very well be the most lasting gift of our time to posterity. Town and country planning is unlike most other

human activities in that it costs very little. It does not alter the volume of building: it merely says where the building must go and where it must not go. It is the cheapest national investment: it brings the greatest rewards. That was a fact which was clear to William Morris, to Bruce Glasier and to many of the other early workers in the British Labour movement. Between the wars the Labour movement tended to forget the importance of physical environment in its struggle for more immediate objectives. It is perhaps a sign that the movement is going back to its native roots and ideals that one of the first acts of the first majority Labour Government should be to introduce into Parliament the New Towns legislation. The translation of this legislation into physical being will call for the applied zeal of men and women of many varying capacities. The Minister, who is to choose the personnel of the New Town Corporations, has a difficult task in selecting teams which combine practical and business capacity with social idealism and human understanding. There is an opportunity which many will envy. They will need courage. They will make mistakes—they will need courage to make mistakes and sense to recognize them as mistakes. If they hesitate and delay they will deserve censure: if they go boldly ahead they will have support and approval—and what is most important, understanding. They will be engaged on what is—the war apart—the highest adventure of our time.

(Mr. Gilbert McAllister, Member of Parliament for Rutherglen, was formerly the editor of *TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING* and is the joint editor with Elizabeth McAllister of *HOMES, TOWNS AND COUNTRYSIDE* recently published by Batsford (18s.).)

TEMPORARY DWELLING

BY F. VERE HODGE

NEW Year's Day, 1946. On this, the first day of my demobilization leave, my wife and I—who with our two small children, had been living in rooms near my Regiment's headquarters—packed ourselves into our ancient Austin 7 and started on our 400-mile journey from Ayrshire to Oxford. I had been lucky, through the kindness and hard work of some friends, in renting a house in Oxford until mid-March, but after that date the prospect of finding a home within reach of my work seemed hopeless. The Billeting Officer, indeed, had already advised me to not to bring my family South.

The only alternative appeared to be to build a temporary house of some sort in an adjacent village. I had foreseen this state of affairs some months earlier, and during my last weeks in uniform had profited by a building and a plumbing course that I had the opportunity of taking at my Station. The plan I now had in mind was to buy a second-hand wooden hut and, by means of inside partitions, to make it into a bungalow. My wife and I set to work on this plan, and had our home ready for occupation in eleven weeks.

The work fell into three main divisions: (1) from the initial idea up to the time when the plans were approved by the local authorities concerned; (2) clearing of the site, laying of foundations, and erection of the sectional building; (3) making the house habitable, and moving in.

We made a rough pencil plan of the proposed building and decided on the village most conveniently situated for our purposes. I found out which Rural District Council was responsible for this village and rang up the Surveyor to ask him for an appointment. He said he would see me that very afternoon, and I went to the Council Offices expecting to have a rather chilling reception, and to have cold water poured on my scheme. I was entirely wrong. The surveyor was most anxious to help, and advised me exactly how to draw up and submit plans, suggested whom to contact to enquire about a possible site, and, in fact, generally raised my morale considerably.

As a consequence of this advice my wife and I set out next morning to find the Parish Clerk of our chosen village, who apparently might be able to help us find a piece of land for our house. Though we did not know it at the time, we were to meet that morning a man whose kindness and labour were to help us through many anxious and weary moments in the weeks that lay ahead.

We wanted a plot of ground near the main water and electricity supply, of an area sufficiently large to allow us to dig a septic tank the statutory fifty feet

away from the house. A bye-law also directed that a timber building must be fifteen feet from the boundaries of the plot on which it stood; so this factor also had to be considered. It turned out that there was only one site in the village which answered all our requirements, and after consideration the owner agreed to rent this ground to us for two years.

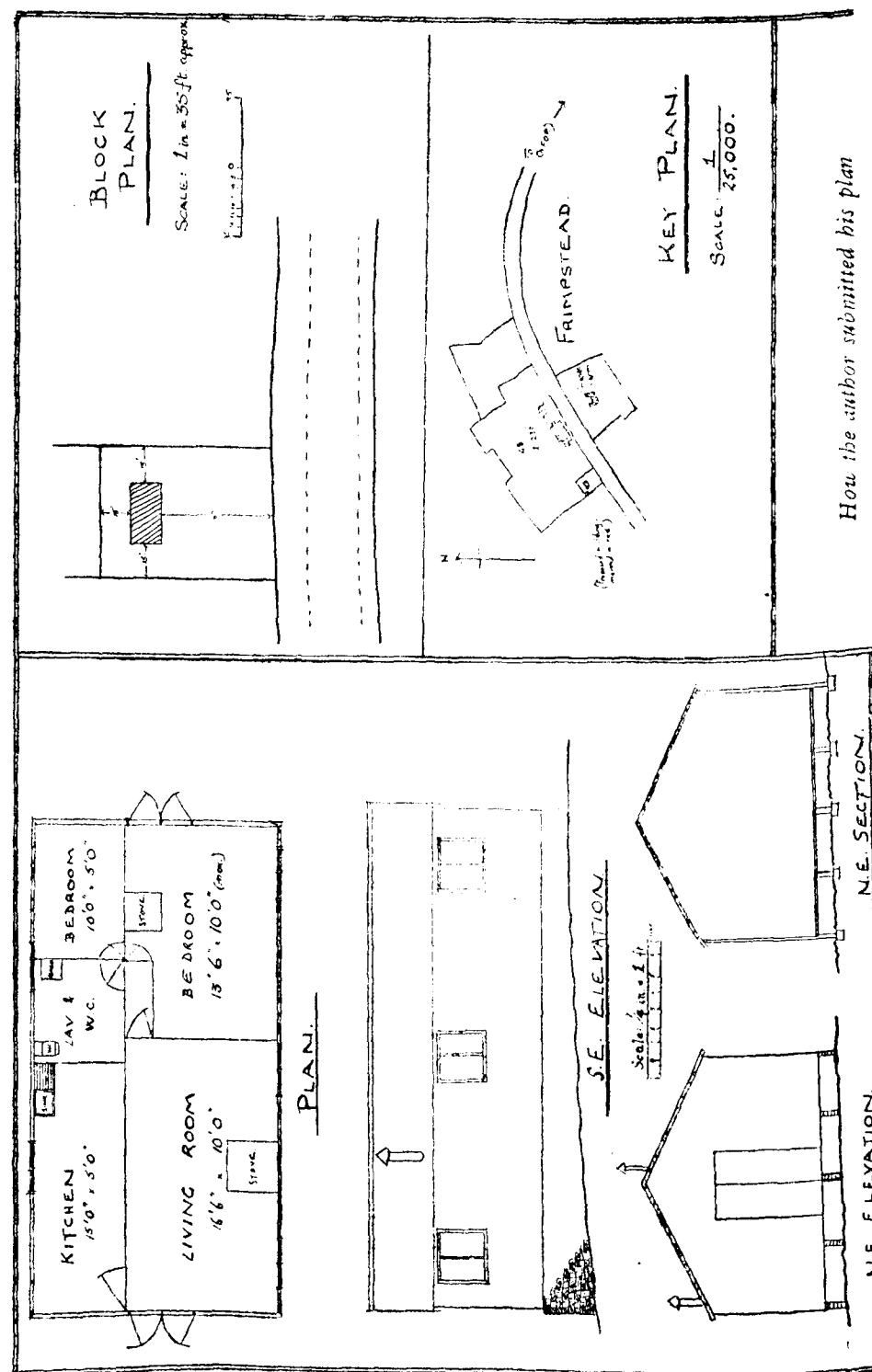
The next step was to prepare plans for submission to the Rural District Council and Town Planning Committee. The plans had to be in triplicate and had to show one plan view, two elevations and one section, and also a block plan and a site plan.

The preparation of plans which are good enough for such a simple project as this need deter no one. The chief requirements are a large sheet of tracing paper, as transparent as possible, a bottle of Indian ink, a penholder with several different sizes of nibs, a large-scale Ordnance map (for the site plan and block plan) and, most essential, several old plans drawn by an architect to give one the idea of how the job should be done. The Rural District Council kindly told me of a local firm who would make photographic copies of plans from my original tracing at a charge of only a few pence a copy, so I was spared the labour of drawing all three copies by hand.

The three copies of the plans, together with forms applying for permission from the local Authority to erect the house, had to be sent to the Rural District Council by February 7, 1946, if they were to be in time for the monthly meeting of the Housing Committee. After consideration by the Rural District Council, plans are normally sent to the Town Planning Committee of the County, but the considerate Council found out that the monthly meeting of the Committee was a few days earlier than the Council meeting that month, so by mutual agreement between the two Authorities I was allowed to send the plans to the Town Planning Committee first, a sensible arrangement which saved me a month's time.

I was buying my hut second-hand and consequently required no "licence to purchase." But I was going to need woodwork for partitioning the hut into living rooms, and at an early stage made application for buying the necessary timber. The following forms were required: TC/3/8/1 "Application to acquire timber." This must be completed in triplicate and sent to the local Timber Control Area Headquarters, together with one copy of TC.CP4, a "Certificate to Purchase" issued by the Minister of Works and obtainable through the Rural District Council. Form CL. 1138 "Ministry of Works Licence for work," issued by the Council, must also be sent with these timber applications. I had already filled in in triplicate forms of application to carry out the work (form CL. 1136A).

It is permissible to buy one pound's worth of wood each month without a licence, so my wife and I bought the wood we were going to need most urgently under this system, in case the timber licence was refused, or long-delayed, though in fact we received it within a few weeks.



There was now little to do but to sit back and anxiously await the decision of the Council Housing Committee and the Town Planning Committee. We used this breathing-space to make our preparations for starting work immediately permission was granted, and we bought or borrowed the following items which were not in our normal household tool-kit.

Ball of string and pegs for marking out foundations.

Spade, shovel and pick-axe.

Wheelbarrow.

Mason's trowel (small size) and 3ft. spirit level, for showing horizontal and vertical levels.

Brick hammer.

Ladder.

The plans were passed on February 20, 1946. As soon as they had been approved there were two more forms ready to be sent to the appropriate departments. They were an application, obtained from the local Fuel Office, for priority dockets for curtains, floor coverings and bedding, and the contract with the firm of removal agents who had agreed to move our furniture. Arrangements for furniture removal should be put in hand several months before the date of move, as all the contractors seem to be booked up for weeks ahead. Local road hauliers could not take our order, but the railway agreed to do it on the dates we specified. Arrangements were also made with an insurance company to cover the building before and after erection, and also to insure the furniture. Insurance of the furniture during transit was done through the removal contractors. A local builder, though very short-handed, promised to do our plumbing, drains and electric wiring and to supply us with building materials.

From now on I kept an outsize shopping list of stores required for the completion of the building, the items noted ranging from an oil cooking stove, electric copper and fire extinguisher, down to putty, cuphooks and assorted nails. During the next two months over a hundred items such as these were to come and go on my list.

Expenses worked out as follows:

Sectional wooden hut (30ft. x 15ft.)	£250	0s.	0d.
Drains, plumbing, electric wiring and materials for foundations	£100	0s.	0d.
Stoves	£13	0s.	0d.
Estimated ground rent and rates for two years	£12	0s.	0d.
Extras	£10	0s.	0d.
	£385	0s.	0d.

To discourage weeds from growing up between the floor boards, at least six inches of soil had to be removed from the site where the house was to stand. Having done this, my wife and I measured out the foundations, 30 feet by 15 feet, and ridiculously small the rectangle looked.

I was advised to build five 30-foot dwarf brick walls on which the main joists or timber bearers of the hut could rest. Before starting on this, I confirmed from the contractor who was selling me the hut that the joists did in fact run crosswise, so that they would rest on the walls I was proposing to build and not run parallel with them.

The next step, then, was to dig five trenches, each 30 feet long and about 6 inches deep; into these I poured barrow loads of concrete as fast as my wife could mix it. The weather was cold and frosty, and the more lugubrious of our casual visitors would aver that it was useless to build in such weather. But we knew that in a month we should have to leave our present house, so we pressed on. The ground was sloping, and we constantly struggled to keep the concrete level, or at least in parallel steps whose height varied in multiples of 3 inches (the height of a brick). On March 1 the last trench was filled with concrete, and I was ready to try my hand at building the first wall. It was to be built honeycomb fashion, that is, gaps of a couple of inches or so were to be left between the horizontal rows, or "courses," of bricks in order to allow a free passage of air to pass underneath the house, thus diminishing the possibility of the woodwork rotting.

The first wall went up in fine style: it was a foot above the highest part of the site, and about 2ft. 6in. above the lower end. My wife kept anxiously laying the spirit level along the top course to make sure that all was level. Next day we started on the second wall, and here our difficulties redoubled. It is comparatively easy to make a wall level along its top; but to make it level with another wall at the same time is a very difficult matter for an amateur. For two weary weeks we struggled in sleet and rain to build and level the five walls. At length this was accomplished, though only by "cheating" with a layer of cement along the top of several of them. None too soon. The day before the last wall was finished, the "house" arrived.

The sections were on the site when we arrived on the morning of March 5. No hut in bits looks its best, and this one, a second-hand Army hut, certainly was not prepossessing as it lay in the mud, getting wetter and wetter as the rain drove down. I wondered how we could ever make such a wreck habitable. I well remember driving back to Oxford that night, feeling utterly depressed. My wife, who had the right to be depressed if anyone ever had, said reassuringly that we could set it right in no time. With such encouragement we spent the evening making our dispositions for the morrow.

Next day, March 6, some friends had promised to come and help erect the wooden sections, and we looked forward to seeing the framework up by dark. But it was a tantalizing day; it took longer than we expected to sort out the different pieces, and to bolt certain bits together before they could go into place. Eventually, all we succeeded in doing that day was to lay all the pieces out. The next two days the work of building up the framework proceeded, and Saturday, March 9, saw the main skeleton in place. By the following Tuesday

evening we had the sides fitted and the roof fixed, and it began to look as if some day, in the very distant future, it might be remotely possible to live in the place.

On Thursday, March 14, our first load of furniture was due to arrive, and the main consignment was booked to be put on rail the same day, and could be expected to arrive a few days later. It was a week to "moving-in" day and the start of a nightmare week.

As usual, the week started with the sending of more forms. This time they were:—

Form KP1. "Application for Priority Authorization for Kerosene (Paraffin Oil)", which was necessary because our cooking was to be done on paraffin stoves.

Form C.D.O.2. "Coal distribution form" for the registration of new premises and application for permission to be registered with a coal merchant. Both these forms were obtained from the local Fuel Office.

My wife undertook the job of inside decoration, painting and distempering, so that worry was off my mind. The hut walls were covered with peculiar shades of Army paint, but three coats of distemper covered them effectively. A very useful little leaflet describing how paintwork should be done, and giving an idea of the quantities of paint required, is put out by Silixine Paints, Ltd., of Richford Street, Goldhawk Road, London, W.6.

To add to the pandemonium, the contractor who had promised me "SX" boarding—stuff like thick cardboard—for the inside partitions, had not received his supplies, so I had to do a hasty deal with my good ground landlord for some pieces of old chicken house with which to divide off the more private quarters.

The builder who was doing plumbing (sink, wash basin and W.C.) and drains for me was short of labour, and fighting against time to do his share by the target date. His men were infected with our sense of urgency, and worked with a will to get the job done.

The roof was made in ten sections, and I was mad to get it covered over with felt before the good weather broke; I managed to get half of this done on the Friday, and prayed for fine weather that night. Next day was fine, and the felting was finished before nightfall.

Fortunately a most competent assistant was able to come and stay in the village for a few days, and amongst many other jobs he undertook to set up the two heating stoves which I had bought, an "Esse" anthracite stove for the living room and a "Tortoise" coke stove for the other end of the house. The insurance company had advised me that the safest method of installing the stoves would be to cut a 3-foot square out of the floor where each stove was to stand and build up in its place a concrete base. The roof then had to be cut well clear of the pipe, and a metal plate fitted to carry the pipe through the roof to the outside. All this was done, and the pipe put into position. We lit the stove. The room filled with smoke. Apparently the pipe must reach

well above the highest point of the roof, which our chimney did not do. A pity no one had told us this before.

Monday, March 18, I spent feverishly cleaning out the whole hut and cutting and laying the linoleum and felt, which had arrived with the first load of furniture. Dockets were needed for buying the linoleum, but the thick, warm felting, was "off the ration." I laid paper under the linoleum to prevent uneven floorboards marking and eventually cutting it, and I would have done the same for the felt, only I could not get enough paper.

That evening I notified the local Electric Company that the wiring was ready, and asked them to connect my house to the main supply.

I must mention here our arrangements for fitting our furniture into the restricted space available. I had drawn a scale plan of the rooms, and also of each piece of sizeable furniture, and we had juggled with these until all fitted in. Having decided where each piece was to go, we allotted a colour to each room, and before the furniture had been loaded on the rail container an appropriately coloured label had been tied on to it, thereby indicating into which room it should be put. This was a great convenience to the furniture men.

In spite of these carefully laid plans, Tuesday morning, when the furniture arrived, was a time of din and confusion. Eventually we had to go to keep an appointment in Oxford, and left the furniture men to finish alone. But by now at least two burdens had been lifted from our minds: we had our furniture, and there seemed to be room for everything inside the house.

Then, the Electric Company dropped their bombshell. Apparently all applications for connection to the main electric supply had to lie in abeyance for three weeks so that the G.P.O. could, if it wished, raise an objection to the necessary overhead cable. The fact that the cable would be nowhere near any telephone line did not, apparently, affect the matter. The Electric Company also said that the strain of a long cable on such a building might pull it down, which was rather disconcerting. However, the linesmen overcame this by taking the supply from our neighbour's chimney, a few yards away. But there was no getting round the G.P.O., and we had to wait almost the full three weeks before they agreed that the work might proceed. So our first nights in our new home were spent by the light of candles and a borrowed lamp.

Thursday, March 21, 1946—"Moving-in" day—was overcast. With many journeys in our little car we transferred ourselves and our miscellaneous possessions from the furnished house we had rented to our very own home. Scarcely was the last load carried into the house when the rain started to fall; quiet, fine, insidious rain, intent on searching out the smallest crack or crevice through which it could percolate. Gradually, as darkness fell, the silence outside was punctuated by whistles of wind. The flickering of the lamp gave warning of the storm rising outside. By midnight the gale had reached its height, and the rain beat against the boards, furious at being denied admittance. Anxiously we scanned the roof, the walls. The house held and was dry.

REVIVAL AND THE CHURCHES

BY B. C. PLOWRIGHT

THERE is a little-known word in our English language, "serendipity", which means aiming at one thing and hitting another by accident. Our world situation is the perfect illustration of the word. No one intended waste, hunger and slaughter, but waste, hunger and slaughter have been and are the world's lot.

Whence comes this paradox? That it is somehow deeply implicit and involved in the world's way of life is axiomatic, and the search for scapegoats has no profit in it. Ulcers do not come in the body politic unless the blood-stream itself is impure. Cause and effect reign in history as surely as they do in the physical realm. World crisis is only another name for world life taken a little lower down stream. Where then, are we to look for the causes of this world crisis?

Clearly science comes into the picture somewhere, for the titanic forces that have wrought this desolation are forces which have been put into the hands of those who wielded them by science. Yet science is innocuous by itself. So long as it remains within the four walls of the laboratory it is powerless to do harm, and, be it said, as powerless to do good. Now, the function of science is to discover and observe the patterns of behaviour whether of things, men or societies and, from the uniformities discerned in those patterns, to frame hypotheses which will ultimately be accepted as accounting for those uniformities by being tested out by experiment and further observation. If they pass that test, they become "laws"; if they do not, they are rejected, and some other hypothesis is sought. From that simple principle flows that mighty double stream of evil and good which has been in fact the contribution of science to our modern world. Yet simple and harmless as that principle is, the moment it escaped out of the laboratory, and, moreover escaped just at the particular point of time that it did, it made inevitable such a world crisis as that through which we are passing.

To take the latter point first, science escaped into the public life of the world at a moment when the conception of a fundamental unity of all life, economic and political, religious, ethical and cultural having been wholly lost, each separate department of life was beginning to claim an autonomy of its own within its own sphere. Industry, politics, religion, ethics and culture were no longer regarded as being parts of a larger whole to be understood in the light of that whole, and it was to science they turned, especially the two former, for

light upon their essential function. And science, quite naturally and quite rightly, applied to human disciplines its own specific question: "How do men in fact behave in industry and in politics?" Nor was the answer long in coming: "In industry men behave on the assumption that the end of work is gain for oneself; in politics, men work to obtain power." Thus the sinister figure of "economic man" was legitimized in the economic sphere, and this hard, self-seeking abstraction prescribed the "laws" of economics. Similarly, the "laws" of politics came to be understood as laws of power, and when, during the early years of the twentieth century, economic issues became of prime importance in national and international politics, the economic and the political streams of thought joined hands and the stage was set for world tragedy.

For, while these transformations were taking place in economic and political thought, another event was happening. Science put into the hands of both industrialist and politician incredibly vast new powers. First steam, then electricity and then the invention of the internal combustion engine and of wireless worked a revolution in our social structure. They made possible a production of economic goods so vast that world markets were a necessity if the goods produced were to be consumed, and they made those markets easily accessible. When first the nations of the West, and, later on, Japan in the East, caught up with Britain, the main outlines of the tragedy began to appear. World contracts were multiplying with increasing frequency and in those contracts the all-important factor was that they were being made solely at the level of self-interest or the desire for power. The world became a powder magazine and it did but need the explicit avowal of all that was implicit in practice to touch it off. The match was applied and of the results we are all witnesses. This it is which has put the specifically ethical issue in the very forefront of our questionings and has given it its place in the highest of high politics. Shortly put that question is: "Can a real adjustment between a morally ambivalent scientific civilization, capable of producing both unspeakable evil and equally unbounded good, and the Christian ethical values of righteousness, justice and mutual regard, be effected?"

Here the consideration which is basic to all others is the fact that the world has so shrunk that time and space have lost the importance they had in a more spacious world. Literally the world lies at Everyman's door, and whether that door be in a kraal in Central Africa or in a primitive village in the South Seas, world forces enter his home and both politically and economically shape his destiny. World markets, no less than world wars, draw Chinese farmers and Indian ryots and Egyptian fellahin into their vortex. The world has become a coercive neighbourhood for us all. Now neighbourhood, sheer physical propinquity, is never a mere topographical or geographical fact; it is an ethical fact of primary importance and it forces on us ethical decisions. One need not trouble to define too nicely one's ethical attitude to people with whom one's contacts are but rare, but ethical decision with regard to the people with whom

one has daily to live is imperative and quite inescapable. Ethical indecision there is impossible; we have to make up our minds, to define our attitudes to them, and it is precisely the fact that the other man and the other nation, African, Chinese, Indian, British, American and Russian, live on one another's doorstep that is forcing ethical decision on the world. The world's one chance of political salvation lies in the hope of building up behind the façade of world political agreements, world economic concordats and so on, a public mind which accepts and practises the great Christian loyalties of justice, righteousness and brotherhood. To imagine that concordats, agreements and treaties will of themselves guarantee either permanent peace or stable prosperity is to live in a political fool's paradise. It is Mad Hatter thinking.

How tragic, then, in view of the world's need of Christian values, is the actual situation which obtains between the Church—the official guardian and protagonist of these values—and the public. Between the two there is a great psychological gulf fixed, and the language, nay the attitude to life of either is unacceptable to the other. Woo the Churches, coo the Churches, never so blandly, their invitations and admonitions, their arguments and pleadings, evoke little response and the public goes on its way indifferent alike to the censure or the praise of the Churches.

When asked to account for this gulf the Churches have their short and ready answer. The gulf exists, they declare, because of the sin, the pride, the stiff-neckedness, the arrogance, the disobedience, the materialism of the average man. Now the terms at once arouse suspicion because they are part of the stock-in-trade of every accusation brought in history by any Church against a rival, and as anyone familiar with Church history knows, from the time of the Pharisees till now, every new religious movement has had to make its way in the teeth of such charges. One suspects that at bottom they are (not infrequently) the out-working of psychological mechanism which drives us to find scapegoats for our own impotence, and the more vehemently the charges are made the surer one is that they cannot be taken as a complete account of the situation. On the other hand the public suspicion of the Church is also explicitly ethical for at bottom men to-day mistrust its sincerity. Not infrequently its intellectual sincerity is called in question and the public suspects, to use no stronger term, a wide gap between the things preachers believe in private and the things that they say in public. The deepest suspicion, however, attaches to the ethical sincerity of the Church. The ordinary man does not believe that the Church will stick to its ethical guns through thick and thin whatever the consequences. When in the Victorian era the artisan masses of this country were fighting for a bare minimum of economic justice, all too often, as they believed, they saw the Churches run away from a plain ethical issue of justice on the specious plea that it was mainly an economic issue which had been raised. One suspects that here too the same psychological mechanism of escape, of finding a scapegoat, is at work, and he would be a bold man indeed who would

deny that there is much that is true in the charges brought by the Church against the public and vice versa. Greed is a reality in the modern world, and callous indifference to the well-being of one's fellows and an exaltation of material values over spiritual are widely spread. On the other hand, he would be even bolder who would dare to assert that considerations of ecclesiastical pride and prestige, often expressed in the material realm, had no part to play in the attitude of the Churches to the Victorian and Edwardian demand for economic justice. It has bluntly to be said that again and again such considerations have in fact often soft-pedalled the ethical testimony of the Church.

We must therefore look deeper than these charges and counter-charges for the efficient and root cause of the gulf between the Church and the public. It is not true that where Christian clerics have been courageous in their demand for social justice they have been eagerly followed by the crowd. In by far the greater number of cases the end of such an adventure has been that the cleric has lost his own congregation without winning the outsider. We have to look below the level of conscious thought to that dim underworld of but half-conscious thought and half-conscious feeling to find the explanation. These charges and counter-charges are little more than the rationalization of the real differences between Church and public.

The clue we are seeking will be found if we briefly examine the two great formulations of Christian faith which spilled their influence over their purely ecclesiastical boundaries into the sphere of politics and economics and, in fact, were largely instrumental in shaping both and giving them their distinctive quality. Catholicism endured for nearly a thousand years and Protestantism has largely shaped both the political and the economic thinking of the last four hundred. They were both, we believe, genuine expressions of the Christian faith. They had indeed a very large area of thought and life in common—to that we shall return in a moment—but quite clearly both their forms and their emphases are different. The Catholic stress was upon order and discipline and duty whilst the Protestant emphasized freedom and the value of the individual. How can two such contrasting forms of Christian faith be called genuine? The answer is to be found in the recognition of the fact that both spoke to the total human need of their own times. Now part of that need is a purely individual concern, and it is conditioned by the individual human experience, unvarying through the ages, of moral defeat, spiritual frustration and lost-ness. There, at bottom, both Catholic and Protestant speak with one voice; they have one remedy to offer, and at that deep level of individual human need both Catholic and Protestant are one and largely make the same affirmation. Bernard of Clairvaux, Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley speak the same languages. But man in the concreteness of his actual existence is always more than individual and he has not only needs that arise in his individual solitariness; he has needs which he shares in common with all his contemporaries. There is a public as well as a private need, and the difference between the Catholic emphasis and

the Protestant is almost wholly due to the fact that each was speaking to a different public need. One can hear the crash of the fall of Rome echoing through the mighty pages of Augustine, the father of all Catholic theology. He writes for a world which has lost the guiding and coercive hand of its mistress, and in which anarchy and lawlessness are all too possible. If the world were to be saved it had to find the basis of a common order and a common life. That was the public need. It was that public need which Catholicism met and which determined its emphasis upon order and community, and its creative influence lasted just so long as that order and that community were imperilled, and no longer.

Through the course of the centuries however, that order became so rigid and that authority so complete that the value of the individual and the sense of his worth were almost lost sight of and when, in the sixteenth century, due largely to the Renaissance on the one hand, and to the stimulus of amazing geographical discoveries on the other, the individual began again to feel his own value and worth, the public need changed from the need of order to the need of freedom. It was this new public need which Protestantism met and in whose last days we are now living. The principle would seem to emerge, therefore, that the capacity of religion to become a force in the public life depends upon the success with which it meets the public need of any given age. A negative confirmation of this is found in the fact that just as the influence of Catholicism waned with the growth of order so Protestantism has lost ground with the achievement of freedom. The ecclesiastical forms and emphases which Christianity takes are historically relative to the public needs of their times.

It is this factor, half-conscious at the most, which, we believe, is really responsible for the cleavage between the Church and the public, for in truth the public need has changed. It is neither the need of order which the Catholic met so magnificently, nor the need of freedom to which the equally profound religious answer was Protestantism, but it is something which is neither so simple nor so easy to meet. In a word, the public need of our own time is the reconciliation of the two, of order with freedom, of planning and personal initiative. That is the problem which the world must solve or slip back into authoritarian politics or enter on a period of unbelievable anarchy. Yet how completely unaware the Church is of that changed public need, the most cursory glance at the proposals of the Church for bridging the gulf between the Church and the public, would make plain. To read such a report as the Anglican *Towards the Conversion of England** is to be made aware how completely outside of the real situation the Church is. Is it too much to say that the proposals contained in the volume can be summed up briefly and, one hopes, without injustice, by saying that they envisage a Church whose main message is still the message of the deliverance of the individual from sin, and that if the Church can whip up a little more zeal and use modern methods of propaganda, then the trick will be

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done? If our analysis of the situation so far is a true one, and if it be the fact that the public need of to-day has completely changed, and that, therefore, the Church is not speaking to the real situation, then never was hope vainer. Pretty much the same thing can be said of proposals which are freely bruited about amongst the Free Churches. The utmost that these attempts can accomplish is to keep the religious issue alive, but Christianity will never again, if it runs true to historic forms of development, become a public force unless in its theology, its message and its forms of ecclesiastical organization, it proclaims and embodies a Christianity in which the reconciliation of order and freedom is genuinely effected. What this amounts to saying is that Christianity needs not so much to be restated in its dogmatic terms as re-set in a new perspective, and we shall expect that, since the public problem combines both the Catholic problem and the Protestant, it will link together the truest insights of both. Neither a sacramental theology centring upon the Church nor a theology of faith with the individual as its focus will serve our turn.

The present reversion in all the Churches to traditionalism, whether the traditionalism be of Augustine, Aquinas, Luther or Calvin, cannot therefore be regarded as pointing the true way forward for the Church. So far from being that is it indeed, that it can only be regarded as withdrawing the Church still more completely from the actual situation. Tradition is excellent ballast but mighty poor cargo, and the really crucial issue before the Church is whether it has the courage to seek the indispensable new setting for the faith. We are not contemplating an over-bold modernism which too often empties out the baby with the bath water, but we are asserting the need of intellectual and ethical courage to accept the fact that God is leading the Church beyond its historical partial insights to a fuller insight into the total meaning of Christian faith.

"Fuller insight" we have written, but we might have added "and truer". For the curious paradox of the history of the Church is that in no confession yet that it has ever made has it given expression to its belief in the reality of which the Founder of Christianity himself was most certain. In half a century of parables and more the one theme is "the Kingdom of God" and the burden of them is to elucidate and illustrate the reality of a Realm, a Kingdom in which, by the mercy and grace of God, the frustrations of moral impotence, of emotional malaise and death itself are ended and mastered, and that in both the individual and society. Just as in the ascending order of human existence we are presented with a hierarchical series of realms, in every higher realm of which greater powers are at command than are possible in the lower, even so, transcending the highest realm of all natural realms, the realm of man, is the realm of God wherein the very power of the Divine Life itself is made available to men. Such was the central and unswerving conviction of Jesus of Nazareth. In the reality of that realm He most surely believed; of that realm His deeds as well as His words are demonstrations and He offered the

unanswerable argument for its existence in the two facets of the one fact of the Cross and the Resurrection. That one reality of the Kingdom was the setting in which everything else in His life took place and to it everything else from Incarnation to Atonement and Ascension were related. Such would seem to be the inevitable logic of modern New Testament scholarship and it involves an almost complete re-setting of the traditional faith of Christendom. Such a faith clearly speaks to the individual problem of modern man, for if it be true that life in that realm is possible then, since it is a life not only of faith but of love, the individual problem of the reconciliation of freedom and discipline is truly and, in a sense, most naturally and most enduringly achieved.

It is, however, in the realm of Church life itself that the challenge to ethical courage and ethical sincerity is to be found at its sharpest, for it means nothing less than the end of that glib and easy talk about the World Church, all too-prevalent in many quarters—a World Church which is primarily envisaged in terms of a common faith. The time has come to say that on any reading of the Gospels the Church is not merely the Church of faith; it is no less the Church of love. It has a horizontal dimension as well as a vertical, and it is not truly the Church of Christ if either be absent. It is a Church which in both its local forms and in the official relationships of the various Churches one to another, is a fellowship which matches up to the hardest test of all, our Lord's demand for forgiveness unto seventy times seven. Such a conception of the Church, lived out in the local organizations of parish and congregation, and in the larger settings of denominational and Church organization, would ensure the accomplishment of the first big step towards providing the world with what, historically has always been an inescapable necessity. For God's way in times of great crisis has never been to organize huge masses of men over vast geographical areas; it has always been, on the contrary, to set down in the midst of a given world feeling a given public need, a community in which the public need has been met and the public problem solved. So in a world of disorder He set the great Roman Church with its order; so in a world crying for freedom He set the Puritan Churches with their emphasis upon liberty, and from the politicians of their times drew their inspiration. And a Church which knew itself to be primarily the Church of the Kingdom would not only end the ethical unrealities which still often hide behind the confession of a common faith; it would give this world, which must either find the true reconciliation of order and freedom or perish, the spiritual inspiration from which both our political and economic life would draw not only purgation but ethical power. Before the Church can transform the world, it must itself be transformed. Will the Church have the courage to endure the pangs of re-birth and pioneer in its own organization that way of corporate life without which there will be no revival of religion nor any abiding security for the world?

THE ENGLISH GENTLEMAN OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY G. W. KEETON

IF we look back into our national history, to find the most important and significant periods in it, we shall find that by universal consent the Tudor Period and the eighteenth century are regarded as outstanding. Moreover, the whole Tudor Period reaches its culmination in the age of Elizabeth, whilst the eighteenth century is seen at its brightest at the outset, during the reign of Anne. If we are to find a third period which seriously rivals these two, it is the latter part of the reign of Queen Victoria. Thus, England has been seen at her best, and her civilization has been at its highest, during the reigns of three Queens.

The age of Elizabeth is essentially the brilliant dawn of the English genius—the age in which Englishmen first became fully conscious of the world around them, and in which they boldly asserted themselves against all adversaries. It is the age in which the foundations of our overseas empire were laid, and in which our naval supremacy was first asserted—though there were formidable rivals in the Dutch and the French to be overcome. The age of Victoria, on the other hand, is the age of fulfilment, when though it was as yet unnoticed the spirit of adventure was already lost, and when safety and consolidation were the ruling passions. By that time we had already passed the peak of our national effort, though our prestige for the time concealed it. If the English national genius is to be seen at its best, it is during the century between the death of Queen Anne and the Battle of Waterloo. That was the century when the British overcame every rival in every quarter of the globe—when first the Dutch and then the French faltered in the struggle, and were compelled to surrender their overseas possessions. If, after the Seven Years' War, in 1763 Chatham had still been in office, not a single overseas colony would have been permitted to remain in the hands of any European power other than ourselves. Moreover, this was the period of a succession of decisive British victories, both on land and sea, without parallel in the history of any other power—Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet, Plassy, Gibraltar, the Heights of Abraham, the Nile, Trafalgar, and Waterloo. Every one of these has played an important part in shaping the history of the modern world. Further, in this period we produced our two greatest soldiers—Marlborough and Wellington—and our greatest sailor—Nelson. Yet throughout, we remained an unmilitary nation, strangely unmoved by our prodigious success, and interested far more in the commercial effects of victory than in the glory of it. At the height of Marl-

borough's brilliant successes in the Low Countries and Northern France, when Louis XIV's Empire was tottering, and the Great King was about to beg for peace on virtually any terms he could get, Addison wrote his whimsical essay: 'A Visit from the Upholsterer', in which he says mildly: "As much as I love to be informed of the success of my brave countrymen, I do not care for hearing of a victory before day (break)."

Now Addison's *Essays* are worth careful perusal to-day. They are things of delight in themselves, but they also give us abundant information of the manners of the times; and, in addition, they have the more serious purpose of seeking to establish a code of good manners for the more cultured sections of the community. They share this purpose, in fact, with Lord Chesterfield's *Letters*, but whilst Lord Chesterfield is thinking of the public conduct of the eighteenth century *nobleman*, Addison is addressing himself to the *gentleman*. Unfortunately, the two terms have not always been co-extensive.

Thinking back over our social history it is difficult, if not impossible, to detect anything approximating to the modern significance of the term *gentleman* before Addison's day. Feudalism obviously has no place for such a concept, and though most of us would recognize in Sir Philip Sidney the prototype of the later species, Sidney still has much of the medieval knight of chivalrous legend about him. His virtues (and they were many) were perhaps a shade too pronounced to be entirely gentlemanly. He is the link between the knight, without fear and without reproach, and the Cavalier of Charles I's time. A true gentleman, one is almost tempted to add, could rarely be guilty of poetry—especially *good* poetry. Moreover, a gentleman—at any rate an English gentleman—can always be relied on to do his duty, but he will not needlessly run into danger. In general, he will leave the heroics of campaigning to others, but if he is involved in a campaign he will acquit himself with a great deal of shrewdness, and will extract the maximum advantage for the minimum expenditure of effort. Even to-day, the Americans have a morbid fear of this characteristic.

The British Empire was built up in the eighteenth century by gentlemen and the sons of gentlemen. There was nothing in the slightest degree democratic about it. Nor was there anything surprising about this, for the "glorious revolution" of 1688 had made England safe (apparently in perpetuity) for gentlemen; and, therefore, in an expansive age, commissions in the Army or Navy, or places in the East India Company, were bought for numbers of them, and with the devoted assistance of the sweepings of jails, they performed miracles and conquered continents.

From the social, as well as from the political standpoint, the Revolution of 1688 was a landmark. It saw the growth of toleration, and with it, a general softening of manners. If most things were to be tolerated, then it followed that excess in anything, whether religion, politics or anything else, was to be avoided. Even a famous victory must not be the occasion for vulgar rejoicing.

It was to be appreciated when one was suitably prepared for it. On the stage, the grossness and obscenity which are associated with Restoration comedy gradually melt away. The playhouse becomes a rendezvous to which a man of breeding can safely take his family. Literature, as Green points out in his Preface to Addison's *Essays** ceases to be pedantic, and begins to speak the language of polite conversation. With this change Addison himself had much to do, and *The Spectator* was often imitated, though never equalled.

If we turn to the realm of architecture, the change is startling. At the time of the Civil War, many of the greater landowners were still living in medieval castles—vast, draughty, and uncomfortable. Some of the newer nobility, the creatures of the Reformation, had built Tudor manor houses, whose familiar and picturesque gables still adorn the countryside. Even in these, however, the standard of domestic comfort was low. A floor strewn with rushes, or even sanded, smoky open chimneys, and heavy, carved oak furniture were the sum of domestic comfort which these manors afforded. Windows might be attractively latticed, but they were still small. As yet, the architect has not learned the secret that a home may be flooded with light—or perhaps it was not considered safe to have large windows so long as the times were unsettled. By the time of Queen Anne and George I, all this has changed. Indeed, even to-day, the house-agent will swell up an already grossly-inflated purchase-price if he can label his house "Georgian" or "Queen Anne", for these styles sum up a standard of grace, dignity and comfort which has not been repeated since. If it is desired to see the topmost peak of which this age was capable in the realm of domestic architecture, it is only necessary to pay a visit to Hampton Court, and to study what Sir Christopher Wren did there.

It is sometimes thought that the eighteenth century was gross and materialistic, but this is strangely to misunderstand it. A century which produced John Wesley, which witnessed the great battles for liberty of thought, whether in religion or politics, and which finished with Tom Paine's "Rights of Man" has much else besides a startling advance in domestic comfort to its credit—and to these might be added the birth of the movement for parliamentary reform (artificially arrested by the outbreak of the French Revolution), and the awakening of the national conscience to the necessity for suppressing the slave trade. It is, as Green points out, simply because the eighteenth century, in its literature, paid a great deal of attention to its abuses that superficial critics have regarded it as gross, corrupt, and materialist. Previously, these aspects of our social life had passed with only fleeting notice. But if we do no more than contrast London society as it was in 1688 with the same society in 1720, after the softening of manners achieved through Addison's delicate but pointed railery, the change is very striking. Moreover, if the more colourful members of the Whig oligarchy considered themselves entitled to repudiate all, or most

* *Golden Treasury* edition.

restraints on their conduct, the middle classes remained almost completely unaffected by their example.

In the eighteenth century, we are in an age when the individual is free to guide his own destiny to a degree inconceivable to-day, and not approached before or since. Even in Elizabeth's day, bold men, and even ordinary citizens, had reason to fear the intervention of the Queen's Council, of the Court of Star Chamber, or of the Court of High Commission into their daily affairs. In her day, failure to attend church might be visited by heavy penalties. Belief was controlled by Act of Parliament, and anabaptists and atheists, as well as Roman Catholics, were burned at the stake. By the reign of Queen Anne, a century later, belief was free, and compulsory church-going was a thing of the past. By the time of Charles James Fox, many of the great figures of the age were either deists or agnostics. In the sphere of government, *laissez-faire* was carried to extremes. Session after session passed without one notable new measure being introduced, and the ordinary citizen scarcely felt the impact of government upon him at all. Direct taxation was unknown, and even indirect taxation was confined within the narrowest possible limits—a fact plainly evidenced by the quantities of wines and spirits imported. Nor was the citizen any more directly controlled by local government, for in any modern sense that did not exist. If he drove his carriage or rode his horse upon the King's highway, he would have to pay frequent tolls at the turnpikes, and he would have to contribute his tithe to the church, and an apportioned share to the poor rate. Beyond this, his wealth was his own, unless he lived in a town, when he might be called upon to contribute some few trifles towards paving and lighting. Our modern bureaucrats, with their avalanches of useless forms, were as yet undreamt of.

It would easily be possible to overpaint the joys of this age. There was, of course, another side to it. There were vice, squalor and filth in the back streets of the towns—but the towns were as yet small. There were cities which had been founded at the beginning of our history—York, Chester, Lincoln or Winchester—which had not altered greatly in size for centuries. There were thriving ports, such as Bristol, Southampton and Hull, which were growing steadily, but not rapidly; but beyond this, the bulk of the urban population lived in market towns of three to eight thousand inhabitants. Even in the metropolitan area, Highgate was still a remote village, reached through winding country lanes and open fields, and Holborn had only recently become a built-up area. At the beginning of the seventeenth century everything north and west of Gray's Inn was green fields.

As yet, therefore, we were overwhelmingly a nation of country dwellers. Our greatest national industry was farming, and we exported substantial quantities of foodstuffs to the continent. In consequence, there was no considerable movement of population, and no large-scale poverty. The horrors of the drift to the towns which followed the Industrial Revolution were as yet mercifully hidden

from us, and in general, only the infirm or the aged needed poor relief. In a very real sense, our present condition of chronic over-government is the last and most horrible of the consequences of the Industrial Revolution. In a society which depended on agriculture (the methods of which were revolutionized at the period of "Turnip" Townshend and other pioneers) there was "full employment" for every able-bodied man who belonged to the locality and, if he fell ill, the family-system was strong enough to carry him until he was well again. Wages were good, their real purchasing power was high, and indirect benefits in kind were considerable, whilst the household industries—spinning, weaving, basket-making, lace-making and similar crafts, often played an important part in the domestic economy of the village.

And what of the eighteenth century gentleman himself? First and foremost, he was a *country* gentleman. Even if he had made his money in trade, in the city or overseas, he accepted the first available opportunity to purchase a country property. That is a habit, indeed, which even to-day, after the Industrial Revolution has done its worst, we have not entirely lost. And the country gentleman inherited so much of the older feudal tradition that he was still largely self-supporting. His woollen clothes were homespun. His hams, mutton, and dairy produce were the yield of his own land. Every house of any standing had its own carpenter's shop attached, and timber with which the estate carpenter repaired houses, cottages and fences had been grown on the proprietor's estate. In those days, we were still planting hardwoods, and oak, elm and beech were the most familiar trees in the landscape. Within the house, the mistress presided over an abundant staff, which had its own hierarchy, and which, under her expert supervision salted and cured meats, preserved fruits of all kinds and even prepared an abundance of local wines. These are arts which had been almost completely forgotten until the rigours of the recent war compelled the recollection of at least their cruder essentials.

Society was exclusive, but it was no caste system. The Nabob—the East India merchant, who bought an estate out of his profits—might be the butt of the dramatists and poets, but he was often a pillar of local society. The houses of the magnates were open to all—whether dons, clerics, poets or politicians—who had something to say. The doctor and the attorney might expect to be regular visitors of the squire, and could even be on terms of close friendship with him. Nor was this surprising, for this is the age when the large middle-class family becomes common and, as the century advanced, younger sons spilled over, not only into the professions (as they always had done), but into commerce by way of the great chartered companies. Clive and Warren Hastings are drawn from exactly this environment, and besides them, there were innumerable others who served, and amassed wealth, but achieved no distinction. The repurchasing of Daylesford by Warren Hastings is symbolic.

But what sort of a person was this country gentleman, whose lines were cast in such pleasant places? We have seen him living on his own estate, mainly self-supporting, enjoying the society of his wife, the mistress of a domain equally wide, and involving the management of a large staff, and the preparation and collection of foods designed to last the whole year round. On the home farm, the squire himself would expect to employ the whole of the village labour which was not employed by the tenant farmers, even if that labour was not always very productive. Corn was ground in the local mill, and the village blacksmith, of novel and song, was a prosperous craftsman much envied and much sought after.

The literature of the eighteenth century is very rich in descriptions of the country gentleman of the period—because he is the centre of the whole national life, and what he thought, incalculably (but not always directly) affected affairs of State. Macaulay has a famous description of the country gentleman of 1688 in chapter three of his *History*. He points out his imperfect rustic education (often in the local grammar school, or with private tutors), his addiction to rural sports (from foxhunting to cricket), his broad conversation, his intemperance, and his thorough knowledge of agricultural matters. Above all things, his life had its beginning and end and its roots in the place where he lived, for his means were limited; and in spite of the "glorious revolution" he was a Tory, for his father had fought with Charles I at Naseby and Marston Moor. If the Whig magnates were oligarchic (almost republican) the balance was tipped by the Tory country gentleman (who in 1710 threw out the Whigs and Marlborough, because they were sick of a Continental War which they did not understand).

Macaulay stresses the rusticity, broad speech and prejudices of the country gentleman. This was before the softening of manners which Addison and his associates brought about by some of the most subtle propaganda this country has ever produced. Addison was a Whig and this fact is plainly apparent in his *Essays*. He has several papers on the Tory foxhunter, and it is evident that he has scarcely altered one jot since 1688. But Sir Roger—that creature of whimsy and grace—was a Whig, and he has all (or most) of the virtues. He is the pattern, Addison suggests, to which all good squires should conform, and before Addison's essays ended, the Tory foxhunter had accepted the new order of things, and was conforming. Addison, be it remembered, for the first time in English history, was writing for women, rather than men. He enlisted the vivacious and curious womenfolk of the country squire to bring about his conversion to more cultured habits; and in large measure he succeeded. True, there remained country squires outside the range of Addison's blandishments. One has only to read Fielding's *Tom Jones* to realize the startling identity between Squire Western, Macaulay's country squire and Addison's Tory foxhunter. But in Fielding's time Squire Western is a butt of satire. We have as evidence of this, not only Fielding's treatment of him, but also Goldsmith's

Vicar of Wakefield, and the more cultivated squires of Goldsmith's plays. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the squires were fully alive to the issues involved in the great struggle of "Wilkes and Liberty", for they insisted on returning him again and again to Parliament, and they gave their unwavering and almost unanimous support, first to Chatham, and then to his resolute son. It is a startling, and frequently unnoticed social revolution, which explains much of our eighteenth century greatness.

In terms of real value, the eighteenth century gentleman paid his employees well. In a volume on *The State of the Poor** in 1797 we find that for an unskilled workman the wages were 9s. a week with board and lodging in summer, and 6s. a week with board and lodging in winter. Without board and lodging, the wages were 12s. and 9s., so that a man might obviously expect to subsist on 3s. a week. In harvest time, workers got 12s. to 14s. a week with food in addition. Even a woman could earn in harvest-time 7s. a week, with beer but no meat. This was in Yorkshire, where wages were rather lower than in the south. It also states: "There is very constant employment in the winter." By the mid-nineteenth century, things were very greatly worse (a consequence of the repeal of the Corn Laws) and, in terms of money, agricultural wages were very little higher than those just mentioned in 1900. Their purchasing power, on the other hand, was scarcely a third. The reason is plain. The price for industrialization was the repeal of the Corn Laws, and cheap imported food for the urban worker. Whether the consequent ruin of English agriculture was too great a price is at least worthy of consideration to-day.

The story of England has usually been told from the standpoint of the benefits of industrialization, but these few facts suggest that from the standpoint of a stable and prosperous community, the Industrial Revolution could be regarded as a national, and even as an international disaster, since it wrecked a system where each had his share, and where there were no tremendous aggregations of wealth. Perhaps one day, this story will at last be fully told.

UNCLE CYRIL

BY G. ROSTREVOR HAMILTON

NOBODY knew whether from East or West,
Pole or Equator, Uncle Cyril would come,
The eager step and the high-pitched voice in the hall,
And the favourite Zulu walking-stick, with its handle
Carved to a red baboon. And nobody knew
What season of the year, what day, what hour
Uncle Cyril would come; but when he came,
A wind blew into the house, and nothing was the same.

We noticed, when we saw him next to Father,
His clothes were not a part of him. He wore them
As though for a charade. The polished shoes
And camphor-smelling suit were a fancy dress—
You had to think of the skin and bones inside.
For he was a bony man, and the skin all mottled
Yellow and tight; he moved in rapid jerks;
A key, you might have thought, had just wound up the works.

We'd leave him how-d'you-doing with the elders,
Then listen, till we heard the click of his feet
Along the nursery landing. He was best
Alone with us, alone to the world's end;
While under a black bow-line the surprise
Of pale blue eyes, that never seemed to settle,
Darted about us like the humming-birds
He threw upon the air with quick and shining words.

The tigers leapt from the Natural History,
And quivered with their black and tawny stripes;
The cobras danced and swayed their wicked hoods,
And on the floor the crocodiles lay grinning.
And yet, with Uncle Cyril there to guard us,
We fear them less than Nurse's bogey-man,

Or the thieving gipsies : Nurse lost all her power
To frighten us with the dark, when Uncle had his hour.

We were away through desert, lake and jungle.
Great suns and moons were over us. We felt
Across the sparkling snow Siberia
Prick icy through our furs; or sweating felt
Brown forest, in a dream, along the Amazon
Break into metal butterflies—then woke
In a white village by the shores of Spain,
And watched on white-capped seas for the English coast again.

Back in the nursery, he'd give each one
A present from the lands where we had travelled,
A holy ikon, or a scarlet egg
With a crested cock inside it, or a bracelet
Of tiny thick-set beads. And when we asked
Where we should go tomorrow, he'd reply,
'Tomorrow, children, take a silver spoon,
For we must sup with that Grand Mogul in the Moon.'

Tomorrow and tomorrow, and he went,
No one knew where. But what did Aunt Jane say
About a black sheep gathering no moss?
And why did Mother shake her head and sigh
'Poor, dear, unhappy Cyril'? We knew better
At last, when he had dwindled out of sight,
The elders turned away with doubtful looks.
But we drew tufty palms in our dull lesson-books.

A VICTORIAN CLASSIC

BY G. F. McCLEARY

"**T**HOUGH we are mighty fine fellows nowadays," wrote Stevenson seventy years ago, "we cannot write like Hazlitt." Similarly, it may be said that though since the beginning of the century we have produced an enormous output of detective stories, many of high quality, there is not one that can rival that old Victorian masterpiece, *The Moonstone*. "Nothing human is perfect," writes Miss Dorothy L. Sayers, herself in the first rank of detective story tellers, "but *The Moonstone* comes as near perfection as anything of its kind can be." And she adds: "*The Moonstone* is probably the finest detective story ever written. By comparison with its wide range, its dovetailed completeness, and the marvellous variety and soundness of its characterization, modern mystery fiction looks thin and mechanical."

Other eminent authors have written in the same strain. Swinburne, one of the severest of critics, was enthusiastic in praise of *The Moonstone*:

The skill of construction is so exquisite, so complete, so masterly, that we follow the thread of the story with unflagging enjoyment and a perpetually changeful and delightful perplexity of conjecture as to what the upshot is to be; and when this upshot comes it is all that sympathy could have desired and more than ingenuity could have conceived.

The Moonstone, Wilkie Collins's ninth novel, appeared first as a serial in *All the Year Round*, the weekly journal founded by Charles Dickens in 1859 and conducted by him until his death in 1870. The first instalment came out in the issue of January 4, 1868, the last in that of August 8, 1868. The reading of the manuscript deeply impressed Dickens, who in a letter to W. H. Wills, his assistant editor, wrote:

I have read the first three numbers of Wilkie's story this morning, and have gone minutely through the plot of the rest to the last line. It gives a series of 'narratives', but is a very curious story, wild, and yet domestic, with excellent character in it, and great mystery. It is prepared with extraordinary care, and has every chance of being a hit. It is in many respects much better than anything he has done.

In 1859 Dickens had brought out *The Woman in White*, Collins's most popular novel, in *All the Year Round*. It is still probably the most widely read of his books. Among its innumerable admirers was Edward Fitzgerald, who named his new fishing smack *Marion Halcombe* after the heroine's sister. But in the literary world there appears to be general agreement with Swinburne, who though a warm admirer of *The Woman in White*, held *The Moonstone* to be Collins's masterpiece.

Readers of *The Moonstone* will surely agree with Dickens that its characterization is excellent. One of the most admirably drawn figures is Franklin Blake, the young Englishman educated in France, Germany, and Italy, in whom the influence of each country sometimes became disconcertingly apparent, as at the dinner party on the evening before the jewel disappeared. At cheese and salad time, he fell into argument with the county member of Parliament, who, becoming heated about the spread of democracy in England, burst out with the question: "If we lose our ancient safeguards, Mr. Blake, I beg to ask you, what have we left?" To which Franklin replied from the Italian point of view: "We have got three things left, Sir—Love, Music, and Salad."

Sergeant Cuff, the detective in *The Moonstone*, is probably the most life-like and convincing sleuth in the whole of mystery fiction. In several noteworthy respects he differs from more recently created popular detectives. Unlike Sherlock Holmes and Lord Peter Wimsey, he was not a votary of detectivism; he detected not because he liked it but because he earned his living by it. When he could afford to retire he did retire, and devoted himself to rose-growing. That was his sole non-professional interest. How different from the great Sherlock, whose interests and proficiencies ranged over a vast field; who was an expert chemist, a wide reader—did he not quote from Flaubert, Goethe, Hafiz, and Petrarch?—an assiduous student of Black Letter texts, a violinist, and a writer of authority on the polyphonic motets of Lassus. Lord Peter Wimsey is also a man of many varied interests. (I use the present tense in the hope that we may meet him again.) With his piano he habitually communes with the mighty spirit of Bach, and he has a European reputation as a connoisseur of wine and brandy.

Sergeant Cuff had no such varied attainments. Nor had he the scientific equipment of Dr. Thorndyke, who was a master of microscopic technique. Cuff achieved eminence in his profession by reason of his keen observation, the extraordinary rapidity of his mental processes, his power of drawing inferences from facts, and his many-sided experience of the seamy sides of life. He did not solve the mystery of the moonstone's disappearance, but that is no reflection on his professional competence. On the data available no one could have solved the mystery. No one did solve the mystery. It was revealed by a series of events that followed one another naturally in a certain order. A clue to each event is given; Wilkie Collins plays fair with his readers. The difficulty is in combining the clues and attaching due importance to each. Cuff's failure to solve the mystery is almost unparalleled in detective fiction. Though the novelists' imaginary police officers who first appear upon the scene are often described as unable to solve the problem, the star detective, the hero of the story, is almost invariably successful.

There is another important difference between Sergeant Cuff and the detectives of modern fiction; he appears in one book only. If he had been created by a post-Victorian writer he would probably have been brought into one book

after another. In *The Moonstone* he makes his last as well as his first appearance, and the chapters in which he appears form little more than one-fourth of the book. Cuff, however, has this in common with Sherlock Holmes: he was drawn from a living model. Conan Doyle acknowledged that the original of Sherlock was Joseph Bell, a distinguished surgeon under whom Doyle had worked at the Royal Edinburgh Infirmary, whose methods of diagnosis gave him the idea from which he developed the character of his world famous detective—"the most widely known creation," according to Alexander Woollcott, "that has appeared in the world of literature since Don Quixote." Edinburgh folk who knew of Bell's remarkable powers of observation and inference had no difficulty in identifying the original of Sherlock Holmes. Among them was Stevenson, who writing from Samoa to thank Doyle for one of the early Holmes volumes, asked: "Is not this Joe Bell?"

The original of Sergeant Cuff was Jonathan Whicher, a member of Scotland Yard's first specialized detective staff, consisting of three inspectors and nine sergeants, which was established in 1842.* Dickens was keenly interested in the work of the detectives, to which he devoted five articles in the early numbers of *Household Words*. In the first article, "A Detective Police Party", which appeared in the issue of July 27, 1850, he begins with a warm commendation of the detective force, and then proceeds to describe a conference which, with the ready permission of the Scotland Yard authorities, he held with seven of the detectives at the editorial office of *Household Words* in Wellington Street, Strand. The names of the officers are thinly veiled by slight changes in spelling. Inspector Field, said to be the original of Inspector Bucket in *Bleak House*, appears as Inspector "Wield", Sergeant Whicher as Sergeant "Witchem". The officers sat at a "round table, with some glasses and cigars upon it," while Dickens occupied "the editorial sofa elegantly hemmed in between that stately piece of furniture and the wall." The scene may be imagined. The police officers, with their glasses, which, it is recorded, "were very temperately used indeed," and cigars, deeply impressed, we may suppose, by the presence of the renowned and idolized occupant of "the editorial sofa".

The conference begins with an editorial reference to the Swell Mob, and in reply Inspector Wield calls upon Sergeant Witchem (Whicher), who, he says, knows more about the Swell Mob than any officer in London. Witchem is described by Dickens as shortish and thickset, "Marked by small pox, and with a reserved and thoughtful manner, as if he were engaged in deep arithmetical calculations." At the request of his brother officers, he tells how he captured a notorious horse-stealer known as Tally-ho Thompson—a story too long to be cited here. Inspector Wield, however, at a subsequent meeting of the detectives with Dickens recounts one of Witchem's exploits that may be reproduced in an abbreviated form:

* The Metropolitan Police was established in 1829 by Sir Robert Peel.

Witchem and me were down at Epsom one Derby Day, waiting at the station for the Swell Mob . . . when there comes up one Mr. Tatt, quite an amateur detective in his way . . . 'On the look out for some of your old friends?' he says. 'Yes, the old move, Mr. Tatt.' 'Come along,' he says, 'and have a glass of sherry.' 'We can't stir from the place,' says I, 'till the next train comes in; but after that, we will with pleasure.' Mr. Tatt waits, and the train comes in, and then Witchem and me go off with him to the hotel. Mr. Tatt, he's got up quite regardless of expense; and in his shirt front there's a beautiful diamond prop—a very handsome pin indeed. We drink our sherry at the bar . . . when a dash is made into the place by the swell mob—four of 'em—that have come down in a horse and shay instead of by train, and in a moment Mr. Tatt's prop is gone. Witchem, he cuts 'em off at the door, I lay about me as hard as I can, Mr. Tatt shows fight like a good'un, and there we are, all down together, heads and heels, knocking about on the floor of the bar. However, we stick to our men and carry 'em off to the station . . . But nothing's found upon 'em. I said to Witchem: 'We don't take much by this move.' 'What do you mean, Mr. Wield?' says Witchem. 'Here's the diamond pin,' and in the palm of his hand there it was safe and sound. 'I'll tell you how I come by it,' says he. 'I saw which of 'em took it; and when we were all down on the floor together I just gave him a little touch on the back of his hand, as I knew his pal would; and he thought it was his pal, and gave it to me.' It was beautiful, beau-ti-ful.

Whicher rose to be Chief Inspector. He had a long record of almost unbroken success, and was entrusted with the most difficult problems. Among them was the sensational case of the four year old boy, Francis Kent, whose body, with the throat deeply cut, was found in an out-building of Road Hill House, near Trowbridge on June 30, 1860. The case having been bungled for fifteen days by the local police under Superintendent Foley, said to be the original of Superintendent Seagrave in *The Moonstone*, one of the Trowbridge magistrates interviewed the Home Secretary, who asked Sir Richard Mayne, then Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, to send down one of his detectives to investigate the case. Mayne selected Whicher, who on arriving at Road came up against much obstruction from the local police, not so much from jealousy as from anxiety to conceal their mistakes from the London expert. Early in his inquiries Whicher suspected Constance Kent, the victim's half-sister, a girl of sixteen, whose mother had died insane, and who had shown signs of jealousy and hatred of her step-mother. She was the only person with any motive for the murder; and Whicher was convinced that if she were imprisoned for a few weeks she would confess the crime. He arrested her and asked for a remand. She was committed to Devizes jail, and a week later was again brought before the local Bench. The case for the prosecution was feebly presented, the witnesses being incompletely examined, the defence was able, and the Bench released the prisoner on her father's becoming bound for her to appear when called upon. The case brought upon Whicher a flood of hostile press comment from all over the country. He was attacked in Parliament, and his official superiors were at no pains to defend him. He soon retired from the public service a discredited man.

Five years later, Constance Kent, who had joined a religious sisterhood at Brighton confessed that she had murdered her half-brother. On July 21, 1865, she was indicted at Salisbury before Mr. Justice Wills, pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to death. The sentence was, however, commuted to penal servitude for life. She was released in 1885, and her subsequent history is unknown.

Fortunately, Whicher lived to see his reputation re-established. Constance Kent's confession justified his theory of the case, which he had explained in a letter written on November 23, 1860, nearly five years earlier, to the Chief Superintendent of the Bristol Police. The confession fully confirmed the inferences drawn by Whicher from the facts he had elicited. He died a year after the conviction of Constance Kent, but "in black ink" he still lives in the pages of Dickens.*

It is curious that no full-length biography of Wilkie Collins has yet been published. He was a man of mark in Victorian England. Nobody, of course, would place him with the towering figures of Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, and Charlotte Brontë; he could hardly be ranked with Meredith, Hardy, Trollope, or Stevenson. But apart from these immortals he holds his own among Victorian novelists. *The Woman in White* and *The Moonstone* are still living things, read by ordinary men and women for enjoyment, not merely "classics" for students of what is called by irreverent young people "Eng. Lit." He had his limitations. He was not much endowed with humour; it must be confessed that Gabriel Betteredge with his *Robinson Crusoe* becomes rather wearisome. Nor had he any charm of style. He lacked the golden pen of Stevenson; that is at once apparent to the reader who closes his *Woman in White* and opens his *Jekyll and Hyde*. But as a teller of tales he takes a commanding position. In the rare power of gripping the reader's interest from the first and holding it to the end he has few equals. *The Moonstone* was read for the first time by the writer of these lines in 1883, when he was studying music in Brussels. Out of curiosity, he took it up one fine summer morning as an after-breakfast preliminary to a hard day's work—"and nothing else saw all day long." Not even Beethoven could release the grip of the enchanter, which closes like a vice in the opening sentences:

I address these lines—written in India—to my relatives in England.

My object is to explain the motive which has induced me to refuse the right hand of friendship to my cousin, John Herncastle.

The present writer has read that beginning, and everything that follows, many times; always with the same thrill, and never without a deep sense of thankfulness to the brain that conceived and the hand that wrote *The Moonstone*.

(THE MOONSTONE has been chosen by the British Broadcasting Corporation as the next Sunday evening radio serial and is to commence on August 11.)

* A detailed account of the Road Hill House murder is given in Mr. John Rhode's book, *The Case of Constance Kent*; and the story of Whicher's association with the case is told in the chapter "A Detective's Tragedy", in Mr. G. Dilnot's book, *The Story of Scotland Yard*.

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

AN AGE OF TRANSITION

BY J. MACKAY-MURE

THE summer of 1879 was, it has been claimed, the worst recorded in modern times. Everywhere the harvest blackened in the fields, farmers were threatened with ruin and landlords were faced with depleted rentals. For English agriculture 1879 marked the end of an era which had spanned the three decades between the repeal of the Corn Laws and the fall of Disraeli's last administration. Throughout the 'fifties and 'sixties bumper harvests had been accompanied by expanding home markets, plentiful capital and cheap transport and labour. The landed estates of Britain, employing more than a million skilled workers, had given bread to 17,000,000 people and meat to the whole population. When disaster came the social basis of British agriculture was proved to be too narrow. In the 'eighties and 'nineties more than four million acres of arable land went out of cultivation, and more than half a million workers left the countryside for the towns.

If the change in the position of agriculture was real, it was no less symbolic. In 1874, for the first time in thirty-three years, the Conservatives had obtained a majority. Paradoxical as it may well seem, the events of that year mark, in the words of a modern historian, "the dividing line between the utilitarian legislation of the middle half of the nineteenth century and the collectivist or socialist legislation which has since taken its place." The great change which Marx had predicted had happened; but it took place in so unexpected a way that no one, not even Marx, realized it was happening. The passing of the second Reform Act and the extension of the vote to the poor man marked the end of *laissez-faire*.

The transition from individualism to collectivism was, however, scarcely perceptible. Behind the social legislation of Disraeli in the 'seventies lay the silent voting power of the workers; and it was Alexander Macdonald, one of the first two working-class Members of Parliament, who told his constituents in 1879 that the Conservatives had "done more for the working classes in five years than the Liberals in fifty." One of the merits of Mrs. Helen Merrell Lynd's *England in the Eighteen-Eighties** is that she has been quick to realize that it is characteristic of political evolution in Great Britain for "institutions—economic, political, religious, educational—once established . . . to live on as perpetuations of certain social attitudes at the time of their origin." Commenting on the period with which Mrs. Lynd is concerned, Mr. Arthur Bryant has declared that, "as always in England, the continuity of outward forms remained and the great individualists rode to the guillotine at Westminster in their own private coaches attended by the Benthamite livery."

It is, therefore, the more regrettable that Mrs. Lynd, who has both insight and understanding, has chosen to make her study of England and of English political and social life in the 'eighties less than objective. Her purpose is revealed in the sub-title of the book: "Toward a Social Basis for Freedom"; and her thesis is compressed into a short

passage in which she commits herself to the view that "there is much in the England of the eighteen-eighties as compared with America in the nineteen-thirties and 'forties to lend support to the belief that changes in life and thought in England not infrequently precede by about half a century similar changes in the United States." Whether that thesis be true or false, Mrs. Lynd is undoubtedly right in regarding the 'eighties as marking the beginning of a new era. Few, if any, historians would now deny that it was the era in which the idea of planning began to be accepted—an era in which great changes were initiated without their implications being fully understood; and a major weakness of Mrs. Lynd's study is that it lacks the imagination which might have recreated the reactions of the lesser as well as the greater man of the age to the conditions which impelled them to initiate, and not merely to accept, those changes in legislation and policy which struck at the roots of the Benthamite thesis that the individual should be left free to enrich himself as he chose.

Without such imaginative treatment it is well nigh impossible to convey the idea that the success of *laissez-faire* in the middle years of the century contributed—in part, at least—to its failure. Its success did, as Cobden prophesied in the hungry 'forties, bring enhanced prosperity to many workers. The utilitarian state did afford the skilled artisan an opportunity to share in the increased prosperity of the country; but it also postulated a residue of unskilled labour to meet the fluctuating demands of a competitive world. It was at this point that *laissez-faire* clashed with the English temperament; and it was from the desire to help the underdog that English socialism first sprang. Such was the motive that inspired such men as William Morris and Arnold Toynbee; and, although Mrs. Lynd is sufficiently astute to recognize the importance of William Morris's *News from Nowhere*, she fails to appreciate why "the socialism of the Webbs left a far clearer mark on the next fifty years than the socialism of Hyndman or of Morris." Only an incorrigible desire to help the underdog and to create a gentle Christian paradise can explain that memorable speech at Burslem in 1881 in which Morris said of the members of a working-men's procession: "I know what these men want: employment which would foster their self-respect and win the praise and sympathy of their fellows, and dwellings which they would come to with pleasure, surroundings which would soothe and elevate them; reasonable labour, reasonable rest. There is only one thing that can give them this—Act."

Similarly, Mrs. Lynd's account of the foundation of the Fabian Society lacks vitality. It is, undoubtedly, historically accurate to accept the judgment of Bernard Shaw that it was "warlike in its origin," but the human story behind its watch-words: "Educate, Agitate, Organize," remains untold. Nothing short of the need to defend Trade Union rights against judge-made law brought Labour into politics to form a party of its own; and it was in the 'eighties that the issue was joined.

Mrs. Lynd has, in large measure, failed to heed her own warning that "reading the fears and hopes of our own time into a comparable period of the past can easily become an over-plausible occupation." Having failed to heed that warning, she has also failed to explain why "manners were gentler, streets were safer, life was more humane, sanitation was improving fast, working class housing, though still bad, was less bad than ever before"—why, on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee in 1887, there was "a sense of delivery from the conditions endured at the beginning of her reign."

* Oxford University Press, 21s.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC SYSTEM,
by Alexander Baykov. *Cambridge University Press.* 30s.

This book of nearly 500 pages is neither railway nor bedtime reading. But it is highly instructive, obviously sincere in its striving for impartiality, and therefore worth every effort one may have to make to digest its contents. Moreover, it contains rich statistical and documentary material otherwise inaccessible to readers unfamiliar with the Russian language, including a fifteen-page bibliography of sources, with titles quoted in both Russian (phonetically transcribed) and English.

So much for its more obvious merits. Less obvious, but even more important is another of its qualities: it is written with a feeling for historical perspective. By setting economic developments in Soviet Russia into their historical context, by throwing into relief the factors and trends dominating in each period, the author achieves an overall picture that appears logical, plausible and remarkably unaffected by prejudice. This absence of prejudice is the more noteworthy as the author, himself a Russian, left his country in 1920 and from 1922 to 1939 was in one way or another associated with the Russian (*émigré*) academic institutions established in Prague whose activities were not all quite as scientifically detached as his own. Whether natural to the author or arrived at, even more meritoriously, as the result of self-discipline, this unbiassed approach combines fair criticism with fair recognition of achievement.

Dr. Baykov divides the years 1917 to 1941 into four main periods: (1) The revolutionary period of "war communism" (1917 to 1921); (2) the period of economic restoration, initiated by Lenin's New Economic Policy and ending with the preparations for the First Five-Year Plan (1921 to 1928); (3) the period of extensive capital investment (industrialization, collectivization and mechanization of agriculture) accompanied by rationing

of consumption (1928 to 1935); (4) the period of consolidation in which further development of capital industries was accompanied by concurrent, but still inadequate, development of consumer goods industries, and rationing was abolished (1935 to Russia's entry into the war).

For each period, the author examines in separate chapters the main features of the economic structure and policy in industry, agriculture, trade (domestic and foreign), as well as in the fields of labour, public finance and the credit system.

Some facts stand out from Dr. Baykov's description. Thus, the revolutionary period was dominated by shortages of all kinds, in part the legacy of a lost war, in part the result of revolutionary labour trouble which led to a severe decline of labour discipline and productivity (in 1919, 28 per cent. of the annual and 47 per cent. of the hourly production of 1913). In 1920, industrial output was reduced to 20.4 per cent. of the 1913 figure. During this period socialization measures failed, partly on account of over-centralization, partly for lack of qualified cadres. Lenin's New Economic Policy provided a breathing space by tolerating particularly in agriculture and trade, a large non-socialized sector. In a way, it became necessary to industrialize Russia first before it was possible to socialize her. By about 1926-1927, the country had roughly recovered the overall production of 1913 (p. 121), but its population had meanwhile grown by eight millions. From then onwards, production, thanks to heavy capital investment, increased manifold in quantity (see the impressive tables for industry and agriculture on pp. 307 and 325 respectively). In quality, the progress was considerably slower. After 1924-1925, the financing of this capital investment does not seem to have presented major difficulties, not even in respect of imports paid for in foreign currency. To the immense majority of the population, formerly living in hopeless poverty, the Soviet

economic system brought undoubtedly a considerable improvement in living standards. The social cost of the Soviet experiment was paid, in the main, by the former *bourgeoisie* and the wealthier peasants (*khulaks*), two classes which, according to a table on p. 357, represented 15.9 per cent. (about 22 millions) of the 1913 population.

The author has many interesting things to say on the problems of a planned economy such as: quality of production; stimulation of inventions; consumers' reactions (pp. 299/307); labour incentives and penalties under full employment (pp. 355/361); the planned development of cadres (p. 353) and the composition of the Soviet intelligentsia (p. 465); financial control and cost accounting; the fiscal system and policy; and last but not least, the organization of planning. His considerations of these problems contain obvious lessons for all countries in whose economies a socialized sector has arisen and even for those where it has not (yet).

The one aspect of the Soviet experiment which is not dealt with in this book, at least not directly, is its psychological cost to the individual. It could no doubt only have been dealt with by an observer who had lived in Russia during the years 1917-1941. This is not Dr. Baykov's case. Hence the one, major, weakness of the book which even the most careful analysis of facts cannot wholly offset.

R. P. SCHWARZ.

MYTHS AND REALITIES IN EASTERN EUROPE, by Walter Kolarz. *Lindsay Drummond.* 12s. 6d.

PENS UNDER THE SWASTIKA, by W. W. Schütz. *S.C.M. Press.* 5s.

During the war England was flooded with the partisan writings of the self-appointed defenders of Eastern European myths. Therefore, it is refreshing to read this scholarly but, at the same time, interestingly written work of detached objectivity. Mr. Kolarz's exceptional knowledge of the history of the area, greatly

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helped by his knowledge of several of the languages involved, enable him to make a survey in the spirit which alone can give a worthy approach to the problem. As if he were dehydrating the bewildering confusion of Eastern European traditions, ethnic origins, historic claims and carefully nursed national obsessions, he presents them in a historic perspective well worthy of study. It was wise that after his excellent *Stalin and Eternal Russia* he applied his knowledge to a similar presentation of the Eastern European background. He rightly points out that the very cultural and national perplexity and interdependence of the area, hitherto exploited for imperialist rivalries, ought to be the common denominator which could create unity to the benefit of all. He also emphasizes that mere economic or ethnic solutions will not override the force of "myths" operative behind the aspirations of Eastern European groupings. It is a pity that he did not deal in more detail with the type of institutions, the educational system or the other agencies of prospective co-operation, which would advance constructive partnership in that area. Judging from his various publications, he could have said a great many useful things on this subject. It seems, however, that the uncertainties of wartime publishing prevented him from doing so. For all those who, above partisan cries, want to follow the difficult task of peace-making in Eastern Europe, Mr. Kolarz's book will be a very valuable guide.

Mr. W. W. Schütz's essay examines German literature under the Nazi régime. It is unfortunate that he does not always make it clear which of the sources referred to were published or written in Germany, and which of them outside the Third Reich. Barth, for instance, only spiritually but not practically, can be counted among German "resistance" writers. It is also debatable how far the pronouncements of the German Churches should be classified as feats of dangerous resistance. The language used by the Catholic bis-

hops criticizing events since the elimination of the Nazis, for instance, is far more violent and uncompromising than anything the German bishops deemed necessary to say in 1936 or 1943 about wrongs of immeasurably greater magnitude. When speaking about the extermination of entire races their tone was considerably milder than to-day when they speak against, let us say, denazification. Even Dr. Wurm, perhaps the most courageous under the Nazis, is busy to-day splitting the Allies who removed the nightmare of Nazism. No one in the Third Reich was in a stronger position to give a lead to the opponents of the régime than the Churches. I also disagree with Dr. Schütz on Ernst Juenger, the arch-theoretician of Fascism. He seems to regard him as one of the German "resisters". Juenger himself denied that the *Marmorklippen* intended to attack the régime. In 1940 he was quite ready to glorify the French campaign. His notorious pamphlet, *The Peace* (now illegally circulating among German university students), in conformity with his usual ambiguous and mystical style, can be equally interpreted as good Nazi and good European. He wrote it while in Paris, in the service of the German Army and during a leave granted to him for this purpose by General Stupnagel. Dr. Schütz's good-intentioned over-estimation of these scattered, humanistic "resisters" is also expressed in his optimism regarding the spiritual regeneration of German youth. If he were to re-visit Germany to-day and see the nihilistic drifting of German youth (largely the fault of the occupation Powers) and their unchanged attachment to Nazi ideals, he would probably revalue his appreciation of these few signs of intellectual resistance.

These, however, are just a few objections and they are matters of opinion and, therefore, debatable. They do not change the fact that Dr. Schütz's book is highly commendable and that his work should be continued and enlarged.

TIBOR MENDE.

TOWARDS AN INDIAN CHURCH, by Cecil John Grimes. S.P.C.K. 15s.

Archdeacon Grimes's scholarly book appears at an apt moment in the history of India, but its title may be misleading to anyone who expects to find in the book a history of the general progress of Christianity in India. It is a documentary study of the growth of the Anglican Communion in India, of the constitutional demand by that Church for freedom of government, and it keeps pretty rigidly to bishops, synods and ecclesiastical lawyers in tracing the path of freedom which led to the Indian Church Act 1927. The value of the book would have been enriched by a few glimpses of the real Church in India whose life and development were the cause of constitutional freedom and self-government.

The author's first two chapters on the Indian background and the coming of the Anglican Church to India are a particularly useful contribution to history. To be an East India Company chaplain at £33 8s. 6d. for the "voyage" (lasting three years) with £20 for expenses was no entrancing sinecure for a seventeenth century parson. Nor had things improved by 1658 when an appeal to Oxford and Cambridge to produce a chaplain for the whole of the East Indian factories stirred no response. In 1680 the Governor of Madras built at his own expense the first Anglican church in India, and it was not until 1814 that Thomas Fanshawe Middleton was consecrated first Bishop of Calcutta with only a couple of dozen effective chaplains under him, none of whom could he "post" in face of the all powerful Company. The first four Anglican bishops (1814-1831) spent an

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average of three years and twenty-four days each in active work in India, but by 1925 spasmodic and haphazard beginnings had resulted in fourteen dioceses.

No church and no government, except of English ancestry and order, would have tolerated what Archdeacon Grimes calls the "incredible muddle, complexity and anomaly" of the Indian ecclesiastical arrangements—Erastianism so dark and confused as to throw doubt on the authenticity of orders and consecrations. It is to the high credit therefore of bishops like Copleston, Westcott, Whitehead, Palmer and Western that they hewed an undeviating path through the jungle and gave the Anglican Church in India its freedom in 1927—twenty years ahead of the British Government in relation to political India. It is due mainly to this group of men that the Anglican Church in India has kept step with the growth of Indian nationalism and their far-seeing wisdom and insight has its monument to-day in the freedom and elasticity which mark the Indian Church—the latest instance of which is the permission given to the southern dioceses to enter a proposed union with non-episcopal churches.

From the late eighteenth century onwards the Anglican Church has been engaged, almost unconsciously, it would seem, on the task of founding autonomous churches of which the Indian Church is the latest example. The process has gone on alongside the Dominion-making policy of the British Government, but it has been characterized by a readiness to perceive that Christian life and liberty do not depend on royal supremacy or the overlordship of the Archbishop of Canterbury. "Merely to reproduce a passive, inarticulate imitation of the Church of England," says Archdeacon Grimes, "tied and bound by its practice and formularies, and more particularly by the peculiar relationship to the State which the mere accidents of its history had wrought, could never satisfy the needs, develop the religious genius, or build up among the peoples of other races a truly indigenous Church." In other words, the children

have been more courageous than the mother, and with the Church of the early centuries as guide, have launched out for themselves and are what in England would be called "free Churches". No State Church in Christendom but the Anglican could have performed such a grotesque but wholesome miracle!

Archdeacon Grimes's book is therefore a quietly exciting one with richly deserved laurels for a group of courageous bishops. How much more thrilling it would have been if the peerless devotion of countless men and women from this country who have given their lives and talents to the creation of an indigenous Anglican Church in India had had some salute in the book.

CECIL NORTHCOTT.

THE COUNTRYMAN'S WEEK END BOOK, by Eric Parker. *Seeley Service.* 12s. 6d.

In writing of the countryside, men are apt to content themselves with one or two of the many aspects, but in presenting *The Countryman's Week End Book* Mr. Eric Parker, veteran and expert, has taken all knowledge and all questions to be his province. Those who will study little more than three hundred and fifty pleasantly written pages with the care and attention they call for, will surely know England as they never knew it before.

For more than sixty years I have been a diligent student of the country scene, have visited every county in England, Scotland and Wales, watched red deer, otter and badger in their haunts, developed composting along Rudolf Steiner's lines with definite success, set up bird tables, tried to establish a bird sanctuary, protected grass snakes, hedgehogs and little owls from fools, looked after apiaries and orchards, watched country crafts and industries and run a couple of small farms. All these and other things too, but Mr. Parker has taught me more in the ten days I gave to careful study of the *Week End Book* than I had learned

between my spring and autumn. To quote only one example, the section 'Tracks in the Snow'; years of observation had failed to give me all the material set out in three pages.

"Nothing," declared Swinburne, "should attract men to criticism save the noble pleasure of praising" but how seldom can we indulge without reservations, how pleasant to find a book that leaves us truly grateful. Mr. Parker does not hesitate to refer to and quote standard works to reinforce his beliefs and this is quite justifiable. Naturally it is impossible to establish complete agreement with all his views; but this is not to say that he is wrong. He praises tar-oil washes for fruit trees, but against this may be set an admirable section on soft fruit. He has the true countryman's love for a rookery but I looked in vain for a protest against the damnable practice of shooting young rooks from their nests in the first week of May, a 'pastime' almost

as revolting as otter hunting. "The otter should be preserved not persecuted," says the author; civilized men and women will agree. Badgers have troubled his garden, but he says frankly that he would never stoop to use a steel trap by way of reprisal. He would not use such instruments of torture against rabbits, nor would you or I, but we have to remember that only a few years have passed since the House of Lords upheld their use. He examines carefully the nature of bird-song but does not mention the gramophone records that have been made in recent years, and he suggests that some countrymen call the winter aconite a snowdrop—this is outside my experience.

He is justly angry with the grey squirrel—what a pity it is so good to look on and to watch—and denounces those egg collectors who rob the nests of our rarest visitors.

Wildflowers, pond life, insects, mushrooms, dewponds, the care of dogs, a

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good reference library, the Law as it affects the countryman, a chapter on Cobbett's England contributed by Cobbett but chosen by Mr. Parker who is in some ways Cobbett's legitimate successor, all these good things find their place.

It is only after reading steadily from the first to the last page that the full measure of our debt to the author can be computed. He has brought to his task a great mass of first-hand experience and it reaches us through the medium of good exposition and a mellow outlook, while now and again he startles us with some outstanding statement that 'feelingly persuades us what we are.' "There were hedgehogs in England millions of years before the Garden of Eden" may be cited as an example.

This book will go easily into a satchel or a knapsack and if there is a better or more informative travelling companion for the man whose love of the country is deep and sincere it has not come my way. I have not hesitated to place Mr. Parker next to Gilbert White on my library shelves; I can pay no higher tribute. *Week End Book* is one title in a series; *Countryman's Every Day Book* might else have been better.

S. L. BENSUNAN.

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, by Anthony Trollope. With an introduction by Charles Morgan. *Williams & Norgate*. 8s. 6d.

It is probable that the great popularity which Trollope's novels have enjoyed during the past decade, and particularly during the war years, is now drawing to a close. "Trollope," says Mr. Morgan in his introduction to this excellent new edition of the autobiography, "is almost, thought not quite, in his niche." That may be so, but what exactly his niche is and how secure it will prove to be in future years is still a matter of dispute.

But there can be little dispute about the merits and readability of Trollope's autobiography. There has seldom been a

more revealing document and if Trollope, in the course of writing it, displays his weaknesses as honestly as he records his successes, the result is surely to make him all the more real and lovable.

For Trollope, *THE FORTNIGHTLY* has rightly a peculiar affection. It was largely due to him that *THE FORTNIGHTLY* first made its appearance and Trollope was the first chairman of the Board. The venture, though good, was not financially successful and after a brief spell the publication was sold to Messrs. Chapman and Hall, who appointed, with infinite wisdom or good fortune, young John Morley as its editor.

Trollope's autobiography, though offering plenty of evidence about other sides of his life, is mainly concerned with his novels. His method of writing them, his concern over finance and his inability to judge his own work has often caused amusement. It would be difficult indeed to commend to other writers his habit of early rising, writing an exact number of words on a page, and working for so many hours each day but it was a routine which served Trollope well. Moreover, it is a discipline which would do many writers more good than harm even to-day.

The autobiography is, in fact, refreshingly free from cant. Trollope was incapable of posing; he saw the production of novels as a business to which he had set his hand and it was but natural that, having determined to write, he should make provision for his determination in his time-table. For Trollope had no minutes to spare. The hours he owed to the Post Office, as a civil servant, were given to the Post Office without stint; so were the hours devoted to hunting and he made the same provision for his writing.

All those I think who have lived as literary men,—working daily as literary labourers,—will agree with me that three hours a day will produce as much as a man ought to write. But then he should so have trained himself that he shall be able to work continuously during those three hours,—so have tutored his mind that it shall not be necessary for him to sit nibbling his pen, and gazing at the wall before him, till he shall

have found the words with which he wants to express his ideas. It had at this time become my custom,—and it still is my custom, though of late I have become a little lenient to myself,—to write with my watch before me, and to require from myself 250 words every quarter of an hour . . .

Such was Trollope's opinion and such his practice. A Victorian, as popular opinion imagines a Victorian, he went far to epitomize his age, a man of integrity, a man of sentiment; never, however, a man of fulgent imagination or deep sensibility.

JOHN ARMITAGE.

THE LETTERS AND PRIVATE PAPERS OF WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY, edited by Gordon Ray. Volumes I and II. *Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press*. Four vols. £6 6s. the set.

Over eighty years have passed since this great novelist laid down his pen and left injunctions that his biography should not be written. This has led to a cloud of mystery surrounding his life.

As we see by his vast correspondence he was a man who had a great dislike of causing distress to others and it is more than likely that Thackeray had in mind the fact that it was probable that his widow would outlive him, as in fact she did. In his day the general public outlook to deranged people was less sympathetic than it is now and it must have been apparent to him that no biography of himself could be complete without reference to his wife and the few years that he was able to spend in her company. His family now feel that the altered outlook on mental trouble and the lapse of time since their grandmother's death make the publication of these very interesting volumes possible. The first two volumes take us from his public school days at Charterhouse to the author's fortieth year.

We have a very full description of undergraduate life at Cambridge at that time, illustrated by some delightful sketches that accompany the letters to his

mother at this period. This drawing on letters is a habit that Thackeray first started on his school books at Charterhouse and carried on all through his career.

His letters to his mother become rather restrained from time to time and he is always fearful of his actions causing her distress. This is particularly noticeable at the period of his travels after the University, as well as while he is studying law. But his letters to his great college friend, Edward Fitzgerald, reveal the true Thackeray.

It was in Paris that he found a wife, whose picture appears in print for the first time. It is rather unfortunate that the second partrait said to be hers appears, as it is quite obviously not of her. More likely it is Mary Graham. One is able to see the very happy time that these two young people had together. "Dear Trots", "Dear Puss" and "Dear Tobykins" are some of the endearing starts to his letters.

The inclusion of Mrs. Thackeray's letters enables one to form a true relationship of the position that existed between this young couple and their respective families.

It is perhaps a pity that the editor has not included a specimen of Mrs. Thackeray's handwriting: there is a similarity between that of husband and wife. We do see from the letters the great encouragement that the husband got from his wife and one is readily able to understand the void that Thackeray felt all the rest of his life, which is easily detectable in some of his writings. We also see from these papers the background that has enabled the versatile pen to create scenes and characters.

The very different outlook on life of Mrs. Shawe and Mrs. Carmichael Smyth comes out very forcibly when one reaches the period of the birth of their third child, and the first signs of "the great tragedy". We see the sympathy for the invalid from her mother-in-law on the one hand and the lack of understanding on the part of

her mother, who from the first signs of the illness was counselling her son-in-law to consign her daughter to an asylum. We find Volume II opening with the heartbroken husband taking his little invalid all over the place in search of health, while at the same time having to look after his two young daughters, as well as try to fit in the time to satisfy the publishers' demands.

Much has been conjecturally written by the people who thought they could make intelligent guesses of the position that existed between Thackeray, his old college friend the Rev. William Brookfield and the latter's wife. There is no doubt that after it became apparent that Mrs. Thackeray would never again be able to preside over the home, her husband sought solace both by seeing a great deal of the Brookfields, and by writing copious letters to J.O.B. Readers are now, by the publication of the greater part of this vast correspondence, able to judge for themselves the true position.

So vast a correspondence from so clever a pen cannot fail to be interesting to those who care to study the period, and the editor has assisted the reader by including copious notes and appendices, as well as short biographies of the people who played any major part in the life or destiny of this great Victorian, whose name will endure long after those of most of his contemporary writers.

J. A. WALEY COHEN.

CLAUSENTUM, by John Arlott and Michael Ayrton. *Jonathan Cape*. 7s. 6d.

POEMS, by C. W. Brodribb. *Macmillan*. 6s.

Clausentum is more than a collection of poems by John Arlott, illustrated by Michael Ayrton: it is a complete collaboration by two men each exploring a single experience in the terms of his own art. *Clausentum*, so the authors tell us, is on the site of an ancient British encampment at a twist of the river Itchen near Southampton. The house at Clau-

sentum, Bitterne Manor, "has been damaged by fire and bomb-blast during the past seven years and now stands empty, probably for the first time for over a thousand years. In its present state of dilapidation the house shows in startling depth, its medieval, Elizabethan, Georgian and Victorian stages of building and extension." To-day, so the authors relate, hooligans have defaced the walls and used the front of the house as a rifle-range, and they conclude, "without expectation we record the hope that some steps may be taken to preserve this parcel of land, its trees, its buildings and that rare character which became our familiar." The plea is a reasonable one. Cannot a Government which has armed itself with such considerable powers in all directions assure that the face of England, already so lacerated, should not be further destroyed?

Of Michael Ayrton's art I have little competence to judge. But I have always believed that more of the comment on the visual arts should be taken out of the hands of professional critics and left to the ordinary spectator. Michael Ayrton's pictures certainly have the power of evoking the mixture of loveliness and desolation which Clausentum suggested.

John Arlott's verse is already known to readers of THE FORTNIGHTLY. Using traditional forms he contrives to impress them with his own powerful personality, at once strong but sensitive. Here he employs the sonnet with confidence, and with an individualized employment of phrasing and imagery. Some of the most effective are his poems composed at Clausentum at night. In one he reflects after reading an archeologist's report of "long shallow trenches which served as graves for a number of skeletons laid with the head towards the West":

The stillness rang like bell-fire in our ears
With all its metals bending down to reach
The riding ripples, closing in like fears
And stab them if they whispered on the beach.

We heard the blessing—sign of dew on grass,
The tightening flex of ivy strangling trees,

The moonlight fixing water into glass:
And then the silence bent again to seize
The tongues of westward-looking men who spoke

In river-lighted rooms below the oak.

John Arlott and Michael Ayrton have given us quality in a beautifully produced volume. Let them come again and next time give us quantity as well.

As Edmund Blunden writes in his introduction C. W. Brodribb's verses are certain of a wide welcome. Readers of *The Times* and *The Times Literary Supplement* will find here pieces both Latin and English which they noted for the first time in the columns of those papers. Mr. Brodribb served *The Times* for a long period, and throughout those years he increased in learning and maintained his loyalties. They are all represented in his verses and though no one can claim him as an original poet he goes as far as a man of good taste and fine feelings can go in the creating of verse.

B. IFOR EVANS.

SHORTER NOTICES

A TEXAN IN ENGLAND, by J. Frank Dobie. *Hammond, Hammond*. 10s. 6d.

Thank you Professor Dobie for a thoroughly pleasant book, one which restores faith in the essential kindness of human nature and compensates for many volumes of strident criticism which mar rather than make good relations between countries. You came to England in the autumn of 1943 to lecture at Cambridge University on American history. You stayed two years, seeing a good deal, talking to many people and sharing much of England's wartime experience. Friendliness being your chief characteristic, you found little reticence among us and the longer you stayed the more you came to know and understand us. "Kind hearts and free minds are what Cambridge means to me," you say in the course of your story and later, in a final chapter

written after your return home, you add: "England gave me a fresh realization of proportions." No doubt much of the charm of your book lies in the warm regard you feel for just those things which we ourselves like best but, if your book is balm to our vanity, it also inspires a reciprocal regard for you and your countrymen. A word too for your publisher, who, in these austere days, has yet proved it possible to present us with a good looking book containing several appropriate and attractive photographs.

THE LIFELINE, by Phyllis Bottome. *Faber*. 9s. 6d.

In all her books Miss Bottome exhibits a lively interest in mental processes, normal and abnormal, with perhaps a bias towards the latter. It is not surprising therefore if she regards the recording of incidents, no matter how exciting in themselves, as secondary to the delineation of character. This is all right as far as it goes but, hindered by her intensively selective approach, Miss Bottome does not go far enough. She places stresses which seem oppressive to the reader who, for instance, perversely finds the passing Lisa more real in this book than Ida, writ large as the superintendent of the mental home. Or, the rescue of the Spanish horses from Vienna, and now seen dancing in the asylum barn, seems more important and much more breathtaking than the adventures endured by many of the thinking bipeds, a consequence obviously not intended by the author.

These personal emphases are disappointing in the novels of Miss Bottome because she always has such good stories to tell. This one, of an Eton master acting as a British agent in Austria and finding it necessary to pose as a lunatic in order to work with the resistance movement there, has all of her facility of invention. And to minds attuned to hers, the tale should be feasible and the telling ring true.

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

TWO YEARS AGO Lady Violet Bonham Carter, in a never-to-be-forgotten piece of oratory (did not Lord Oxford think she was the most remarkable woman he had ever met?), said among other pungen- gencies that the Liberal Party must no longer hold the fort, mark time, or keep any other stationary positions. Her in- junction seems to be the keynote of all the current Liberal activity in presenting a workable alternative to Socialism and to Conservatism. And now comes a series of books which are part of the cam- paign to expound the Liberal philosophy while at the same time showing how its adherents would grapple with the frighteningly tangible problems of to-day. The first four titles are A LIBERAL WINDOW ON THE WORLD by Reginald A. Smith, A MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY by M. J. Landa, THE WAY OF THE WEST by Donald W. Wade and WHEN LABOUR FAILS by Enid Lakeman (*Herbert Joseph*, 5s. each). Four more are promised for the near future—a liberal education cheap at the price, and timely. In the words of Lord Beveridge: "I am sure that the need for spreading Liberal ideas, both national and international, was never greater."

Three kinds of war history

The lack of enough liberal ideas between the wars is exemplified by Kathleen Free- man in WHAT THEY SAID AT THE TIME (*Muller*, 15s.). After obviously tire- less research she has collected a most com- prehensive selection of extracts from the utterances of some 120 world leaders and a few others, mostly in the period from 1917 to 1944. With its meticulous in- dexes it is already proving itself a useful reference book. But it is so much more, for it traces the ways by which the world was plunged again into war while most of its inhabitants desired only peace. The reader is haunted by the familiar un- ease as to the responsibility of the indi- vidual for his leaders and their policies. On this point Dr. Freeman gives some

sound advice and says the "tests to apply to all utterances are the presence in them of intelligence, sincerity, courage, good will." Recognize these, choose as our representatives those men who embody them—"then, and not till then, shall we be sure of universal peace"; but here Lord Acton's overworked aphorism on the corruption of power springs to mind as singularly apt.—One of those who appears to possess the qualities for leader- ship demanded by Dr. Freeman but whose speeches, being too far from her theme, are not included in her book, is Lord Wavell. However, *Macmillan* (8s. 6d.) have compensated with his broadcasts, orders and addresses during his four years as Commander-in-Chief, of the Middle East to 1941 and of India to 1943, under the title of SPEAKING GENERALLY Most of them were addressed to the or- dinary soldier or civilian and, written as they were at short notice with of course no knowledge of subsequent events, they help, as Lord Wavell says, "to give a background to history."—Philip P. Graves has been steadily filling in the foreground with his quarterly records of the war, and his THE TWENTY-SECOND QUARTER (*Hutchinson*, 12s. 6d.) brings us to the decisive happenings that took place between January 1 and March 31, 1945. The Russian invasion of the Eastern Provinces, the destruction of the German armies on the Western Front and the Allied victories in the Far East are the military events now chronicled and analysed. Nor have Mr. Graves and his distinguished group of collaborators neglected the political scene, and chapter headings such as "The Americas", "Labour, Coal and Food", "State Finance" and "Eire and the Dominions" give some idea of the scope in this field. The book is as freely documented and illustrated as its predecessors.

Britain overseas

From world war destruction we turn to a group of men who seek to show the

part that the British Commonwealth of Nations may play in the work of regen- eration. BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OB- JECTIVES, edited and introduced by Sir Harry Lindsay (*Michael Joseph*, 10s. 6d.), is a symposium written in every case by an authority on his subject. Thus, India, Canada, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand all unite in a common ideal. This is no less than a search for better standards of living, for economic progress and ulti- mately for the advancement of culture and social welfare. The Director of the Imperial Institute indicates what changes have taken place in the British attitude, through the humanitarian efforts of the nineteenth century to present-day objectives of self-government, respect for local customs and institutions, scientific training, and the give-and-take of arts and crafts and in- dustries.

Imperialism, good and bad

—A book that serves well the dual purpose of being complementary and a foil to the last one is the not too happily titled LET THE GREAT STORY BE TOLD by H. Wood Jarvis (*Sampson Low*, 18s.). The subtitle is "The Truth about British Expansion" but the author is not so much concerned to whitewash the Empire as he is to paint a number of lively portraits of some of the merchant adventurers who helped to found it. Not all of these were famous—who, off-hand, could pair Charnock and Calcutta, Banks and Austra- lia, Marsden and New Zealand, or Raffles and Java? But the stirring deeds of these and other pioneers recounted in this book make it one which the schoolboy, and his father, should find engrossing. Lord Queenborough in a postscript says:

It is unfortunate that the ill-judged tax on tea, which led to the breaking away of North America from England, is more re- membered now than the previous services of the English army in protecting the colonists from onslaughts of the Red Indians and the French.

—Another book which may appeal to schoolboys, though possibly not to their fathers, is LAWRENCE THE REBEL by Edward Robinson (*Lincolns-Prager*, 12s.

6d.). The author disarms criticism of his somewhat naïve style by stating that he is not a professional historian but a soldier who was flung by the circumstances of the 1914-1918 war into the Arab campaign and as the "keeper of the records" was actively engaged in it throughout. T. E. Lawrence's reputation was bound to suffer as a result of the excessive adulation he once received. This book performs a service therefore in that it is a straightforward account of the revolt in the desert which leaves the reader to assess the worth of Lawrence's achievement. It helps in some degree to throw light on the present muddle in the Middle East, which seems at this stage to be more valu- able than some of the recent psychological studies of Lawrence that have "debunk- ed" the campaign along with the cam- paigner.—From Lawrence's tribesmen to Lobengula, king of the Matabele nation, is not so long a step, as Mr. Stuart Cloete's AFRICAN PORTRAITS (*Collins*, 12s. 6d.), will confirm. He tells the stories of Kruger dreaming of

a patriarchal world governed by the Word of God . . . despising money except in terms of lands and flocks and herds;

of Rhodes dreaming of

a Pax Britannica, in which he included all English speaking peoples . . . accumulating a tremendous fortune because he saw wealth as a source of power;

of Lobengula dreaming of

isolation, avoiding conflict with the white men, and hoping by this method to save the riches of his land from their grasp.

A sordid saga and Mr. Cloete does not shirk the telling. It is hard to put the book down, so skilful is the weld- ing together of these three lives and so well-demonstrated the amalgam of mean- ness and magnanimity, of greed and great- ness that is human nature, breaking down at sight of gold—the music hall ditties on this subject are not so comic.

Two rebels

But the nineteenth century bred radicals as well as imperialists. And G. Rostrevor Hamilton in JAMES HURNARD (*Cambridge*

University Press. 7s. 6d.) has discovered one whom he rightly calls "A Victorian Character." This sham-hating Quaker versifier who, living as he did from 1808 till 1881, saw much to praise in the railway, electricity, the penny post, Mr. Gladstone, photography, agricultural machinery, the Crystal Palace and the call of votes for women, could be devastatingly outspoken about lawyers, militarists, bible critics, bishops, Tories, bankers, modern poetry and music. His long autobiographical poem, "The Setting Sun", was found by Mr. Rostrevor Hamilton on the shelves of the London Library. The "flat verse" is full of Hurnard's zest and here and there is a line lit with poetry. His irony, often most effective when turned on himself, lifts him above the humdrum. The work calls for copious quotation in its aptness and his rescuer "against oblivion" has performed a service.—The eighteenth century too had its own special "character" in the person of Dr. Johnson, and those who wonder if there be anything new to say about him should read *JOHNSON AGONISTES* by Bertrand H. Bronson (*Cambridge University Press. 8s. 6d.*). The author is much concerned with his subject's mental processes and his essays are meant primarily for those advanced in "Johnsoniana". His second study has much light to throw on Boswell's temperament and is a tribute to his "lifelong effort to know himself." The third discusses *Irene* in detail and it would be narrow not to persevere in this just because one's own predilection is for *Rasselas*.

Citizens of heaven

Another side of the Doctor's character is the subject of the first essay in the late Dr. W. T. Cairns' *THE RELIGION OF DR. JOHNSON AND OTHER STUDIES* (*Geoffrey Cumberlege, O.U.P. 7s. 6d.*). That "it would be hard to overestimate the influence, direct and indirect, which Johnson exercised on the whole attitude of his con-

temporaries towards religion" is surprising to those who have seen him hitherto as the irascible and formidable eccentric. But of the five essays in this book the one entitled "The Constituents of a Good Hymn" gave a renegade nonconformist the greatest pleasure with its analysis and appreciation of the beauty in some of the most familiar lines. The grotesque ones too are not neglected—Charles Wesley's for instance—

O may Thy powerful word
Inspire a feeble worm
To rush into Thy kingdom, Lord,
And take it as by storm!

—By so frivolous a way do we come to the remaining two books on the table: *HOW HEATHEN IS BRITAIN* by B. G. Sandhurst (*Collins. 2s. 6d.*) and *THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS* by Maurice B. Reckitt (*S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.*). The first will be of value to youth leaders and teachers because the author has learnt out of his wartime experience with hundreds of young men to deal efficiently with the religious difficulties which beset them—and the rest of the world. The book makes a good basis for discussions on such facets of the general problem as truth, moral law, goodness and worship. C. S. Lewis contributes a preface full of good sense and particularly on the subject of education. Rather than blame the present system in the schools he says: "If you make the adults of to-day Christian, the children of tomorrow will receive a Christian education." The second book casts a wider net—over the Church's claim in the political sphere. Mr. Reckitt talks of politics in town and parish and of the theological virtues in politics and, after a thoughtful statement and elucidation of the responsibility of Christians, comes to the conclusion that:

Just because "our citizenship is in heaven" and we know it, we should be of all men the best fitted to endure the arduous, and to embrace the privileges, of our citizenship on earth.

GRACE BANYARD.

THE FORTNIGHTLY

SEPTEMBER, 1946

LABOUR'S ECONOMIC POLICY

By R. P. SCHWARZ

FOR all practical purposes, British economy started post-war business on July 6, 1945, the day after the General Election, with a first mortgage of unsolved problems left over from World War I and a second of new problems created by World War II. At election time, the existence of these liabilities was not in dispute. And even on their valuation, the party differences were not fundamental. In the main, the political struggle centred on the methods best suited to eliminate these charges and avoid foreclosure.

I

Because of their apparent urgency, some essentially temporary post-war problems such as demobilization and reconversion of industry, have in some degree deflected attention from the far older, structural, problems of British economy. Yet, since the early 'twenties at least, capital equipment in coal, iron and steel, cotton and housing have stood in urgent need of large-scale renewal. During the inter-war period, a considerable effort was made to improve housing in quantity and quality. But drift, neglect, muddle, disputes and mistaken decisions over the past quarter of a century have rendered conditions in the coal, steel and iron, and cotton industries, serious already after World War I, critical after World War II. In the case of steel and cotton, world-wide shortages of supplies reflecting in a vast sellers' market, may temporarily obscure this fact. In the case of coal, even a sellers' market cannot provide relief. In 1946, the measure of the situation is a home consumption of coal likely, at the present rate, to exceed production by at least ten million tons. It prevents this country, once the greatest coal producer in Europe from recovering its export markets and making all but negligible relief contributions to the European coal shortage.

Steel and iron, while in not quite so desperate a position, are also in imperative need of technical modernization and rationalization of processes and location. In this industry, the raw material position is insecure; the mills are obsolete to a large extent, and it follows therefrom that the cost structure is unfavourable. Even before the war, it could not compete in the world market except under cartel agreements. And it would have been unable to hold even the home market but for those same agreements and tariffs combined.

Cotton, the third of Britain's ailing key industries, can more than either of the other two, plead mitigating circumstances for its present plight. Its decay in inter-war years was only in part the result of technical obsolescence or lack

of enterprise. The development of cheap-labour competition in India and Japan and the shift of consumption to artificial fibres account for much of its misfortunes. In an industry that, before 1913, exported three quarters of its total output, the repercussions of such developments were bound to be severe.

World War II further aggravated these three old problems of British economy and added a fourth, more conditional in nature, by largely exhausting Britain's foreign investments and turning her from a creditor into a debtor on international account. On any immediate view, this means a reduction in Britain's standard of living, hence a loss. But on any long-term view, it is by no means sure whether economically, socially and psychologically, this loss is not a blessing in disguise. For it compels this country to shake off, without further remission, that complacent attitude so common to the second and third generation heirs of great wealth—an attitude born from the feeling that one can still draw satisfactory dividends from capital invested outside the family business if the old firm has become unremunerative. To-day, as distinct from the period after World War I, this comfortable cushion on which to enjoy a prolonged industrial nap, is deflated. The radical reforms in Britain's economic structure, postponed and postponed again after 1919, can no longer be avoided.

II

What Labour's rehabilitation programme would be if it assumed power, had long been public knowledge. And its election manifesto "Let us Face the Future" (April 1945) made it quite clear. To production, it announced nationalization of the fuel and power industries, of inland transport, of the iron and steel industry together with public supervision of monopolies and cartels; to finance, control of monetary and banking policy through the nationalization of the Bank of England, and control of investment policy through a National Investment Board. On the side of distribution, it foreshadowed the immediate introduction of an all-in National Insurance system derived from the Beveridge report of 1942 and a complete National Health service. Apart from this, the large-scale destruction of housing by enemy action compelled the inclusion of a vast building programme.

During the first year of power of the Labour government, legislative action taken may not have followed exactly the order set down in the election manifesto. But an appreciable part of Labour's agenda has already been carried out. Taken as a whole, the new legislation mirrors the hybrid features of a mixed economy. A comparatively small, but dominant, publicly-owned sector of industry will now co-exist with a larger, but fundamentally dependent, private enterprise sector. Coal, coal-produced power, steel and iron are among the most important cost factors of practically all other industries. By controlling these key industries, the State will exercise indirect control over the policy and the development of the private enterprise sector. And that control is reinforced by the powers it has taken over national credit and investment policy.

Such a mixed régime is evidently a compromise between Labour's theoretical aims and the existing political and economic possibilities. As an empirical solution, it hardly satisfies the requirements of strict logic, but it may well succeed in reconciling the greatest number of divergent interests without political and economic upheaval.*

III

Any compromise solution in politics goes of necessity too far for some and not far enough for others. In the financial sphere at any rate, the new legislation has met with less resistance than might have been expected from the defenders of the *status quo*. The new Bank of England Act does not indeed change much in the *de facto* relations between State and Issue Bank. But through it, the State has, at any rate indirectly and in some degree directly, secured the legal basis for controlling and, if necessary, directing national credit and banking policy. Moreover, by the Borrowing (Control and Guarantees) Act, it has made permanent its wartime control over investment policy. But the control so secured remains, for the time being, limited in scope. It covers—negatively, through the Capital Issues Committee, positively through an (advisory) National Investment Council—only that part of capital investment for which funds are raised in the market. But while for 1938, the net capital formation of British economy was estimated at some £300 million, total new issues for industrial finance represented a bare £75 million. That left a considerable margin for self-financing out of reserves, a method resorted to on an increasing scale. Wartime "forced saving" of one kind or another has increased its opportunities. In this respect, limitations are physical (bottlenecks in production, shortages of supplies and manpower) rather than financial. Hence the maintenance of public control over priorities and prices of essentials which the Government secured from Parliament through the Supplies and Services (Transitional Powers) Act for a five-year period expiring in December 1951. This latter Act closes, at least temporarily, the gap which the Borrowing (Control and Guarantees) Act cannot fill in its present shape. More permanent measures are likely to follow. They may take the shape of fiscal measures, or of an overall National Investment Plan, or both. Logic commands a general Investment Plan. Legislation so far enacted, while providing the legal tools for planned investment, does not state such a programme in positive terms.

IV

If a national Plan exists in the minds of the Government or its economic

* *The Times* pamphlet "Full Employment" reprinting in April 1943 ten special articles and leaders first published at various dates from November 1942 to April 1943, provides a significant indication of the extent to which progressive Conservative opinion had even then reconciled itself to very similar economic conceptions.

advisers, it has only become known piecemeal to the extent that nationalization and reorganization schemes for the coal and steel industries call for fresh capital investment.

Under the Coal Industries Nationalization Act 1945, the coal industry proper and (conditionally) its ancillary industries have become public property subject to agreed compensation. As a reconstruction measure, nationalization is, in the present conditions of the industry, a *long-term*, not a *short-term* remedy. In that respect, its most important feature is the provision, during the next five years, of £150 million of new capital of which about £115 million will be available for new investment, the rest to be used as working capital. That the industry is technically and organizationally obsolete has been certified publicly by its leading engineers with remarkable frankness.* But the industry's main problem to-day is manpower. One can legislate on organization and improve equipment and methods with comparative ease. It is far more difficult to legislate on manpower. The number of miners has dropped from 1,172,000 in 1924 to 694,000 in 1945, the output from 267 million to 174 million tons. At this rate, Britain will soon become a coal importer, thus giving the phrase "to carry coals to Newcastle" a wholly unexpected literal meaning. Legislation cannot hope to remedy by direct measures the manifest disaffection of the industry's labour force, which shows in a rate of absenteeism at present fluctuating around 14.5 per cent.† a reduction in output per manshift from 1.14 ton in 1938 to 1.02 ton in 1946 (June), and an intake of new labour confined to about 10,000 young workers a year. These short-term problems are, in the main psychological. As they have developed over some thirty years, they will probably take many years to solve. Nationalization may create the conditions necessary for the long-term solution. On any short-term view, it does not, taken by itself, make things easier. The reconstruction of the industry requires the closing-down of many pits, the amalgamation of others, hence the transfer of labour to new locations. The new owner, the National Coal Board, represents the nation and is not therefore suspect, from the outset, of favouring sectional interests. One may therefore hope that the miners will accept its decisions even though painful with less opposition than had they been taken by the former mine-owners or their trade association.

While in the coal industry, nationalization has already become law, it is still in its preparatory phase in the iron and steel industry. For close on twenty years, the Iron and Steel Federation has run this industry on monopolistic lines. Its policy of inverted Darwinism postulated the survival of even the unfittest. Reorganization measures taken during the inter-war period were predominantly financial (*versus* technical) and inspired in the main by the minds of bankers and accountants (*versus* producers and engineers). Technical modernization will require large capital investment. Its cost was estimated at £168 million

* Coal Mining. The Report of the Technical Advisory Committee. (Reid Report) Cmd. 6610. March 1945.

† Maximum (in January 1946): 18.9 per cent. Average in 1938: 6.44 per cent.

to be spread over a period of seven years and a half, in a plan produced by the Federation prior to the announcement of nationalization. Nationalization may lead to modifications in this plan, but will hardly reduce it in scope or cost.

From the economic angle alone, it may be pleaded that nationalization is not, in this field, a necessity. Placed under strict State control and supervision, the Federation might conceivably be left to carry out the reconstruction of the industry. By announcing the creation of a public Control Board, the Government has indeed adopted this idea as an interim solution, pending full nationalization. The choice of public ownership is therefore a political measure and its opponents add the epithet "doctrinaire" to this qualification. If it be that, the question is whether it is good or bad policy, good or bad doctrine. It would perhaps be bad policy had the industry maintained its technical and economic efficiency under private ownership. It has lost the first, and has maintained the second only at heavy expense to the consumer and, incidentally, the shareholder.* State ownership can hardly do worse and might conceivably do better. Nor is it, *a priori*, bad doctrine to remove from the control of the industry men who have been concerned, first and foremost, with securing satisfactory financial returns on their investments regardless of economic production. Lastly, even the view that a private monopoly, albeit placed under State control, may still endanger Labour's reconstruction programme as a whole and must therefore be removed, is not perhaps beyond all justification.

In the cotton industry, no final scheme of reconstruction has as yet emerged. A working party of the industry, composed of employer, labour and independent (outside) members has produced a report. It reveals a wide measure of agreement on reconstruction plans, but also some disagreement. New legislation, when it comes, will hardly lead to nationalization, in view of the structure of the industry and the fact that it is so largely an export industry. But it might involve State help for new capital equipment, the financing of amalgamation measures and co-operative self-help.

V

During World War II, over four million houses in Britain were destroyed or damaged by enemy action. Of this number, 210,000 were totally destroyed and a further 250,000 were rendered uninhabitable. Even without this wholesale destruction, an extensive housing programme would have been one of the top items on any post-war agenda, as for six years, practically no private dwellings of any kind had been built. But apart from making good this lag, such a programme might then have centred on better, rather than on more, houses.

* Ordinary £1 shares written down: Vickers (1926) to 6s. 8d.; Baldwins (1928) to 4s.; Armstrong-Whitworths (1929) to 6d.; etc., etc. See Henry Owen: *Steel: The Facts*. This book is no doubt an *ex parte* statement of the case. But it contains much reasonable argument not merely to be dismissed because its publishers are also those of Lenin's and Marshal Stalin's collected works.

Wartime destruction has both changed the character of the housing situation and magnified its urgency. Yet, the problem, considered as one aspect of economic reconstruction, is relatively far easier to solve than that of Britain's key industries. In essence, it is temporary and its dangers lie more on the psychological (electoral) than on the technical side. One in five electors experiences in his own flesh the effects of the housing shortage. But perhaps not one in fifty thousand is concerned with the cost structure of the coal and steel industries which, on any long-term view, is of far greater importance.

From the Commons debate on Housing of July 31, one gathers that by the end of this year, some 120,000 new permanent houses will have been built of which about 13,000 have already been completed. In addition, there will be 71,000 new temporary houses (35,000 completed) and over 10,000 rebuilt war-damaged houses (2,000 completed). Altogether, by the end of the year, some 330,000 families will have been housed. Despite all complaints about bottlenecks in the supply of building materials, fixtures and fittings, the programme, after a slow start, seems to be making progress. It may be too early to assess results. An independent Member of Parliament, not noticeably prejudiced in favour of the present Government,* recently wrote that "judgment had better be suspended for a little." The impression is indeed gaining ground that Mr. Aneurin Bevan, as Minister of Health in charge of the housing programme, may have more than an even chance of success. It is becoming doubtful whether, by the time of the next elections, housing will provide the opposition with much political capital.

Under the Town and Country Planning Act 1944 passed by the wartime Coalition government, the problem of compensation for land compulsorily acquired for housing schemes had already been settled in principle. The new Parliament, before rising on August 1, consented, however, to an increase in the rate of compensation originally agreed upon.† Earlier in the year, it passed the Acquisition of Land Act designed to speed up the expropriation procedure under which land can be acquired by local authorities for their housing schemes. Of far greater importance than this measure of detail is the New Towns Act which received Royal Assent on August 1. This is a long-term planning measure whose aim is to de-congest the great towns by creating smaller satellite conglomeration. It is the first attempt deliberately to reverse a trend which originated at the end of the eighteenth century whereby London alone contains one-fifth of the total population of the country.

VI

Reconstruction of Britain's key industries and housing aims, directly or indirectly, at increasing her production, hence her national income. By contrast,

* Mr. Wilson Harris, editor of *The Spectator*, in "This Parliament" (*Spectator*, August 2)

† In the case of the owner-occupier, 1939 values plus 60 (*versus* 30) per cent.

the National Insurance Act, its subsidiary, the National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Act and the National Health Act, all three approved by Parliament in 1946, are concerned with the distribution (or redistribution) of that income.

In conjunction with the Family Allowances Act (passed in 1945, under the "caretaker" government) the two National Insurance Acts unify, extend and improve existing social insurance schemes. They now cover very nearly all social risks "from the cradle to the grave" through birth grants, children's allowances; unemployment, sickness and injury benefits; retirement and widowhood pensions and death grants. The National Health Act provides the legal framework for a free nation-wide health service.

To the extent that these services were provided in the past (on a smaller scale), their cost in 1945/46 will total approximately £450 million. The new Insurance schemes, with Family allowances, will in 1948 require £600 million in round figures while the cost of the National Health service (general medical and specialists service, hospitals and public health centres) is provisionally estimated at £150 million, a total of £750 million. It has been estimated* that at an average price level fifty per cent. above that of 1938 and with an average rate of unemployment of five per cent. of the total working population, national income, in 1948, will amount to £8,105 million. On this double assumption, the cost of social security will come very close to ten per cent. of the national income. But this cost is, actuarially, based on an unemployment rate of 8.5 (*versus* 5) per cent. Unemployment at five per cent. would save very nearly £50 million in unemployment benefits alone. At present, unemployment, even including all demobilized men and women who have not yet taken up employment, is below seven per cent., and excluding this transitional unemployment, runs at the rate of just over two per cent. If employment continues at a high level, the actuarial basis of National Insurance provides for an appreciable safety margin. Moreover, the present annual bill of preventable illness is estimated at some £300 million. Improved social services might be expected to reduce it appreciably. Writing specifically of retirement pensions as one aspect of social security, Sir William Beveridge called his plan "an act of faith in the building up of national income and the resources from which national taxation must be drawn." That remark may be applied to the social security schemes as a whole. It is perhaps not over-optimistic to expect that the reconstruction of Britain's key industries together with normal economic development, will raise the national income and thus make the social security budget easier to bear. Should its cost nevertheless be found too high, the nation may still prefer to gamble more on security and health and less on horses, dogs and football pools. Appropriate taxation could secure this result.

VII

Apart from the maintenance of peace, the successful fulfilment of Labour's

* *The Times* February 6, 1946: "Social Security Costs."

economic, hence its political, programme hinges on two main factors, the reconstruction of Britain's key industries and full or very nearly full employment.

In so far as the task of reconstruction is technical and financial, it is relatively easy. Its real difficulties lie in the sphere of manpower, both manual and "executive". The dangers of bureaucratic management are obvious. A régime that combines successfully the elimination of sectional interests under State ownership with the initiative of private enterprise has yet to be evolved in a "free society". Such a development requires time and can only proceed by trial and error. To the extent that the problem has been solved in Soviet Russia, this result has been secured in conditions far removed from those of a free society and unacceptable in the West. Compulsion may have been indispensable in the U.S.S.R., which had to start from very nearly scratch in building up her industries, their cadres and their experience. In this country, the industries, the cadres and the experience exist. That is one reason why one may grant the experiment of planned economic development under conditions of political freedom a reasonable chance of success. It is a positive reason. Another is negative. Among the opponents of the experiment, the fear that it might succeed can clearly be discerned under the loudly proclaimed conviction that it must fail.

Full employment is the second prerequisite for the successful completion of Labour's programme. For the next few years, the home market alone can fully employ all available manpower. Even at a later stage, the dangers to full employment are not likely to come from the home market, but rather from that sector of the national economy—larger in Britain than in most other countries—that is directly dependent on world economic developments. To an overwhelming extent, these developments are to-day determined by the behaviour of the American economic system. There is an inherent contradiction in planning, internally, for full employment in the national economy and tying it, externally, to the largest, wilfully unplanned, economy in the world. Yet, this has been done by the Bretton Woods agreement and by the Anglo-American loan agreement, both approved by large Labour majorities against a few dissenters. Labour's greatest difficulty will be to escape this fundamental (and largely self-created) conflict. If it succeeds in this *tour de force*, it will not have been the result of good policy.

Because it is a task of supreme difficulty to achieve economic democracy under conditions of political freedom, should the attempt not have been made? The answer becomes clear when one considers the alternative. That alternative is a static society. Such a society freezes its institutions and its economy against evolution. By all precedents and present-day examples, the final result is revolution. The displaced persons of the British *ancien régime*, if they but realized their true interests, should to-day welcome Labour's compromise solution, cheap by comparison. It provides them with a third term: devolution.

THE UNITED STATES AND PACIFIC BASES

BY WERNER LEVI

THE political and military influence of the United States of America is now firmly established over the whole Pacific ocean. The second world war was the last link in a chain of events which brought about this situation. Its genesis dates back to the early days of the last century. Within a few years after the first American ships appeared in the Pacific, in China and India, American merchants and shipowners were able to impress upon their government the importance of the Pacific to the future of the country. Though they were a small group their arguments were so convincing that President Madison gave his approval to the dispatch of an official expedition of discovery designed to help in the economic exploitation of the Pacific region. The Anglo-American war of 1812 prevented the realization of the undertaking, but, as a result of war, the American navy made its first appearance in the Pacific. In a fashion which became characteristic for American naval officers Porter, the captain of the first American war vessel in the Pacific, occupied and annexed Madison island for the United States. The government never sanctioned the annexation; nevertheless here was an early indication that some Americans at least did not consider the Pacific ocean to be beyond the realm of American concern.

With the advance of the American people across the continent and the increasing number of American ships in the Pacific, the authorities began to take official cognizance of the Pacific coast. Interest in that region grew rapidly. Traders, whalers, and missionaries were the pioneers in establishing permanent interests along the Pacific coast and in the islands over a vast area. They never experienced much difficulty in enlisting some support for their adventures from governmental authorities, usually the Navy or the State Department. Naval vessels for the protection of American commerce and the maintenance of order among whaling crews were stationed in Pacific waters during the second decade of the nineteenth century. Consuls were appointed soon thereafter to Hawaii (1822), then Tahiti, Sydney, the Fijis, and many other places. (An American consul in China had been appointed before the turn of the century.)

With the growth of trading interests in the Pacific, American political interests increased. Presidents began to refer to the importance of the Pacific in their messages to Congress. Consuls carefully watched the activities of other nations in the Pacific and not infrequently advised strong action far from the homeland to preserve actual and potential American interests in their region. Naval officers, usually the most eager and outspoken, advocated the acquisition

of bases and ports of refuge almost from the day they arrived in the Pacific. Yet, however much individual statesmen, professional strategists, shippers, and merchants may have desired annexation of islands and territories in distant areas, the time was not yet ripe for such an enterprise and at the most their pressure resulted in compassion and sympathy in high governmental places. By the middle of the century the merchant and shipping community of New England, New York, and Philadelphia was as yet too small to arouse popular enthusiasm for adventures in far-away and unknown lands. Americans were preoccupied with the development of their own country. The Pacific was a somewhat mysterious sea and what little time the citizen had to spare for affairs beyond the national borders was devoted to the Atlantic and Europe. This attitude limited the government's range of action. It could and did afford to consider Hawaii as the outer bastion of an area considered vital to American interests. Farther than that, the government was satisfied with keeping a watchful eye on international developments in the Pacific and giving other nations a free hand in their activities.

A change came during the second half of the last century and especially the final two decades. The era was characterized by a scramble for islands in the Pacific, and the United States, in the atmosphere of imperialism, did not lag behind. The development of the West had produced an imperialist mentality which facilitated American expansion beyond national frontiers. The United States emerged with the possession of Alaska, Midway, Guam, Wake, parts of Samoa, Hawaii, and the Philippines. In some cases, the process of acquisition was gradual, in others sudden. The total result was an extension of American territorial interests deep into the Pacific. From that moment on the United States was irrevocably involved in Pacific affairs anywhere. For a brief span of time around 1900 the American public showed some interest in the Pacific, but as the novelty wore off, this interest subsided again. Generally speaking, Americans remained aware of their possessions, especially Hawaii and the Philippines, but were unaware of the perpetual involvement in Pacific politics which these possessions occasioned.

From the turn of the century America's territorial situation in the Pacific remained unchanged. Nevertheless, demands could be heard from time to time insisting on further acquisition of Pacific territory by the United States. On the other hand, there were people who felt that the possession of any territory beyond continental limits was a breach with American traditions and that such territories should be abandoned. Especially at times of crisis, such as the first world war, claims for additional territory became louder, yet never were convincing enough to lead to results. The merely sporadic interest of the American public in Pacific affairs frustrated all attempts by interested groups to add to existing possessions. The fact remains, though, that permanent American interests spread steadily across the Pacific during the last one hundred and sixty years: at first from the coast to Hawaii, then to Alaska and Midway in the

northern Pacific and finally into the western and south-western Pacific.

The Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbour reawakened general American interest in the Pacific. As on previous occasions individuals and groups clamoured for additional American bases in the Pacific at the first opportunity. But the urgency of defence and the bewilderment of the people over the success of Japanese armies absorbed the attention of Americans and demands for new territory found little response. As the tide of war turned and post-war planning began, advocates of new bases developed a larger following. From about 1943 on, the issue was presented to the public with increasing frequency. Congress was finally galvanized into action by the conclusion of the Canberra agreement between Australia and New Zealand in January 1944.

Quite mistakenly this agreement was interpreted by many Americans as an unfriendly act by the two Pacific powers, designed to interfere with the legitimate desires and ambitions of the United States in the post-war Pacific. Congressmen concluded that the time had come for the United States to map out a Pacific policy of its own.

Early in 1944 a Select Committee on Post-War Military Policy was created in the House of Representatives for the purpose of charting a definite American policy for the Pacific and especially to deal with the disposal of Pacific islands. At the same time a number of congressmen expressed their views on a desirable distribution of the islands. All of those voicing an opinion favoured the acquisition of new islands or bases, their disagreement referred only to the mode of acquisition and the territories to be acquired. If there were any congressmen opposed to such a policy they remained silent. Perhaps they considered it impolitic at that stage of the Pacific war to criticize the somewhat emotional and nationalistic arguments of the annexationists. One representative suggested that the United States should "just take" the islands formerly held by Japan. Another opined that these islands belonged to the United States by right of conquest. Yet another proposed that the United States should annex the former Japanese mandated islands and share other islands in co-operation with other nations. All these congressmen agreed that the former Japanese mandated islands should be acquired by the United States as a minimum. Some went further and demanded annexation of all Japanese owned islands, including the Ryukyus and Formosa. High officials of the Administration were usually more guarded in their statements but indicated that a certain number of islands would be requested by the United States either in the form of outright possession or of territories under exclusive American jurisdiction.

Toward the end of August 1945 a report was published by a Sub-committee on Pacific Bases of the Committee on Naval Affairs in the House of Representatives which gives a fairly complete and accurate picture of the opinion of those who favour the acquisition of new American bases in the Pacific. The report is important as coming from a committee with considerable influence upon the

future American policy on this question. Yet, possibly because the report was published at the time of V-J day, it did not receive the attention it deserves. The report covers three hundred pages and was written by committee members who had made a twenty-one thousand mile trip around the Pacific, visiting all accessible bases and islands and interviewing every high officer in the Pacific theatre between July 14 and August 2.

The main conclusions as set down in the report are these: The United States should have "dominating control" over the Marshall, Caroline, Mariana, Izu, Bonin, and Ryukyu islands. The United States should be given "specific and substantial" rights to sites where American bases have been constructed on island territories of Allied nations. The United States should have full title to bases on islands mandated to or claimed by other nations, because these nations are incapable of defending such bases and because these bases are vital links in the American chain of security. American bases should be permanently kept in a state of preparedness.

The Pacific strategy of defence should revolve about a centre line north of the equator to Hawaii, Micronesia and the Philippines. This line should be protected north and south by certain major bases, secondary bases, fleet anchorages, and air fields. All islands on which bases are situated should become economically self-supporting as far as the native population is concerned and the natives should be Americanized without a simultaneous destruction of their cultural characteristics. In peacetime the bases should be used for commercial shipping and air lines.

These conclusions were based on the assumption that the United Nations Charter would be signed, that the United States would take over the task of preserving peace in the Pacific, that this task requires adequate bases, and that the American fleet would be maintained superior to that of any "probable" aggressor.

The report gives as reasons justifying these broad American claims American security, security of the western hemisphere, Pacific peace, sacrifice of American lives on the islands, American development of the islands, the desire of the natives for American control. Whether or not these arguments can withstand a critical analysis, the fact is that they are effective and widely held among sections of the American people. Although the report is described by the authors as incomplete and preliminary and was written before the arrival of the atomic bomb, subsequent utterances by responsible persons inside and outside the government indicate that its ideas are not outmoded. So far few voices have been raised against the proposal to add new possessions in the Pacific. Occasionally, the annexationists are accused of imperialism or their intentions of turning the Pacific into an "American lake" are criticized. But there is no such organized or well formulated agitation against the acquisition of new bases as there appears to be in favour of it. As far as public opinion is concerned it can hardly be said that Pacific bases are currently a burning issue.

The absence of public discussion of the issue is in contrast to the considerable activity going on in the field of policy and diplomacy. Two distinct phases can be recognized: one of action and one of negotiation. The first named refers to enterprise of the army and navy on islands not formerly owned by the United States. Both branches of the armed forces are constructing strong and permanent fleet anchorages and air fields. Some of these constructions were begun while the war against Japan was still in progress. Now the scale of these constructions has been reduced somewhat but remains of sufficient size to permit the conclusion that the army and navy expect to retain the bases or at least to influence future decisions of their fate by the *fait accompli* of important American installations.

American policy regarding these bases provides less concrete evidence of intentions than these constructions, but a tendency can be discerned pointing towards considerable American demands for new Pacific territories. The Navy Department and bodies related to it by interests are now in the forefront of those pressing the Administration to acquire new bases. Almost all recent statements in favour of new bases emanated from officials connected with the Navy Department. In September 1945 the Department actually published a list of bases recommended for the defence of the United States. Among these, nine were in the Pacific: Kodiak, Adak, Hawaii, Balboa, Guam, Iwo, Okinawa, Manus and Philippines. Later, the Navy Department extended its original list considerably and submitted it to the Senate Atomic Energy Committee. Among the islands which the American Government is considering for acquisition are several belonging to the United Nations.

The Manus are part of the Australian mandated Admiralty group. As soon as American intentions in regard to the Manus became known, opposition arose in some Australian circles, led by General Sir Thomas Blamey. Other groups in the Commonwealth favour American retention of the Manus base as a contribution to Australian security. Although the Navy list was only a suggestion, the State Department initiated negotiations with the Australian Government which have not yet led to results. Australia's preferred scheme is a multilateral agreement among all Pacific powers for reciprocal use of their bases. The United States dislikes this idea because, so the *Sydney Morning Herald* explains benevolently: "America distrusts political commitments and seeks the right to use bases she built, without any strings attached."

The United States has also expressed a preference for the sole ownership of Canton island, now owned in *condominium* with Great Britain, and Christmas and Funafuti islands, now owned by Great Britain alone. The reluctance of the British Government to cede these islands is explained by their usefulness as civil aviation bases and the fear that they could not be used should the Empire be involved in some Pacific war in which the United States stays neutral.

A third nation with which the United States is negotiating about bases at the present time is Ecuador. The islands in question here are the Galapagos. On

numerous occasions in the past several decades, America tried to obtain a lease or ownership of one or more islands in this group, but every attempt was frustrated by the reluctance of the Ecuadorian people to part with any of their territory. The success of the latest attempt is again quite doubtful. It may, finally, be of interest to note that according to some reports, the United States is building a large base in Kobe, Japan. Although it may be assumed that this base is of a temporary nature it has nevertheless created rumours among the Japanese people that Kobe is to be used as a *point d'appui* for a war against Russia (considered inevitable by the Japanese) and which have prompted some Japanese to leave the town.

Parallel with these international conversations much debating is taking place among congressmen about the final form in which the bases should be acquired. There is difference of opinion whether the United States should demand outright annexation or be satisfied with some kind of trusteeship. The real issue in this question is of course the amount of control which the United States would obtain in either case. The clause in the Atlantic Charter which contains the statement that the United Nations do not seek territorial aggrandizement is the only existing hindrance to annexation of the islands. Assuming that the United States will desire to act within the framework of the Atlantic Charter principles, annexation would be out of the question. The trusteeship system as contained in the United Nations Charter would then have to be applied to the disposal of the Pacific islands and bases.

Under the Charter there is no obligation for any nation to hand over any territory as trust territory. Only such territories come under the trusteeship system "as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreement" according to Article 75. According to Article 77 mandated territories, territories detached from enemy States as a result of the second world war, and territories voluntarily placed under the system can be trust territories. This would include all islands considered by the United States for acquisition. The Charter permits in Article 81 one nation to be the sole trustee, and Article 79 stipulates that the terms of each trust territory are a matter of individual agreement. With these rules in view President Truman stated extemporaneously at a press conference that the United States would insist on becoming the sole trustee of enemy Pacific islands conquered by American forces and considered vital to America's future security. Other former enemy islands held by the United States but not considered vital for security would be placed under the administration of a group of nations.

This presidential statement caused much uneasiness in the minds of those who insist on absolute and exclusive American control of islands vital for security. They feel that even sole administrative authority over trust territories does not eliminate the possibility of outside interference under the terms of the United Nations Charter. There are two clauses which could give third powers a voice in the administration of trust territories. The first clause is Article 79

which prescribes that the terms under which the trustee receives the trust territory "shall be agreed upon by the States directly concerned." Thus such States can determine what the terms shall be. If they should agree to give the trustee a completely free hand, no further interference would be possible, but some congressmen fear that some States, such as Russia for instance, may not be willing to grant the United States a completely free hand (assuming that Russia would be one of the "States directly concerned"), and they are reluctant to take any chances. The second case of possible outside interference is contained in Articles 82 and 83. According to these all or part of a trust territory may be designated as a "strategic area," and the Security Council would have the right to exercise in relation to such areas and the agreements for such areas all functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas. There is little doubt that the islands envisaged by the United States would be declared "strategic areas" by the United Nations. Thus, even a sole trustee may have to comply with restrictions and directives established by members of the United Nations.

The War and Navy Departments have declared that the trusteeship provisions of the Charter are in accord with the military needs of the United States. There is little doubt that sole trusteeship of those islands considered vital for America's defence will eventually become the final arrangement. It represents a compromise between those Americans who want outright annexation (and who point to the Yalta agreement, which gave Russia Japanese territory, as a precedent) and those who favour international collaboration through the United Nations. Besides, sole trusteeship could formally be reconciled with the stipulations of the Atlantic Charter. In practice, sole trusteeship would amount to ownership, with the exception that the general principle of proper treatment of natives and the use of the trust territory for purposes of peace as prescribed by the United Nations Charter still applies.

The present trend of American policy in regard to naval bases in the Pacific is no longer in accord with ideals held by President Roosevelt. He favoured international bases under a United Nations flag. He passed away before the problem became acute. Obviously, the Navy and War Departments consider American security assured only by exclusive control over American bases. Their influence is strong and important congressional committees are on their side. The situation is reminiscent of 1919. At that time President Wilson fought for truly international administration of colonial territories in the Pacific. He was finally obliged to compromise on the "C" mandates which in form were administered internationally but in practice by the mandatory as quasi-owner. To-day, in regard to the same region, the United States has leadership in bringing about the same situation.

(Dr. Werner Levi's book *AMERICAN-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS* is soon to be published in America.)

EDUCATION AND WORK

BY SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER

AS we look abroad to-day, we seem to be surrounded with insoluble problems and menacing responsibilities. The ordinary citizen feels confused and helpless—uncertain whether he knows the truth. But one thing is clear for all to understand. If there is to be security for a world peace founded on freedom and democracy, the British nation must play an effective part in international policy; and we cannot do that unless we make a success of our democratic society at home. That is our first task and one in which everyone can play a part.

But it is itself beset with many difficulties. We have to take account of the sacrifices of our wealth in the war, the changed conditions of the world, and the demands for higher standards at home. In these circumstances we need a terrific job of productive work to make our material foundations adequate to support our national social structure and our international responsibilities. And our problem is how to succeed in this without sacrificing things that matter more. That problem has many aspects. One is the need to regulate our activities for a co-ordinated national purpose without destroying the vital spirit of free adventure and the scope for its exercise. Another is that, just at this moment when public opinion demands that 'business' shall no longer be considered merely as business but must take account of human and social implications, we are, as a nation, faced with the most stupendous 'business' task in our history.

It is with the latter aspect that this article is concerned. In the circumstances of to-day our economic enterprise—above all the direct task of production—needs the best that the nation can give it. And there are two dangers: on the one hand that, with the concentration of attention on social improvements, this paramount need will not be sufficiently appreciated, and, on the other hand, that, if it is appreciated, its significance may get exaggerated in a way which puts our scale of values wrong. What we need is a balanced view, which, while recognizing that national progress in the widest sense is dependent on successful economic achievement, does not rate this success above its proper value, but sees it as no more a condition precedent which, vitally necessary though it is, should never take first place in our scale of values.

To keep the right balance sets difficult problems, especially in the field of education. It is particularly important here to ensure that a recognition of our urgent need for productive efficiency does not encourage ideas of vocational

education narrowly conceived (that is as a preparation for earning a living instead of for living a good life in the highest sense of which an individual is capable). Yet, on the other hand, if education is regarded as a preparation for life, we must take account of the kind of life which most of its subjects will have to live.

Here is a crucial matter, in regard to which we have to reconcile apparently conflicting interpretations. It demands much fuller treatment than is possible in a short article. The Norwood Committee's Report gets down to fundamentals. It says rightly that education must be founded on a recognition of "ideals of truth, beauty and goodness as final and binding for all times and places," that these ideals cannot be regarded as of temporary convenience only, and that "no programmes of education that concern themselves only with relative ends and immediate adaptation of the individual to the existing surroundings can be acceptable." But the Norwood report further defines the aim of education as being to help each individual to realize the full power of his personality—body, mind and spirit—in and through active membership of society. If we recognize this, it follows that we must take account of what will be the conditions and tasks of the society of which the individual is a member. We cannot be effective members unless we are able to play our part in the social tasks of our time. It is these which will determine the texture of our daily lives and, of these social tasks, our breadwinning work should be for all of us an essential part.

These reflections point to a problem on which there is need for some fresh straight thinking. The distinction must be drawn between vocational education, as ordinarily interpreted, and education conceived as a preparation of the individual to fulfil his vocation in life in the widest sense. To advocate narrow ideas of vocational education is one thing; it is quite another to urge that the aim of education should be to fit each individual in mind and character to get the most soul-satisfying activity out of what will be his or her job in life and all that goes with it. And, having regard to the conditions of our times, what we have to recognize now is that the great majority will have to spend their working lives in tasks of production or its ancillary activities; that of this majority the greater part will be engaged in some form of manual labour; and that the "brain work" of production will require a larger proportion than hitherto of the country's best brains.

Before considering what this means, it is necessary to acknowledge that this article has to make several assumptions which cannot, in its space, be fully argued out. One of these is that for normal people some satisfaction in their breadwinning work is essential for true happiness—that at least it should provide the texture on which the pattern of a happy life can be woven. In making this assumption I do not ignore the difficulty—some say the impossibility—of realizing it in the case of many kinds of work such as repetitive mass-production tasks. But the overcoming of this difficulty is a problem which *must* be faced,

and anyhow education ought to be such as to make it easier and not more difficult to fit this kind of work into a good life. Further, the assumption need imply no narrow conception of a 'good life'. One can recognize that such a life must include family affection and wide human relationships; that it should have a spiritual and cultural background, adequate leisure and interests to give purpose to that leisure; and, moreover, that every citizen of a democratic society should make it an element of his 'job' in life to be actively concerned in the affairs of the community. Our educational system therefore should be such as to give to every individual a proper social, intellectual, cultural and spiritual background to his life. But I would still emphasize the importance of work as an essential element in a satisfactory whole. That, I maintain, is true for man for all times. It is not a matter "of temporary convenience only" nor merely of the "immediate adaptation of the individual to the existing surroundings," although, as already stressed, the need for good work in the activities of production is specially vital for our country just now. To hold that we must learn how, in and through these activities, to develop our own souls is surely not an unworthy utilitarian or vocational view.*

A number of practical questions arise out of the ideas sketched above. At one end there are questions connected with the great mass of individuals who will have to spend their lives in manual work. Among these there is one key question which urgently needs attention. *Now that the nation has taken the great decision to make secondary education universal, has enough thought been given to the form which such education should take when it is to be the prelude to a life, not of academic, professional or administrative activities, but of manual labour?* Have we thought out what is the right form of education for the great "non-bookish" majority of the people? Can we be satisfied with the mere division into Grammar, Technical and Modern Schools—with everybody trying to get into the Grammar School class as representing a sort of educational élite?

At the other end there are questions affecting individuals of special ability of whom, in the conditions of our times, a greater proportion than in the past will be required for industry and commerce. As to these, the questions are whether our schools and universities are doing the best to evoke their potential qualities, and whether 'business' when it absorbs them does all that is required to continue their development and to utilize them fully.

Without arguing the issues out in detail I will suggest certain conclusions—most of them quite elementary, yet still insufficiently recognized in practical

* It is, in fact, a view in harmony with the British tradition. G. M. Trevelyan in his *English Social History*, writing of the tendencies of Protestant doctrine at the accession of Elizabeth, says: "The new type of English religion idealized work, dedicating business and farming to God. As George Herbert quaintly and nobly wrote:

Who sweeps a room as for Thy laws
Makes that and the action fine.

It was a good religion for a nation of shopkeepers and farmers." We must always be a nation of workers in some kind of economic business.

conduct. (Behind them all lies the conviction that education will be mainly wasted if it ends with adolescence.)

A. It is of the highest importance that the activity of production (and 'business' generally) should be regarded as an honourable activity of great national value, and as one in which manual workers, administrators, technologists and scientists can find work which will provide the texture for a good life. There is an "excellence" to be sought after in business, just as valuable for its own sake as in the arts or other forms of human expression.

B. It does not by any means follow that the form of education (certainly up to eighteen) which will fit young people entering 'business' to be good at their job and to make the best of their lives should differ from that required as a preparation for other callings. (I understand, incidentally, that the Federation of British Industries' representative before the Fleming Committee said that he regarded a classical education as the best preparation for business.) On the other hand:

- (i) We need to think more about the connection between the educational and business sides, and school education should not send its leavers away without a background which will enable them to understand the significance of what will be their working lives.
- (ii) The vehicle of education should be adapted to the pupil—in wave-lengths to which his potential interests are tuned in. Those in modern times are very often mechanical, scientific or economic. (Witness the interest aroused by the Air Training Corps.)

C. For the foregoing purposes, as well as others, the contact between employers and schools should be much closer. The educational world should take much greater interest in the world of business and *vice versa*. The employer who recruits school leavers should take an interest in their education while at school and above all should realize his own responsibilities when they come to him. He must see that the first years of employment are treated as educational years. This means much more than allowing his young employees to devote one day a week to 'further education' in the County Colleges. It means seeing that their time in the works or office is handled in an educational way.

This applies to employers whatever kind of juvenile they may be recruiting, whether young manual workers or 'cadet' entrants destined for administrative posts. Teachers and employers should regard themselves as jointly concerned with education and should have the right conception of education as a training for life in general as well as for the particular life which is going to be the individual's vocation.

Here is a problem which demands study with a much broader conception of what is involved than in the examination of our available facilities for so-called commercial education or training for business. ('Training for business' is much best done in a business. 'Education'—teaching people to use their

minds and giving an intellectual and cultural background to their lives—is a very different matter.)

D. We need to know more of the facts about the present practice of employers:

- (i) As to entrants destined for administrative posts, some of our leading concerns have adopted carefully planned systems for training. But such systems are by no means universal and even the best systems are capable of improvement.
- (ii) As for manual workers, here again some firms have good systems of training within the works; but again there is much room for improvement. We need to get back much closer to the Elizabethan conception of the employer's responsibility for his apprentices.* Can anybody feel confident that the foreman class as a whole is qualified to make the early years of employment a fully educational period?

A comprehensive survey of existing procedure under both heads is required.

E. Insistence on the responsibilities of employers should not lead to any belittling of those of the schools. The latter should be able to advise pupils about avenues of work, and be in much closer touch with the outside world of economic enterprise. One of the best things in the McNair Report was the passage insisting that teachers should not be "a race apart". How to avoid this is worth special thought. Business leaders can do much by taking an interest in schools. Teachers should have more time to get in touch with industry and commerce. When we can spare the man-power it would be a grand thing if teachers could have breaks in their long round of teaching, which would enable them to put in a year or two in other work, some at universities, but some also attached to industrial or commercial undertakings. Even with our present shortage, a good deal could be done by exchanges of works educational officers with school teachers and by allowing teachers to attend administrative staff colleges for business—for which certain projects are now in the air.

Much more could be written on how the needs of our times can legitimately affect our immediate educational policy. We cannot do everything at once, and practical needs must determine priorities. But the chief object of this article has been to emphasize the connection between education and life's work, the need for a closer contact between teachers and employers and, above all, the responsibility of employers for the education, in the widest sense, of the young people who come to work for them. Behind it all lies the conviction that education should be conceived as an aid to living a full and happy life and that the educational process can only achieve its true purpose if it continues as long as life lasts.

* Cf. Trevelyan's *English Social History* p. 191. "The Statute of Artificers (1563) enacted that every craftsman in town or country had for seven years to learn his craft under a master who was responsible for him. The object was quite as much social and educational as it was economic. 'Until a man grows into twenty-three years', it was said 'he for the most part, though not always, is wild, without judgment and not of sufficient experience to govern himself.'"

POLAND REVISITED

BY F. ELWYN JONES, M.P.

WHEN I was in the beautiful and mercifully intact city of Cracow in July, the municipal gallery held an exhibition in memory of the great Polish patriot Kosciusko. One of the most treasured exhibits which my Polish guide proudly showed me was a letter dated January 21, 1807, which Kosciusko wrote to Napoleon as to the terms he was prepared to accept for Poland's future. The first demand of the Polish leader was that the form of government in Poland should be the same as that of England.

The invader has time and again destroyed the delicate processes of indigenous political growth in Poland. And to-day, Poland is once more faced with the task of beginning from the beginning, in almost every aspect of its national life. The tendency in some Poles to look outside Poland for political inspiration is not in the circumstances surprising. Equally comprehensible is the temptation to friend and enemy to interfere in Poland's internal politics. Yet, in my view, seldom have the perils of such interference, particularly from those who are not in a position to assume responsibility for the consequences of their intervention, been so great.

Poland's mood is certainly not one of waiting upon events. She is already energetically engaged in shaping her new destiny as one of Europe's great industrial powers.

When I reached Warsaw, and looked at the skeleton that once was "the Paris of the East", I asked a member of the Polish Government who accompanied me: "What are your plans for this total ruin?" He said: "We shall of course rebuild it, though it may not be possible to complete it in my life-time. Indeed, we don't notice the ruins any more. You see, we Poles have a history of struggle. From East and West we have been invaded for centuries. We stand at the cross-roads of Eastern and Western Europe. Now there are only twenty-four millions of us left but we live—and for us to live is to struggle."

The struggle of the city of Warsaw to live is indeed epic. I was reminded in Warsaw of the entry for August 5, 1944, in the diary of Frank, Hitler's Governor General of Poland during her years of martyrdom:

The city of Warsaw is for the most part in flames. The burning down of houses is the surest way of getting the insurgents out of bolt holes. After this insurrection, Warsaw will rightly be subjected to its deserved fate of being completely annihilated.

This was no empty threat on Frank's part. House by house, Warsaw was

destroyed. A Pole told me that when he entered it with the Allied armies at the end of 1944, there was not a living human being in the city. It was a city of the dead. 300,000 people were killed in Warsaw alone. Six million Poles—about one-fifth of the Polish nation, were put to death by the Nazis in gas vans and concentration camps. There is no family to-day in Poland which has not suffered personal tragedy. In odd corners of Warsaw you will see simple little plaques recording the murder of twenty here, sixty there, 200 there.

One of the Polish Ministers told me that there are a million orphans, 800,000 cripples, about one and a half million Poles totally disabled as a result of prisons and concentration camps, nearly four million homeless people, about two million children whose parents are in utter destitution, and that two out of every nine Poles require medical attention. Nazi mass murder was accompanied by planned demoralization. Theft, burglary—even murder—became legitimate patriotic Polish activities. The habit of order was replaced by the cult of lawlessness which has in turn become a habit. Poland's material conditions were ruined. She was stripped of her industries, wealth and artistic treasures; for instance, the famous Cracow high altar by the Polish sculptor, Wit Stwos, was found in Nuremberg. Poland's economy was wrecked—hundreds of her bridges were destroyed, and the services essential to the functioning of a modern community,—electricity, railways, transport, telephones, sewers, water supplies—were grievously damaged.

These onslaughts upon Poland's existence were not sporadic and isolated, depending on the sadism of this or that SS and Police Chief. They were part of a careful Nazi plan to achieve the destruction of the Polish nation. Himmler gave a classic account of the Nazi programme of genocide* in his lecture at Posen in 1943 to his SS Chiefs:

We must be honest, decent, loyal and comradely to members of our own blood, to nobody else. What happens to a Russian, a Czech, does not interest me in the slightest. What the nations can offer in the way of good blood of our type we will take, if necessary by kidnapping their children and raising them here with us. Whether nations live in prosperity or starve to death interests me only in so far as we need them as slaves for our Kultur, otherwise it is of no interest to me.

The aim of the Nazis was to achieve Germany's *permanent* mastery over the nations she sought to subjugate. It was a plan to establish the "thousand year Reich". It was an insurance that even if Germany did lose the war, her biological weakening of the nations surrounding her would enable her to win the peace. Had the victory of the Allies been much longer delayed, these Nazi plans might well have been accomplished. The Polish intelligentsia was the special object of Nazi fury. The result is that in every sphere of national activity in Poland, the lack of trained administrators, lawyers, doctors, teachers is causing serious difficulty. However, hard work is taking the place of despair. The contrast with the listlessness that characterizes the Germans in Nuremberg

* See *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* by Dr. Lemkin.

for instance, is pronounced.

What is emerging from these ruins of Poland? My stay there was for a few days only; I spent them in Warsaw and Cracow, and I can only give personal impressions, though I spoke to representatives of each of the Polish parties as well as to men of no party. Poland's first task, one of her Ministers told me, is to settle her relations with her neighbours. Partitioned among her powerful neighbours several times, her main preoccupation is to achieve her own security. The appreciation of the Polish people that Great Britain went to war in 1939 to honour her pledge to support Poland if she were attacked, is most marked. At Cracow I had the pleasant embarrassment of being showered with flowers in the streets when it was learned that I was British. Britain's stock stands high in Poland as indeed it does almost everywhere one travels on the continent at the moment.

Yet although Poland has boundless affection and respect for Britain, the lesson of 1939 taught her that there are clear limits to what Britain could do to help Poland in any threatening situation. Several Poles however said readily that if Britain had not continued to fight alone in 1940 and 1941, the lights of freedom might indeed have been put out in Europe. I was interested to see that on the dignified and moving Warsaw war memorial, the Battle of Britain was proudly commemorated along with the Battles of Tobruk, Cassino, Falaise and Arnhem.

Each of the Polish party representatives that I talked to agreed that they must do their utmost to live at peace and in friendship with their neighbour, the U.S.S.R. The bitterness regarding the events of August and September 1939 is to some extent offset by the realization that had not the Red Army in alliance with the other Allied forces, secured the defeat of Nazi Germany—few of the twenty-four million Poles who survived the war would be alive to-day.

What of the suggestion that Poland is not so much an ally of the U.S.S.R. as a puppet—a potential Republic of the Soviet Union? I myself saw only two Red Army men in Warsaw and few more in Cracow. The Polish Vice-President, M. Barcikowski, who is President of the Supreme Court of Poland, spoke with great feeling about this question and said:

Who is in a better position than we to appreciate this imagined danger of losing our sovereignty? Sovereignty is the foundation of every one of our alliances. We shall never be reconciled to its loss, just as we never gave up fighting for it during the worst years of German terror. Those who imply that we are prepared to resign our sovereignty are very insufficiently aware of our present conditions. Our historical past and our love of freedom should prove the inanity of these rumours. Poland must be and shall be a sovereign state.

M. Barcikowski added—and all the supporters of the Polish Provisional Government that I saw emphasized the same point—that Poland anxiously desired friendly diplomatic, cultural and especially trade relations with Great Britain. The Polish people have great affection and respect for Britain which will be increased when we are able to offer more tangible evidence of our in-

terest in Poland's survival and prosperity.

The new Poland took shape at the Yalta Conference in January 1945 between representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain. It was then stated: "The three Heads of Government consider that the Eastern Frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line with digressions from it in some regions from five to eight kilometres in favour of Poland. They recognize that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the North and West Final delimitations of the Western Frontiers of Poland should thereafter await the Peace Conference." This Yalta decision meant the loss to Poland of 69,000 square miles in the east, of forty-seven per cent of its territory.

Then in July, 1945, the Polish Government was invited to the Potsdam Conference. It was agreed that final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should await the peace settlement and until then, that the former German territory east of the Oder-Neisse line and including Danzig and the portion of East Prussia not placed under the administration of the U.S.S.R.—should be placed under the administration of Poland. For Poland, as for other countries, an early and final peace settlement appears imperative.

Since July 1945, the Polish Government has in fact taken over the administration of these German territories, amounting to about 39,000 square miles. Europe east of the Oder has been the scene of vast uprooting of peoples in the last eighteen months. I was told in Warsaw that one out of every three Poles is still on the move. The difficulties in the way of this resettlement of millions of people are great. There is an acute lack of agricultural implements, horses and livestock. There is a lack of transport—I noticed that ill-fed horses drawing long carts bring in the food supplies of Warsaw. However, considerable work has been done on the land and I was told that this year ten million acres have been ploughed. Poland's land structure has been completely transformed. The big estates have been divided up. Some Poles argue that the division has been made too violently and that new holdings are too small to be economic—"too small to live in, too big to die in"—as an opponent of the Government told me in Warsaw. The average holding is from twelve to fifty acres. It must be remembered however that two-thirds of the people of Poland are farmers and farm labourers. The cry for agrarian reform and for the ending of the feudal structure of the Polish countryside, has been raised in Poland for many years. Indeed before the war, peasant leaders were sent to Polish concentration camps for advocating it.

Alongside this agrarian revolution there has been achieved the nationalization of Polish industry—though in some spheres private ownership has been allowed to continue. All factories employing over fifty workers are in theory—and I was told, usually in practice, nationalized. Industrial progress is considerable. Nearly all the Polish coal mines are in working order—Poland is now the only European country exporting any considerable quantities of coal.

What of the political scene? Poland is ruled by a Provisional Government

consisting of representatives of various political parties. Four of these parties collaborate closely together, P.P.R., the P.P.S., the S.D. and S.L. The P.P.R. is the Polish Workers' Party—successor to the Communist Party of Poland. The P.P.S. is the Polish Socialist Party, the S.D. the Democratic Party and the S.L. the Peasant Party, which must be distinguished from the P.S.L., the Polish Peasant Party under the leadership of M. Mikolajczyk. Finally, there is the S.P., the Party of Labour, which is made up of Catholic Democrats.

There have been no elections since the liberation of Poland though in July a referendum took place. I was not myself present when the referendum was held. It is characteristic of the bitterness of Poland's political life that accusation and counter-accusation as to the electoral methods used have been violent.

Whether or not free election can in fact be held in Poland in present conditions is one of the many disputed issues there and it is not merely a domestic issue but one of considerable international importance. Historical events have made the internal politics of Poland an international concern. One of the conditions of the Yalta agreement to which of course the British Government adhered and as a result of which it recognized the Polish Provisional Government, was that free and unfettered elections should be held in Poland as soon as possible. Later at Potsdam, the Polish Government promised that elections would be held in the early part of this year. There are some who accuse the Polish Government of bad faith in this matter and assert that it is their fear of defeat at the polls which prompts the delay. The Polish Government case is that present conditions in Poland make the holding of free elections almost impossible. The people are still on the move, registration is nowhere near completed and finally, terrorist groups harry the countryside and conduct frequent assassinations of State officials and of the few Jews who have survived the Nazi extermination. The British Press has reported several murders of officials appointed to run the referendum. A Minister told me that 15,000 supporters of the Government and over 800 Jews have been assassinated by these terrorist bands since the war ended, including peasants who delivered grain to the Government, school teachers and four judges.

It is this lawlessness which the Government claims as its justification for the use of its security police. Unfortunately, political animosities appear to be increasing in Poland. Members of the Polish Peasant Party and others allege intimidation and worse at the hands of these security police. On its part the Government asserts that a possible Government defeat at the polls would be followed by reaction and terror. Some of the Ministers remember that before the war they personally suffered at the hands of their opponents. The Polish Premier spent a year in prison. The Vice-Premier, Gomulka, received a ten-year sentence, M. Witos, the then leader of the Peasant Party, was sent to a concentration camp. Poland, these Ministers say, is not England—the political climate is very different. However, the pledges of Yalta and Potsdam remain and despite the undoubted difficulties that exist, the question whether or not

free elections will take place will be the touchstone by which the Western Powers will judge the Government of Poland. I was assured in Warsaw by various Government representatives that despite the difficulties, elections would take place this year.

It was reassuring to see that religious freedom does appear to prevail, in contrast to the persecution of the Polish priesthood by the Nazis. There is also an opposition press in Poland and M. Mikołajczyk's Party for instance publishes several papers. There is an intense cultural life. The universities have re-opened and in Cracow there are now 10,000 students in the University of Nicholas Copernicus.

There is immense vitality in Poland. The Polish Government might for instance have settled in Cracow, its ancient capital, with the beautiful Wawel Palace as its headquarters. But it chose the harder road of returning to Warsaw. And rapidly Warsaw is becoming a city again. Already half a million people have returned to live there. The main bridge over the Vistula is to be completed this summer. Electric light, gas, transport are functioning. Thanks to the supplies delivered by UNRRA and by the Soviet Union, and to the Polish Government's distribution and rationing machinery, actual famine is being avoided. Poland's spirit is indeed unquenchable. In the Warsaw ghetto, burnt out, flattened by SS killers, I saw a simple memorial with this inscription:

Here lie the men who died in an unexampled fight for the dignity and freedom of the Jewish people, for the freedom of Poland and for the dignity of man.

RUSSIA'S SEARCH FOR SECURITY

BY VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH

THE relations between the Soviet Union and this country are not as cordial as they were while the war was still being waged. This unhappy state of affairs cannot in any way be laid at the door of Mr. Bevin, who can rely on the support of the overwhelming majority of his countrymen for his policy. The average Russian does not understand the Englishman's point of view for the simple reason that he is not allowed to hear it, while the ordinary Englishman fails to appreciate the difference between the Anglo-Saxon conception of democracy and the Marxist variety of the Kremlin.

The Marxist theory as expressed by Lenin is that the Socialist class-less State cannot exist in a capitalist world. The capitalist States will unite to crush it, and if they cannot do so they will contrive to make its existence as uncomfortable as possible. This is the root of all Russian suspicions. The policy of Marshal Stalin's five year plans was not merely to show that Russia could emulate the capitalist nations in production but to build up her powers of resistance to an attack which he regarded as inevitable.

The Russians point to the period of intervention after the great war when many nations united to crush the 'mad dog of Europe' as they described the newly-created Socialist State. It was only war weariness which caused them to desist, and afterwards Russia was kept at arm's length. It was customary to treat M. Maisky as the leper of *corps diplomatique*, while a British representative at Geneva boasted that he never addressed M. Litvinov except strictly on business. All the latter's warnings were politely ignored until at Munich Russia suffered one of the greatest humiliations in the history of diplomacy. It was merely necessity, the Kremlin maintains, which caused Britain to join Russia in 1941, and now that Russia has ousted Germany as the leading military power in Europe, Britain will revert to her traditional foreign policy of building coalitions against just such a power. In addition to this there is the refusal to share the secrets of the atomic bomb, and the Russians are fully convinced that they have every reason for suspicion.

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The Russians are deeply resentful of the war of intervention. But they are very reticent about the reasons for and the effect of Lenin's return upon the course of the 1914-1918 war. The Germans permitted him to travel to Russia trusting that he would succeed in raising a revolution and thus put Russia out of the war. This is precisely what happened. The Russians ceased fighting

and the German divisions on the East were switched to the West in the hope that they might effect a break through before the fresh American troops arrived in force. It very nearly succeeded. The Allies regarded the Russian desertion as a treacherous stab in the back, and they sent in men and materials to those Russians who were prepared to carry on the war. Obviously these men could not subsequently be left to their fate and that is the true origin of the war of intervention. However, the Russians are perfectly correct when they say that it soon became an attempt to wipe out a dangerous revolutionary movement which might have engulfed all Europe, and it was Britain's failure to diagnose the true meaning of the Bolshevik movement which gave Hitler his chance to attempt world domination.

The Conservative Party was in office practically the entire time between the wars, and they showed a marked antipathy to the Soviet Union. The short-sightedness of the Arcos Raid was typical. It is true that the Russians were behaving in an exasperating manner, but with over a million unemployed this nation could not afford to throw away valuable markets. The Conservative attitude towards Fascism was that though it was singularly ill-suited to the British character, it was nevertheless preferable to Bolshevism, and that the dictators were a useful barrier against its spreading westward. This of course was the keynote of Ribbentrop's diplomacy and it also provided the reason for Hess's sensational flight.

We may never know what exactly lay beneath Chamberlain's foreign policy. Probably he was just a simple upright man who hoped by his example and his sincerity to convince the dictators of the folly of war. Be that as it may, the Kremlin believed and still believe that, as he waved his famous 'No War' scrap of paper on his return from Munich, he had a second in his pocket—the agreement to give Germany a free hand if she attacked Russia. Certainly the Soviet Union was in a singularly dangerous position in 1938; the purges were still in full blast, she was totally unprepared, and she had been spurned by the Western democracies. By some means or other, she had to extricate herself. Accordingly, she changed her policy and M. Litvinov was replaced by M. Molotov. M. Litvinov was more prophetic even than Mr. Churchill, and had tried in vain to build up coalitions to stem Fascist aggression before it was too late; M. Molotov sailed in on the other tack and one morning an incredulous Britain awoke to learn that the mortal foes, Russia and Germany, had signed a pact. Britain, and not Russia, was in the front line with a vengeance. It is no use blaming the Russians. It was the only possible move for them to make after Munich, and we in our turn had suffered a heavy diplomatic defeat. From Munich onwards the Government appears to have been utterly in the dark in regard to Russia's intentions, until finally it was on the verge of committing the crowning folly of all by declaring war on them over Finland.

This ill-feeling cannot be wiped out overnight. After Hitler had invaded Russia, a Cabinet Minister openly expressed his satisfaction that these two

countries should be destroying each other, as it could only add to Britain's future security. Russians do not forget easily. They are more likely than we are to take literally the cynical statement of Lord Palmerston—"England has no permanent friends, only permanent interests." They are also certain to attach great importance to Ralph Ingersoll's mischievous writings. They are not bound by ideology. They do not expect a Labour Government to cold-shoulder capitalist America and advance, cap in hand, to Socialist Russia. The first object of their foreign policy, like ours, is security. They want to see the world go Communist, and they will spare no effort, short of war, to bring it about because it will make them secure. They also believe genuinely that having once obtained it, it means a general amelioration of working conditions and increased leisure for all. They know perfectly well that a capitalist economy based on competition must inevitably prove more efficient than any Socialist society. Thus they have learnt that Lenin's dictum, that a Socialist state cannot exist in a capitalist world, is true from the economic, as well as the military, angle.

The main trouble before the Kremlin to-day is that Russian troops penetrated into Europe in such numbers. These men have seen for themselves that the workers in the capitalist countries, peoples whom they despise, like Rumanians, all enjoy a higher standard of life than they do at home. Consumer goods and minor luxuries, which are practically non-existent in Russian towns, are common in most Balkan cities. This has come as a shock and needs explaining. Everyone knows the story of the Five Year Plans. They were designed to equip Russia with capital goods so that she herself might become a large producer. The farms were collectivized and mechanized so that there should be an abundant flow of labour to the new factories. The first plan was highly successful—economically—but the wretched citizens were able to buy little beyond bare necessities; the second aimed at the release of certain luxury goods as a tonic, but the advent of Hitler forced the Russians instead to speed up defence plans.

Within a brief thirteen years, the Soviet Union effected the greatest industrial revolution in history, and it was mainly this which ruined Hitler's plans. But it meant sacrifice and privation. This was followed by devastating war in which the Russian losses—civil as well as military—were staggering, and when it was over thousands of Russian soldiers saw, contrary to what they had been told, that the capitalists had been having a far easier time than they had in their brave new world. Marshal Stalin now tells them to start again and make the same sacrifices; it is trying people very hard. He therefore trots out the old Marxist story that the capitalist countries are getting ready to attack them and that their only hope of salvation lies in further hard work and further privations. Now Marshal Stalin is not merely worried at the effect on his people of their excursion into Europe, he is genuinely perturbed at his country's weakness. His losses are far heavier than he cares to admit: he is also desperately short of industrial workers, and he cannot draw any more from the land.

Mr. Churchill's speech in the U.S.A. came as a gift from the gods for Marshal Stalin. He can now point out to his people that the great war leader, still the most influential man in world affairs, has openly suggested that the Anglo-Saxon world club together to threaten the Soviet Union, their old comrade in arms. I cannot help feeling that a more academic and less bellicose speech would have been more appropriate to the state of world affairs as well as to the University setting;—a brilliant exposition of modern democracy as seen through British and American eyes and a searching contrast with the Soviet version. None could have done it better than this great artist. An eloquent and sincere appeal by him to Marshal Stalin to join wholeheartedly in the attempt to find a common formula would have had the backing of every nation. It was surely a little premature to use the threat of the combined Empire and U.S. bases.

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What should be the British attitude? The first essential is full support for Ernest Bevin by all parties. There should be less talk of a Socialist foreign policy. This merely means that certain ignorant M.Ps. wish to alter policy simply because it was laid down by a former Conservative Minister, and further to replace all public school diplomats by Trade Unionists. It makes little or no sense, but it creates an impression of disunity which we cannot afford. Secondly, the time is ripe for a firm protest to the Kremlin against the constant attacks upon us made by their press and radio. All this propaganda is directed by the Russian Government. The situation is totally different from that of twenty years ago; all complaints then were met with the bland answer that the Kremlin Government had no control over the Comintern. That excuse cannot be put forward to-day.

In spite of this constant flow of abuse, the Soviet Union is unduly sensitive of any criticism of itself. As in all dictatorships, their rulers do not understand the meaning of the word liberty. I was given an excellent example of this before the war by no less a person than Goering. He told me that he was very anxious to visit London for the Coronation and asked whether I approved the idea. I told him very frankly that though everyone would be proud to meet the gallant ex-enemy airman, yet we could not understand his attitude towards political opponents, and especially Jews. Goering took it very calmly, but I could see that he was chagrined and deeply contemptuous. Or again, Marshal Stalin is always reported to have been sorely puzzled by the action of Lord Beaverbrook in engaging a left-wing cartoonist and actually permitting him to practise his art at his employer's expense. It was explained to him that this was a supreme example of individual liberty.

The Russians wax indignant at press criticism. Again they profess to be hurt by the robust attacks of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Scotland upon them and here they are being repaid in kind—there is a similarity of style between the hierarchy's description of our Ally's army as 'the Mongol hordes' and the popular Soviet epithet of 'Fascist Beast'. However, the Catholic

propaganda in U.S.A. is increasing, and the Kremlin counters by saying that whereas the Catholic countries like France, Italy, Spain and Eire had a poor record, it was the Communists who everywhere fought the Fascists to the end—though not, be it noted, until Russia herself was attacked. To answer like with like is the reverse of statesmanship, and such tactics are not calculated to hasten the return to normal conditions. We must protest forcefully against Soviet abuse, and, if necessary, step aside and ask UNO to investigate.

Thirdly, we must make a far wider use of broadcasting. We are only just beginning to realize as a result of its use in war, the latent power of this new medium. We must spread the Anglo-Saxon conception of democracy in every known language in every corner of the earth. If the Russians object, we must demand their reason or even offer to submit scripts for their criticism, but the British point of view must be made known.

Fourthly, there must be a stop to the talk about the inevitability of war between the English-speaking peoples and the Soviet Union. In certain circles this is constantly being stressed, especially in the U.S.A. Those remote from bombing and ignorant of privations may like to make play with war scares, but we know too much about it over here. In Britain, there are still some who regard Communism as the arch enemy of civilization. Rabid anti-Semites, they still believe that Naziism was preferable to Bolshevism, and that we chose the wrong side. In their blind hatred, they do not try to understand Communism. They wish to destroy it now by force before the secret of atomic energy is widespread. These people must realize that whereas Fascism nearly always leads to war, Communism does not rely on brute force to get its way. On the contrary, it relies on undermining the existing structure, and it is particularly successful when conditions are bad and distress is prevalent. The history of the inter-war period has shown us that the only antidote to Fascism is force, but the answer to Communism is not to talk about war but to demonstrate the advantage of a democracy whether capitalist or socialist—good wages, reasonable hours, social services, holidays with pay, etc. Under such conditions, Communism is unable to make any headway, as is the case in the U.S.A. and Great Britain.

Infinite patience is necessary. The Russians are suspicious, indeed fearful. It is hardly surprising after the stormy history of the last three decades, the Great War, the wars of intervention, the Polish war and the last war. As Marxists they fear a capitalist war, while as non-religionists they feel that the world churches regard them as outcasts. In the event of a war, they know well that they would be at the mercy of any nation such as the Americans or ourselves, who are so far ahead of them in military aviation—let alone the atomic bomb. We hold most of the cards in our hands. We can afford to be tolerant as well as patient, but we must be firm, confident in the belief that our conception of democracy is the correct one, and that its universal adoption will provide the best chance of lasting peace.

DON SAMUEL AND THE CAUDILLO

BY GEORGE PENDLE

THE relations between Great Britain and Spain during the war were unsensational. The course of events was adequately revealed to the public in the press and in the House of Commons. Nothing that is to be published hereafter can alter the story as we already know it. The principal theme was that the British Government and General Franco, in spite of their wide divergence on other matters, both needed most urgently to maintain Spanish non-belligerency. In this policy they possessed the whole-hearted support of the Spanish people, who, with a few fanatical exceptions, were weary of fighting, sick to death of all foreigners, lacking any wish to bomb or be bombed, and most unwilling to see alien troops driving across their land. For many obvious reasons General Franco disliked the British and was sympathetically inclined towards his totalitarian neighbours. He wanted the Germans and Italians to win the war (though he would have preferred that their victory be not too decisive, since he hoped to share in the spoils), and he was naturally afraid of German might. He therefore gave every possible indication in public and in private, that his sympathies were with the Axis. He accorded highly preferential treatment to Axis interests and agents in his territory. And he made frequent but vague promises of entering the war against the United Nations. He clearly understood, meanwhile, that the British Ambassador would be obliged to tolerate this state of affairs, as Great Britain could not afford to break off relations with Spain. The Caudillo played his game cannily. He realized that the Ambassador's carefully-prepared remarks and firm but so limited actions were at all times dominated by the need of keeping Spain out of hostilities, and that, in consequence, his own aims and those of Sir Samuel Hoare were substantially the same. Rarely has an Ambassador found his own interests so largely identified with those of the unfriendly head of the foreign State to which he was accredited. The fall of Franco would have been almost as embarrassing for the Allies as an open declaration of war by Spain, a quiet flank to the successive operations in the Atlantic, Africa, Italy, and France being of vital importance.

The most interesting feature of Anglo-Spanish relations during the war years was therefore the personal dealings between the British Ambassador and the Caudillo, the incompatibility of the two temperaments and of the two national outlooks which they represented. The Spaniard is apt to look upon the foreigner as a creature who lacks dignity, dedicates himself excessively to

material gain and 'progress', and gives insufficient importance to human qualities and values. This attitude is normally obscured by the natural courtesy of the Spaniard and by his acute awareness of the shortcomings of his own nation (particularly in regard to public affairs). Unlike the majority of his compatriots, General Franco has not always been polite in his dealings with inferior races such as the British, whom he evidently considers to be a gang of busybodies. The behaviour of Sir Samuel Hoare during the years 1940-1944 can only have confirmed the Caudillo in his judgment, while Sir Samuel, for his part, was most definitely nonplussed by the great man's failure to recognize and acknowledge British superiority. It is traditionally undesirable that a diplomat should see the point of view of foreign Governments, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Ambassador to Spain (with the example of Sir Nevile Henderson in mind) was constantly and unduly perplexed by the (as he names it) 'complacency' of General Franco.

Lord Templewood's *Memoirs** give a fascinating picture of the personal deadlock. Of the first meeting in 1940 the former Ambassador writes:

It was always difficult to draw him into a discussion that involved the interplay of question and answer. It was even more difficult to penetrate the cotton-wool entanglements of his amazing complacency. In my first interview, for instance, I made a cautious reference to the economic needs of Spain. Although it was common knowledge that the country was on the verge of starvation, he brushed aside my remarks by declaring that Spain needed nothing from the British Empire, and that any imports that were required would come from North Africa. Such staggering complacency made any serious discussion impossible.

In 1943 the same atmosphere prevailed:

Indeed, his complacency was almost overpowering. Here was the dictator of Spain, four hundred miles from his capital at a moment of European crisis, sitting in a comfortable smoking-room, as ready to discuss the crops and the weather or the prospects of the shooting season in the same breath as the tremendous events taking place in the world, and all the time, self-possessed, complacent and seemingly confident of his own future. My strong words, so far from setting off explosions, fizzled out in cotton wool. Was it, I asked myself, worth protesting at all?

And the final interview (1944) is recorded in the following manner:

The obvious rebuff to his advances that my words contained made not the least effect on the complacent Caudillo. Nor upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Both seemed completely sure of the future. Both were evidently convinced that Great Britain needed Spain rather than Spain Great Britain. Both were affable to the point of effusiveness and seemed surprised when I politely refused to accept a high Spanish decoration. I came away with the feeling that whatever may have been the result of my battles with the Germans I had made no impression on the Caudillo's complacency. When my friends informed me that this was too pessimistic a conclusion, I told them that the only evidence that I could find to the contrary was that in my last interview the photographs of the Pope and President Carmona of Portugal had been substituted for those of Hitler and Mussolini in the place of honour on Franco's writing-table.

* *Ambassador on Special Mission*. Collins. 16s.

If Sir Samuel Hoare was puzzled by the personality of General Franco, we may be certain that his bewilderment was reciprocated. Don Samuel was as unaccountable (from the Spanish point of view) as all Englishmen. When the Caudillo reads the translation of *Ambassador on Special Mission*, he will surely be astonished that the memoirs of such a prominent statesman should contain, amidst the shrewd summaries of events, so much shy-making material: those passages of amateur autobiography; those extracts from undistinguished letters to distinguished individuals (Lord Halifax, Lord Beaverbrook, etc.); these social column paragraphs; those self-comparisons with celebrities of the past (for examples, Canning: "Whilst therefore I became an Excellency, I remained an M.P. I was in good company. Canning had retained his seat . . .", and Wellington: "It was the fear of fear that obsessed me, the fear that I might be weak. I am not ashamed to confess it. Why should I be, when the Duke of Wellington declared 'that the one thing he was afraid of was fear'") Can this, Franco will ask, be the work of a man who, as he himself states, has been "thirty-four years in the House of Commons, four times Air Minister, First Lord of the Admiralty, Secretary of State for India, Foreign, and Home Affairs and Lord Privy Seal in the War Cabinet." The outstanding cause of perplexity for the Caudillo, however, must always be the refusal of a member of Great Britain's upper class to admit that the most urgent menace to Europe was not Hitler, but Marshal Stalin. The truth of course is that over the whole of Sir Samuel Hoare's activities in Spain there hung the shadow of Appeasement. The whisperings of the past haunt every conference and penetrate every despatch. Did General Franco, as he smiled his self-satisfied smile, as he ambled on shooting excursions, as he lolled in his armchair, postponing every decision and by postponement saving his throne, did he ever realize to what an extent the past was present in his relations with the British Ambassador? Did he ever understand that while Sir Samuel Hoare sought so eagerly and so fruitlessly to involve him in conversation, the Englishman could never have allowed their understanding to be too close and friendly? There is something of Kafka in the pilgrimage of Don Samuel: that lonely unprogressing advance towards a distant, unknown castle, which the pilgrim was never to attain and within whose walls he anyway would never have dared to linger.

A SUPREME COMMONWEALTH COURT

BY NORMAN BENTWICH

THE Premiers of the British Commonwealth, in their recent talks in London, do not appear to have discussed a question of Commonwealth relations which has too long been left in suspense. It is the formation of a Supreme Court of the British Commonwealth of Nations which should deal with differences between members, whether between a federal whole and the provinces or states that form the federation, or between one of the Dominions and another. For long there has been talk of supplementing the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council, which constitutes at present the judicial thread of Empire—a rather slender thread—by a Tribunal more equally representative of the whole Commonwealth, that could exercise these functions. The matter was discussed at the Imperial Conference of 1930, and the recommendation was then adopted for setting up an arbitral panel. But the Conference deprecated the immediate establishment of a Permanent Commonwealth Court. During the fifteen years that have elapsed nothing has been done. Yet the Statute of Westminster, 1931, the one constitutional instrument of the "singularly lawless association of the British Nations," calls for a radical change in the judicial as well as in the legislative relations of the members of the Commonwealth.

For over a century the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has adjudicated on the constitutional questions within the Dominions on the one hand, and on disputes about frontiers and territorial possession and other fundamental issues between parts of the British Empire on the other. Before the Judicial Committee was constituted in 1833, committees of the Privy Council, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, exercised authority in cases of the kind that arose in the North-American settlements: the future United States. At the same time, the Privy Council in its judicial function was the Supreme Appellate Tribunal from all the courts in the Empire in both civil and criminal matters. The King was the fountain of justice for all his subjects, and he exercised his authority through his Privy Council to which the petitions were addressed. So the Privy Council has been, and is, the most august tribunal in the world with the largest jurisdiction. It hears appeals from the Supreme Courts of all the Dominions and their provinces and states, from the Federal Courts and the High Courts of India, from the highest courts of the colonies, the protectorates and the mandates, and finally from those ex-territorial jurisdictions which the Crown still exercises in a few foreign states. It applies

every system of law, secular and religious, English, Roman, Dutch, French and Spanish, Hindu custom and Moslem institute, tribal land practice and international conventions. It has performed an invaluable function by maintaining the unity and the quality of the private law in those countries of the Empire which share the English Common Law and a large part of the Public Law.

Yet, with all these immense responsibilities, the Judicial Committee has continued to draw its authority and its membership from the same source as in the days of the Norman kings. Its judges are His Majesty's Privy Councillors in the United Kingdom. They are in great predominance British: the highest judges of the United Kingdom, the Lord-Chancellor and the ex-Lord-Chancellors, the Law-Lords who are mostly appointed from a British bench, the Lords-Justices of the British Court of Appeal. To these are added two or three persons who have held high judicial office or had long legal experience in India, and, it may be, one or two judges who have held high judicial office in the colonies. It is true that the judges of the Supreme Courts in the Dominions and now also of the Federal Court of India, who are made British Privy Councillors, are entitled to sit in the Judicial Committee; and one or two of them are called upon to form part of the Board on occasion. Nevertheless this potential membership of Dominion and Indian Judges does not in fact make the Judicial Committee truly representative of the Commonwealth; and its predominantly British composition has aroused a certain opposition in the Dominions to the maintenance of what was one of its most important imperial functions. Like the Supreme Court of the United States, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had authority to interpret the constitutions of the Dominions and the Colonies, and to determine whether the laws passed by any legislature in the Empire were constitutionally valid. That power has been exercised freely and beneficially for eighty years in relation to the constitution of Canada. A striking case of progressive interpretation of the constitution was the judgment given some twenty years ago upholding the election of women members to the Dominion Senate.

When, however, the later federations of the colonies, in Australia and South-Africa, were accomplished, there was a marked unwillingness to allow the Judicial Committee to exercise the same supervising and guiding authority. In the Imperial Act which created the Commonwealth of Australia in 1900, a provision was inserted to restrict appeals in constitutional cases from the High-Court of Australia, unless that tribunal itself certified that the question should be determined by the Privy Council. When a few years later the Union of South Africa was created, the Act of the Imperial Parliament which laid down the constitution expressly excluded all appeals to the Privy Council touching the constitution of the Union. And when, after the First World War, the Irish Free State was constituted as a dominion, the constitutional Act followed this restrictive provision of the South-African model. The interpretation of the constitution was reserved exclusively for the Supreme Court in Ireland.

The Irish Parliament was restive about the maintenance of even the slender attachment to the Crown and the Privy Council by which in civil cases a person could petition His Majesty for special leave to appeal. After the Statute of Westminster was passed, and the legislature of a dominion was no longer checked against passing a law repugnant to an Imperial Act, the Dail amended the Irish constitution so as to cancel that right of appeal by an individual to the Privy Council.

The Statute of Westminster empowered the supreme legislature in the other Dominions likewise to restrict or abolish the existing right of appeal from the Dominion to the Privy Council, if it should so choose. In Canada that power was soon exercised, but only in relation to appeals in criminal cases from the Dominion. The right of petitioning the Judicial Committee in such cases, which had long been questioned, was definitely abrogated by statute. Shortly before the war, however, a more serious limitation of the right of appeal, in regard to constitutional and civil questions, was mooted. The Parliament of Canada, no less than the Parliaments of the other Dominions, was unwilling that an outside judicial body should have the final authority over its legislative powers. The matter came to a head on account of a series of judgments given in 1937 concerning Canadian legislation about a "new deal" for workers in the Dominion. The laws were enacted in order to give effect throughout the Dominion to the conventions dealing with the weekly day of rest, a minimum wage and limit of the hours of work, which had been adopted by the International Labour Organization. The validity of the legislation was referred first by the Governor-General of Canada to the Supreme Court of the Dominion, where the judges were divided. It was then brought by special leave on appeal to the Privy Council, and the Judicial Committee advised, by a majority, that the legislation was *ultra vires* of the Dominion Parliament because it affected civil rights within each province. The resentment over this decision, based as it was on the judicial interpretation of the Constitution Act of 1867, led to the introduction of a Bill in the Canadian Parliament abolishing the right of appeal to the Privy Council altogether. The war intervened, and the Bill was not pursued, so that to-day the authority of the Judicial Committee in Canada's constitutional questions is intact, and it has, indeed, been exercised several times during the last years.

It is not to be expected that the unstable position will be maintained. Moreover, besides this vexed question of a supreme authority to interpret the constitutions of the Commonwealth, the need is constantly growing of a supreme tribunal to deal with all kinds of justiciable differences between members of the Commonwealth. It is true that the British Privy Council still has authority in such matters, and has exercised it through the Judicial Committee by virtue of an Article in the Statute of that Committee which prescribes that "it should be lawful for His Majesty to refer to the Judicial Committee for hearing and consideration any other matter whatsoever as His Majesty should think fit."

In fact, an important judicial reference of the kind was made in 1937, concerning a dispute between the Dominions of Canada and Newfoundland as to the ownership of Labrador. The Board in that case gave a judicial finding based on documents of title in a series of charters. It was notable, however, that, when in 1935 the State of Western Australia submitted a petition to the British Parliament praying for legislation to sever the State from the Australian Commonwealth, the matter was not referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council but to a joint committee of the two Houses which finally refused to receive the petition. Some years earlier, too, when the British Government was at issue with the Irish Free State concerning land annuities payable or alleged to be payable under the Anglo-Irish Treaty, Mr. De Valera would not agree to refer that dispute either to the Judicial Committee or to Commonwealth arbitration.

It is clear then that, besides the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which should continue to be the Supreme Appellate Tribunal for the Empire—in the largest sense—in respect of civil and criminal appeals of individuals, a Supreme Tribunal is required in the Commonwealth to deal with the larger and broader questions of constitutional and inter-dominion relations. It is that need which, as mentioned above, the Imperial Conference of 1930 proposed to meet by some simple arbitration machinery. The Tribunal would be appointed in each case, and would be composed of five members, drawn from within the British Commonwealth. Each party to the dispute would choose one member, a judge or jurist of distinction from a country within the Commonwealth which was not party to the dispute. It would choose also another member who might or might not be a judge or jurist, and might or might not be from the country choosing him. The four members so appointed would then nominate the chairman who must be a judge or jurist of the Empire. In fact, no tribunal on these lines has been appointed, although in 1933 a judicial body composed on a similar system did adjudicate a dispute between the Government of India and Great Britain concerning defence expenditure. It is to be noted that, when Great Britain and the Dominions adhered in 1929 to the optional clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, by which they agreed to submit to the Court disputes of a justiciable character in relation to other states adhering to the clause, they made a specific reservation concerning disputes with the government of any other member of the League which is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. These disputes should be settled "in such manner as the parties have agreed or shall agree." The Irish Free State alone of the Dominions adhered to the optional clause without making this reservation. She regarded her relations with Great Britain and the other Dominions unqualifiedly as those of sovereign states to be regulated by the principles of international law, and to be adjudicated, if necessary, by the World Court. The same reservation applies to the present International Court of Justice of the United Nations.

It is submitted that the time is ripe for considering the establishment of a Commonwealth Supreme Tribunal truly representative of the community of British nations. It might be shosen on the model of the Permanent Tribunal of International arbitration at The Hague; that is to say, each member of the Commonwealth would nominate two or three members of recognized authority. When an issue arose, constitutional or other, the parties would agree to appointing such of the permanent members of the panel as were most qualified to deal with the particular question. The matters to be referred to the Commonwealth Supreme Court need not be precisely defined any more than the matters which are referred to the International Court of Justice of the United Nations. They would embrace any legal or justiciable issue, other than civil suits of individuals. The Tribunal would be free to apply not only strict legal interpretation of statutes and documents but the general rules of international law and broad equitable principles. The Tribunal would sit in any part of the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth Supreme Court would form one of a group of supreme international tribunals, parallel with the Supreme Court of the United States, the Pan-American Court which is contemplated by the American Union, and the International Court of Justice itself which is a part of the United Nations Organization. It would provide for the judicial settlement of all legal or semi-legal questions between the diverse parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and so give a precious example of settling international issues according to the rule of law.

THE DOCTRINE OF COMMON EMPLOYMENT

BY C. GRAHAM HARDY

WITH the coming into operation of the National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Act, 1946, the law with regard to compensation for injuries to workmen arising out of and in the course of their employment enters upon a new phase. From thenceforward the compensation due becomes a matter upon which the workmen, aided of course by their employers and the State, have insured themselves; with probably a consequent easing of the previous severity of scrutiny to which their claims were subject when the liability for such compensation was imposed solely upon the employers. Although, no doubt, these changed conditions represent a considerable social advance, we must not lose sight of the fact that the common law remedy of damages for injury caused by negligence still remains; and also that it is inadvisable to abandon that remedy, as things are. The new Act places the burden of individual compensation upon the Industrial Injuries Fund, and makes the cost to the employer the same, whether his accident record be good or bad, or his trade dangerous or safe; and this may tend to some relaxation of keenness in the matter of accident prevention, at least on the part of the less conscientious type of employer. Against that possibility the common law remedy offers a safeguard; but it is a safeguard which demands improvement, especially as regards the doctrine of common employment. The following short sketch is an endeavour to state the position as it stands to-day.

By the old common law of England an employer was liable for injuries suffered by his servant, if the injury was sustained in the master's service and arose out of some form of negligence. It did not matter if the negligence was in fact that of a fellow servant and not directly that of the employer himself; the employer was still responsible. It is somewhat remarkable that until 1837 we hear so little of the exercise by injured servants of the undoubted title to damages which this state of the law conferred upon them. Presumably the reason was, partly at all events, that the work-people of the time had neither the courage nor the resources with which to assert their rights in the courts. In the year 1837, however a case did appear, that of *Priestley versus Fowler*, (3 M and W., 1.), in the course of which what came to be known as "the doctrine of common employment" was first suggested by Lord Abinger, putting a very serious limitation upon the legal rights of an injured workman as they had been previously understood to be. In this case a butcher was sued by one of his assistants in respect of injuries received through the overloading of a van.

It was held that the overloading was due to the negligence of a fellow servant; and on that ground the court refused damages, despite the fact that the master was apparently fully aware of the overloading. This decision was based upon a theory, then brought forward for the first time, that in entering upon a contract of employment, a workman undertakes the risk that negligence on the part of a fellow servant may possibly involve him in injury.

The decision is, of course, regarded to-day as bad in law, and the principle as wrongly founded. Of the decision Lord Wright said in *Radcliffe versus Ribble Motor Services*, (1939, 1 All E.R., 673.):

If, as was alleged in the declaration and found by the jury, the master was personally negligent in overloading the van, he would clearly, in modern law, be liable to the injured servant, as, indeed, he should have been on Lord Abinger's own statement that the master is bound to provide to the best of his ability for the safety of the servant in the course of his employment.

And as to the principle, he added,

I cannot help regarding it as an arbitrary departure from the rules of common law, based on a prejudiced and one-sided notion of what was called public policy, and sanctioned by no previous authority.

Even that judgment is not so severe as that of Dr. Kenny, who roundly states of the principle, "Lord Abinger planted it, Baron Alderson watered it, and the Devil gave it increase", (Select Cases on Torts, p. 90). Nevertheless, by 1858 it had become firmly embedded in the law of both England and Scotland and had been accepted by the courts of the United States of America. The position ultimately created by the decision was such that the employer could escape responsibility for injuries to his workpeople by alleging that he delegated all duties concerned in the case to a manager or foreman; and the doctrine of common employment then immediately applied, since the manager was deemed to be the fellow servant of the workman. What actually was this doctrine, of which Lord Abinger has given so imperfect an account?

In the year 1858 the House of Lords decided the *Bartonshill Coal Company versus Reid* case (3 Macq., 266.), wherein a clearer definition of the doctrine was forthcoming from Lord Cranworth. The case concerned a pit accident, in which an engine driver, through momentary negligence, failed to stop the cage at a platform and allowed it to crash into some scaffolding, whereby two miners were killed. It was held that the accident was due to the negligence of a fellow servant, and that the doctrine of common employment absolved the employer company from responsibility to the dependants. Lord Cranworth's definition was as follows:

When several workmen engage to serve a master in a common work, they know, or ought to know, the risks to which they are exposing themselves, against which their employer cannot secure them, and they must be supposed to contract with reference to such risks.

Later, in *Morgan versus Vale of Neath Railway*, (1864, 33 L.J., Q.B., 265.),

Blackburn, J. gave what has come to be regarded as the authoritative definition of the principle, quoted with approval in the House of Lords by Lord Atkin:

That principle I take to be that a servant who engages for the performance of services for compensation, does, as an implied part of the contract, take upon himself, as between himself and his master, the natural risks and perils incident to the performance of such services . . . and that where the nature of the service is such that, as a natural incident to that service the person undertaking it must be exposed to the risk of injury from the negligence of other servants of the same employer, this risk is one of the natural perils which the servant by his contract takes upon himself as between him and his master.

The harshness of this interpretation of the doctrine stands out very clearly when we remember that managers and foremen who issued orders were deemed to be fellow servants of the workmen who carried them out. It came to be softened, however, as time went on, by a series of limitations imposed upon some aspects of it. There was an increasing insistence upon the importance of certain duties of the employer. In the first place, there is the duty to use all reasonable care and diligence in selecting competent servants to do the work for which they are engaged. If cases of gross incompetency on the part of a servant are brought to the notice of the employer, and in spite of that he continues to employ the servant, the employer may find himself liable in damages if such incompetence should ultimately lead to an injury to a fellow servant. Quite clearly, if a workman is to be deemed to have accepted the risks of his employment, those risks must be as normal as competent management and suitable fellow workmen can make them. In the second place, there is the duty of using reasonable care in providing plant and materials for the employees to work with that are fit and sufficient for the purpose. If this condition is satisfied, the employer will not be responsible for any defects, unless they were such as he knew of or ought to have known of; nor will he be liable for the casual neglect of a workman in regard to the use of plant properly provided. In the third place there is the duty of providing a proper system of working. The system must have regard to the permanent or semi-permanent factors in the methods or operation of the work, particularly as regards inherent dangers; but the employer's responsibility does not extend to ensuring that precise details are carried out in full. For example, where a squad of men worked on a line without having a look-out posted, it was held that the failure could not be attributed to the employer. A very instructive case is that of *Smith versus Baker*, (1891, A.C., 325.). The plaintiff in this case was working with a drill in a cutting, whilst at the same time a crane was swinging loads of stone overhead. No particular precautions were taken to warn the men working near the crane, but when they saw the load swinging towards them, they used to move away out of danger. It was proved that they and the plaintiff had a very serious danger to the foreman, and had protested against it. It was held that this was a defective system of working, for which the employer was of his assise.

The clarification of these underlying and inescapable duties of an employer culminated in the case of *Wilson and Clyde Coal Company versus English*, (1937, 3 All E.R., 628; 1938, A.C., 57.). This case was all the stronger in its assertion of the principle because it concerned an employer who was prohibited by statute (the Coal Mines Act, 1911) from exercising the functions of a manager, owing to a lack of technical qualification. That fact, nevertheless, was not permitted to divest him of his responsibility. Of this case Lord Wright remarked in a later action that it

reaffirmed the principles laid down in Reid's case and McGuire's case (the *Bartonshill* cases) and other decisions—that the doctrine of common employment did not extend to excuse lack of due diligence on the part of the employer in the threefold duties of selection of competent employees, provision of proper appliances, and the provision of a proper system of working. (*Radcliffe versus Ribble Motor Services*, 1939.)

Allied with these three duties is the question of default in carrying out statutory obligations, resulting in injury to a workman. This point has now been definitely settled by two House of Lords decisions. In the first, *M'Mullen versus Lochgelly Iron & Steel Company*, (1933, S.C., 235; S.C., H.L., 64.), a miner was killed by a fall of roof, which, according to the requirements of the Coal Mines Act, 1911, and orders made thereunder, should have been made secure. There was no allegation of negligence or wilful default; the case was based solely on the failure of the employers to carry out a duty imposed upon them by the statute. It was held that the Act imposed upon the employers the duty of seeing that the working place was safe, and that failure on their part to fulfil a statutory obligation was negligence *per se*. This decision was followed in 1942 by the House of Lords in *Riddell versus Reid*, (1942, S.C., H.L., 51.), where a bricklayer was killed by falling from a platform. A plank had been added to the platform, and this plank projected over its end support by more than was allowed by the Building Regulations framed under the authority of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, and continued by the Factories Act, 1937. The bricklayer fell because he trod upon this projecting end of the plank. The House of Lords found, *inter alia*, that the defendant's failure to comply with a statutory obligation imposed upon him constituted negligence *per se*, for which he was civilly liable in damages, even although it might be that he would not be criminally liable.

Two other limitations imposed upon the doctrine of common employment have now to be mentioned. The first of these is that there must be a common employer to constitute common employment. Discussing this point in the leading case of *Johnson versus Lindsay*, (1891, A.C., 371.), Lord Herschel said:

It is obvious that if the exemption (the employers' exemption from liability) results, as it does according to the authorities I have cited, from the injured person having undertaken, as between himself and the person he sues, to bear the risks of his fellow servants' negligence, it can never be applicable when there is no relation between the parties from which such an undertaking can be implied.

In that case a firm of builders were engaged in erecting flats, while a firm of ironfounders were putting in fire-proof floors. An employee of the builders was injured through the negligence of an employee of the ironfounders. It was held by the House of Lords that there was no common employer and therefore there could be no common employment.

Given a common master or employer, the question will arise whether the respective servants, the injurer and the injured, were engaged upon a common or joint employment. This constitutes the second of the two limitations mentioned above; for if it can be proved that the employment was in fact not common, the doctrine cannot apply. Jeune, P., pointed out in *The Petrel* case, (1893, P. 320.) that:

If a person carried on the occupation of a banker and a brewer in different localities, and his bill clerk was run over by his drayman, it would be strange to say that the two servants were in common employment.

Where to draw the line is a question of fact in all cases. The following have been held to have been in common employment: a railway carpenter with porters; a railway labourer with a guard; a scene shifter with a chorus girl; a miner with a colliery servant; a shipmaster with a member of his crew; a colliery manager with miners; a forewoman with a child worker. It will be observed that differences in grade or status have no effect as regards common employment; the manager is a fellow servant with the workman. For that reason, negligence of a manager which cannot be construed to be the negligence of the employer will give no ground for common law damages against the employer.

The whole question of common employment was reviewed in *Radcliffe versus Ribble Motor Services*, (1939), in the course of which Lord Macmillan stated the law thus:

It is not enough for the doctrine to apply that the negligent employee and the injured employee should be in the service of a common master. They must be serving him in a common employment, or, as it was put by Lord Cranworth, L.C., engaged in a common work. The chauffeur who drives his master to the works is not in common employment with his master's employees in the works, though they have a common employer. In the ordinary case of common employment, the nature of the employment is such as to bring the employees into association with each other in carrying on some activity in common, and it is from this association that there arises the risk that one of these so engaged may be injured by the negligence of another also so engaged.

This case concerned two coaches belonging to the same proprietors, proceeding from the coast to Liverpool. While in a Liverpool street one of the coaches pulled up, and a following coach drew in behind it. The second coach, when subsequently drawing out to resume its journey, crushed the driver of the first coach and killed him. It was held that there was no common employment; each coach was operating entirely on its own, and the peril which resulted in the accident was an ordinary peril of the streets and not one involving the doctrine of fellow servant. This decision followed the lines of the judgment in *The Petrel* case, where two vessels belonging to the same owners were in

collision, and it was held that the two captains were nevertheless not in common employment. The line may be very narrowly drawn, however. How narrowly may be seen from a recent case in the Court of Session, *Miller versus Glasgow Corporation*, (1946, S.L.T. 173), where it was held that the juxtaposition of two trams, whenever it occurred, was not casual nor quite fortuitous, but a common incident in the operation of a tramway service, involving risks different in kind and degree from ordinary road risks.

We see, therefore, that very considerable limitations have been imposed, particularly during the last thirty or forty years, upon the employer's right to use the defence of common employment. These limitations may be summarized thus: first, the employer has an absolute duty to use reasonable diligence in providing (a) competent servants, (b) adequate plant and fit materials, and (c) a proper system of working; and he cannot delegate responsibility for these duties so as to plead common employment. Second, the employer has also an absolute duty, responsibility for which he cannot delegate, to carry out obligations imposed upon him by statute; and any default is deemed to be negligence *per se*. Third, there must be not only a common employer but also common employment in the sense of common work. Such limitations are not enough, however, to ensure that justice is done to work-people injured by reason of negligence. For one thing, they are hedged round by legal interpretations, which create an atmosphere of uncertainty as to the outcome of any action for damages. Moreover, they are imposed upon the operation of a doctrine which is itself of extremely doubtful validity. In the words of Lord Atkin:

At the present time the doctrine is looked at askance by judges and by text book writers. There are none to praise and very few to love. However, it is too well established to be overthrown by judicial decision. Approved by several decisions of this House, it has been accepted by the legislature, once expressly in the Employers Liability Act, 1880, and subsequently as the foundation underlying the various Workmen's Compensation Acts.

The courts, therefore, can do no more; further amendment must come from Parliament. The social conscience of to-day will be satisfied with nothing less than the complete elimination of the doctrine. We are dealing here with negligence which is not that of the injured workman himself; and by no canon of social justice can it be shown that the full penalty of that negligence should fall upon the innocent sufferer. Yet this has been the position for more than a century, modified only in so far as the judges have been able to do so, and mitigated during the last fifty years by the somewhat meagre remedies of the Workmen's Compensation Acts. It is a promising sign, however, that the Departmental Committee on Alternative Remedies, which was set up by the Coalition Government, recommends in its report (1946, Cmd. 6860), just published, that the right of action for damages for personal injury should be retained, and that the doctrine of common employment should be abolished. Legislation on these lines cannot be much longer delayed.

THE NEW JOURNALISM

BY JAMES BARTLETT

IN 1896 the *Daily Mail* appeared as the first morning newspaper designed for the hundreds of thousands of working men and women who could read but could not concentrate. Though based on the interests and desires of the working men and women whom the middle-class and upper-class motivated newspapers failed to reach, the *Daily Mail* did not exploit the psychological forces behind sex and sadism which had dominated the development of the Sunday press (and most of the cheap printed matter of the early schoolboard years). Harmsworth put his faith and money into exploiting the instinct of curiosity which had been fostered in the public he aimed at by the schools and by the new experiences brought by a fast-growing industrial environment.

He identified his readers, too, with the world in which they lived. Years later, when Alfred Harmsworth had become Lord Northcliffe, he said: "In the *Daily Mail* we paid little or no attention to the dogs which bit men, and the dogs did not like it. I mean the politicians, the bigwigs, the people who laid foundation stones and presided at banquets and opened church bazaars. On the other hand we gave the men who bit dogs such prominence as they had never had before, and we were accused of lowering the dignity of journalism."

The *Daily Mail*, with its fresh standards of news values, was a success from the start. The public was ready for it and the mechanics of newspaper distribution—cable equipment, rotary presses, special trains—were suited to the enterprise, so that copies could be read in the remote villages of England not much later than when they were being read by London's clerks on the way to work.

Within two years, sales had reached 400,000 a day and by the end of the Boer War sales were more than one million a day, the largest circulation in the world. Not even the most antagonistic of competitive newspaper proprietors could safely ignore the lessons of such success. The new journalism which had its beginnings in the evening newspapers of the 'eighties came into full power with the growth of the *Daily Mail*. By January 1900 the *Newspaper Owner*, then the trade journal of the press, stated: "The revolution in journalistic methods is a fact, and the young reporter, especially, should approach and view his work from the new standpoint."

Modern popular journalism, with its total morning newspaper circulation figures easily exceeding thirteen million copies a day, has been developed by journalists who came under the immediate influence of the reactions to Harmsworth success. Their attitude to news, for instance, has stamped a familiar

pattern into the editorial pages of our popular press.

It is worth examining the various aspects of modern news treatment. Basically, though it is difficult to express an exact definition, news is any report which both arouses interest and brings fresh information to people. The more men and women it can affect in this way the greater is the news. Thus, though not inevitably, most news is concerned with recent occurrences. The fact that Britain has a Labour government was news of the first importance on July 26, 1945, but this fact would be news now only to the extent that it might arouse the interest of anybody who has been remote from civilization since that date.

As news is valued by its nearness in time, so it is valued by its nearness in space. Local occurrences usually outweigh those more remote. In the first editions of the London *Evening Standard* earlier this year, Marshal Stalin's attitude to a Security Council controversy was main front page news but suddenly, in the late afternoon, this news came down into a corner to make room for the greater news—to London readers—that the station roof was on fire at King's Cross.

There are many elements in the assessment of what is news but, broadly speaking, news editors consider of first importance, news of conflict, news of "human interest", "sensational" news and, not least, "exclusive" news.

News of conflict is valued highly because conflict is a common and universal experience of human beings during the whole of the period between the moments they fight for breath at birth and death. Whether personal or social, conflict with people or conflict with things makes news. The front-page is the place for reports of Freddie Mills *versus* Gus Lesnevich, or the police car *versus* the smash-and-grab raiders, or the rescue of a half-drowned crew, or—of course—the battles between nations.

Wars have nurtured newspapers. The earliest news sheets in our press history were filled with news of the Thirty Years' War in Europe. The civil war brought a flood of news pamphlets. From then, war was the staple of news. The phenomenal rise in circulation of the early *Daily Mail* came with the Boer War; the six-and-a-half years of World War II have raised newspaper circulation figures to their highest point.

"Human interest" news lies in reports which are written so as to move the reader to feel some identification or some emotion in sympathy with the object of the news report. The joys and sorrows of people, their sentiments of love and hate, their behaviour as victims of circumstance, all serve as the base for human interest news. John Wight, a reporter of the *Morning Herald* in 1820, seems to have been the first journalist to have used the human interest formula, in his brief dramatized accounts of cases at Bow Street police court. But human interest has come into its own only with the popular press of the twentieth century. New contributors to a modern national news magazine, for example, are adjured: "Try to create a word-picture. Apparently trivial facts are important in giving colour to a story—the kind of tie a man wears, the house

he lives in, the cigarettes he smokes, the desk he works at."

News with human interest is not necessarily the same as "sensational" news. A sensational news report is written with deliberate over-emphasis so that the presentation to the reader will create greater emotional reaction than the worth of the news merits. This kind of news reporting plays strongly on the emotions of fear, anger or lust and it can occur by deliberate misinterpretation of events. Before the war it was recorded that a foreign correspondent in the Far East was ordered to "play up Jap-Soviet tension". When he replied that conditions were more tranquil than they had been for months, his office suggested by cable: "Better find some tension, or we'll send out a man who can." (Vernon McKenzie: *Through Turbulent Years*.)

"Exclusive" news always attracts the attention of a news editor, for in the highly competitive industry of the press (in which, nevertheless, all the main newspapers receive the same news material from the news agencies) an exclusive story which an agency reporter has failed to pick up can be a commercial asset. Wickham Steed, in his book *The Press*, comments that the *Daily Express* laid the foundation of its prosperity by beating all its competitors, again and again, in being first with news. The disadvantages of this intense rivalry, however, arise from the undue importance given to many reporters' stories which, though exclusive are essentially trivial.

Interviews, at first held in derision by established journalists, had entered American journalism nearly thirty years before W. T. Stead used them over here. R. D. Blumenfeld, on becoming editor of the *Daily Express*, introduced many of the styles and techniques of the successful *New York Herald*.

Judging by the growth of circulation figures, these attitudes to news seem to have proved sound, at least from the commercial view. But there are signs that established journalists who learned to assess news values in the North-cliffe manner would do better now to change their long-successful techniques, if they are not to be labelled by the journalists of the future as supporters of "the old journalism."

As far back as 1914, R. A. Scott-James, who had been literary editor of the *Daily News*, complained that the gravest aspect of popular journalism was that it failed to present continuous news; that any person specially interested in a given subject could not keep himself informed about it through the daily press.

On March 23, 1923, the first number of *Time*, a news-magazine invented by Henry Luce and Briton Hadden, was put on sale at American bookstalls. The two young reporters had come to the conclusion that newspapers did not satisfy a public which wanted more than day-to-day news facts. *Time* published all the news of the week likely to interest intelligent people. Containing nothing that an educated man could not understand, it was arranged logically in departments for easy reading and ready reference.

In its first year *Time* sold an average of 18,500 copies weekly without indulg-

ing in scoops, sensational reports, stunts, or high-pressure circulation drives. After twenty-three years steady circulation climbing, *Time* sells around one million-three-hundred-thousand copies every week, exclusive of its overseas sales. Two magazines in this country, *News Review* and *Cavalcade*, were modelled on *Time* lines. The success of the news-magazines is one of the signs which suggests that the reading public to-day is acquiring more staid standards than those of the *Daily Mail* public of fifty years ago.

Another sign came in 1936—again through the shrewdness of Henry Luce—when the picture news-magazine *Life* appeared, reaching one million sale after fourteen issues and now touching a circulation of four-and-a-half-million copies weekly in the United States alone. In this country, *Picture Post*, modelled on *Life*, quickly attained one million sale and *Illustrated*, too, had similar success.

These magazines have shown that the usual can be as interesting to readers as the unusual. Their sales reflect the reading public's appreciation. The normal technical problems of daily journalism are not sufficient to debar newspapers from employing the attraction of news pictures which these magazines enjoy. Wartime development of point-to-point radiophoto and wirephoto services has brought speedy transmission of news pictures with little loss of clarity for newspaper reproduction.

Another sign of the approach of a new journalism for the second part of the twentieth century comes from the newspaper field itself. The possible commercial success of the New York daily paper *PM* has a lesson for the journalists of to-day. *PM*, financed by Marshall Field, wealthy owner of the *Chicago Sun*, was started in June 1940 as a crusading, anti-authoritarian, staff-dominated paper, run without advertising. It challenged and redefined the conventional concept of news, though using a similar approach to that which Mr. Luce and Mr. Hadden had made with *Time*. It sought to give continuity and meaning to news. In Marshall Field's words:

PM comes to its conception of news with the conviction that the world of economics, politics and international affairs has become at once so dangerous and so complex that the ordinary man cannot find his way around in it without warnings and aids . . . It tries day by day, hour by hour, as the news breaks, to bring to bear upon it all the available insight, research, background and interpretation, without which the isolated conventional 'news' item is like a shout in the dark.

Last year, after running at a loss (which is understandable considering its crusading nature and its rejection of advertising) *PM* balanced its budget as its circulation approached 145,000 copies though recently it has been in difficulties again.

All these suggested examples of the signs propitious for a change in the characteristics of popular journalism come from America. This was so sixty years ago, just before the birth of the new journalism here. Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, in the ten years before Harmsworth launched his newspaper, had built large circulations for their papers by the methods of

"yellow journalism"—sensational news, political and personal scandal, large headlines, cartoons and comic strips.

But there are many indications of a new public taste from our own experience in this country. The success of Allen Lane's venture with Penguin books in 1936, followed by the successful publication of Pelican books from 1937, is a clear sign. The general election result, at variance with all editorial estimates in the popular newspapers, is another. There would not have been such faulty prediction if the press had been really *au fait* with its readers' needs and desires.

Perhaps the new journalism of the second half of this century will come about because of the influence of newcomers rather than through the established journalists. Undoubtedly, journalists—particularly editors—tend to be conservative and conventional in their calling. They would sooner copy than initiate—and this applies equally to national and local editors. Fleet Street journalism in large part is as parochial as any local journalism.

However, in the face of the indications that there are sound reasons for questioning the efficacy of the present practices of assessing news values, it is easy to overstress the change that has taken place in public taste. Critics of the modern press, outside journalism, too often base their arguments on a premiss that a newspaper should give its readers what they ought to have rather than what they want.

Newspapers, by effective presentation, can publish a certain amount of information against their readers' inclinations, but journalists cannot be expected radically to alter the function and methods of the press by trying to do the propaganda work which lies in the educationists' sphere.

Professional teachers, who long have had the opportunity to inculcate the habit of analytical judgment into prospective reading publics, might learn a lesson of journalism that any topic can be made interesting if only it is presented adequately with full regard to the impact on the reader rather than the writer. Misuse of appeals to emotion in some aspects of journalism does not condemn the use of this form of approach in imparting knowledge. The principles of editorial news treatment have lessons for educationists which largely have been ignored. "Obsessed by the apparent importance of intellectual processes," wrote Edward Glover, in the March issue of *Adult Education*, "educationists continue for most practical purposes to ignore the fact that the intellect, like all other mental instruments, operates by courtesy of emotional patterns themselves derived from the activity of our most primitive instincts."

While formal education neglects to employ the psychological methods which, consciously, or not, are used every evening at the copy desks of our popular morning newspaper offices, so will much of the reading public tolerate—and even enjoy—being exploited by such methods.

In a world in which so many people experience frustration and seek relief

from the monotony of their work and the environment of their homes, formal education might well adopt journalism's practised commandment: never be dull! The main function of a newspaper in a democracy such as ours is the regular reporting of news to its readers. In doing this it often educates its readers, but this is a consequence, not an aim. Journalists cannot compel people to read their papers. There is compulsory education in the early formative years but there is no compulsory newspaper readership later. Editors must fashion their papers to meet the likes and dislikes of their potential readers. There is no grant or other central government support for the paper which fails to hold the interest of its public. All the readers of a newspaper, if they wished, could fairly quickly compel an editor to change its appearance and content or close the paper down, merely by withholding their custom.

Editors more than teachers have greater incentive—particularly when there is falling off in circulation figures—to study the most effective means of presenting information, to question whether the reader-appeal of the material which they are publishing is over-estimated. But often an experiment in journalism is abandoned because there is no responsive reaction to it from readers, for public apathy often is more common than public interest.

When news values are based on a correct estimation of public taste there is little point in blaming the press for its assessment of news values. Good journalists must be of the people rather than outside them and the skill of an editor in assessing his public and reflecting its interests is the measure of his capabilities as a journalist. It is when this evaluation is at fault that the press justifiably might be blamed. And this appears to be the situation now.

In our modern popular press, presentation has overshadowed content in the eyes of editorial staffs. The most commercially successful popular newspaper now is the product of sub-editors more than reporters. This emphasis has brought much technical brilliance into newspaper production and has pleased readers by superficial appeal, but one or two of the more enlightened journalists have seen the danger of the trend. John Gordon, in a speech at the Institute of Journalists, said two years ago: "The sub-editor has done more to bring the modern newspaper into disrepute, to shake its readers' belief in it, than any other man in newspaper production."

With a reading public having more leisure and more willingness to concentrate than the mass reading public of 1896—(and though this statement is arguable, there is much evidence to suggest that it is true); with journalism in a post-war turmoil of transition, the time is right for the press to review its own output and adapt itself to new standards. If more sociological reporting is presented with the competence of some of the best sub-editorial techniques applied to trivial, non-consequential news stories of the past, the editors of the popular press will be able to rebut the criticism that they are out of touch with public needs.

THE FUTURE OF POETRY

BY RICHARD CHURCH

I SUPPOSE that never before in the history of mankind, has there been so much speculation about the future of the human race. Hitherto all systems of thought have been based on the belief that this world is a temporary lodging, where men and women await translation to something that is permanent. That fundamental idea has determined the way in which we have ordered our lives on earth. It has given millions of people, for several thousands of years, a faculty of patience with which to accept suffering, poverty, injustice, and all the rest of the social and material ailments.

But to-day that fundamental idea, the religious idea, and the patience that goes with it, is challenged everywhere. There are still individuals who look to another world for a recompense against the miseries of this one. But generally, in private life and in politics especially, men and women have a more immediate determination of faith. They want that promise of reward here and now. Or at least they want it here and *tomorrow*.

We may say that roughly, this change of direction in the demands of mankind, represents the new philosophy that to-day colours all scientific and political theory. It even colours our moral codes. Our very behaviour even. The crude doctrines of Karl Marx were the first gospel of this way of life, and they are still, with infinite adaptation and variation, being put to the proof.

How far have we got with this experiment in scientific determinism? On the mechanical side we are developing and ramifying like an incoming ocean tide. The United Nations Organization is the central symbol. But in all our post-war activity, industrial and domestic, social and political, the method is the same. An Ordered Plan! That is what is demanded. No longer are men and women content to let the law of the jungle control our lives. We look upon ourselves socially as adults, no matter how far short of that ideal we may fall from time to time in our private and national lives. The point is that the consciousness is there, no matter what our politics may be. And that consciousness is clumsily, slowly shaping the reorganization of a war-shattered world.

This is the background against which art is developing. What is this art, this music, painting, sculpture, architecture, and poetry? It is what it always has been; the means by which we grope our way through the dark phases of unrest, between one settled conviction and another. It marks the movements of men; their aspirations rather than their achievements. Their achievements

are marked by the establishment of law, by social organisms. But nothing static can ever contain the human genius. The law, the social organism, have to be broken, to give place to larger forms. And the breaking is done by means of the arts. They are the mechanism of creative effort.

Now what does all this signify? It suggests that there is a sort of alternating process, by which artistic creative effort gives place to ethical achievement and solidification. First the one, then the other, through the recognizable spiral forms of development, those forms by which everything in the universe from the small mollusc to the vast nebulae, appear to be shaped. And it looks as though to-day and tomorrow are finding mankind occupied with one of those characteristic phases of social and ethical consolidation: comparable, let us say, with the state and activity of society when Rome was building a unified control of the then known world. During that time the arts took a secondary place; they fell into an autumnal mood, richly coloured, often superb, as in the poetry of Horace and Virgil.

Such phases are speeded up to-day. We build in one generation what it took a century to achieve in the classical world. Within the lifetime of many of us the great fabric of Renaissance culture, with the view-points, orthodoxies, social habits and ceremonies, to which we are addicted; all this has come tumbling down. What do these values mean to the average young American? What do they signify to the young people of central Europe, many of them living like ghosts in the ruins and cellars of vanished cities? The answer to these questions is frightening, at least to older folk. The moral habits, the restraints, the courtesies and accepted ways of conduct have all gone, in an environment that to our minds looks like the jungle, the dark forest where all we can hear is the howling of the wolves, and all we can see is their gaunt ribs and their burning eyes.

But this is abnormal, a condition of social disease; the disease of war. We have come to an end of war now, and it is no foolish hope to dare to suggest that the new consolidation process, after an interruption (for that process began in the eighteenth century), is forging a social machinery which will make war a completely abhorrent and impossible thing. And along with that process will go all its corollaries. We see them in action already. The erection of machinery to guard us against poverty, disease, the obsolete devices of competitive motives, those survivals from the long ages during which nature has intimidated us. The emphasis in our generation, and probably for one or more generations to come, is not upon art, with its rebellions and its private outcry. The emphasis is upon law, and the revision of law. Society has broken down, and our immediate concern is to build it up again, giving it a legal form that will fit our new ideas. Those ideas are the fruit of our arts, because the poets, the painters, the musicians are the first legislators. They draft the spirit of our laws. That is why Shelley called them "the unacknowledged legislators of the world."

So we come to this; all the yearning, the fighting, the exploring of the arts during the last two thousand years have brought mankind to a new way of life. Pity, justice, and social duty have gradually been distilled, a sort of moral perfume, that art (and I use the word broadly, to include religious activity) has gathered from the fields of experience. It is a perfume, and it is a salve as well, to cover and heal the sores of society. That is what is happening now; the application of that healing balm. This is the predominant activity of our age, and I suspect that we shall be remembered for this, rather than for the achievement of our poets.

That is the general picture. It is the scene in which we have to consider the future of individual achievement in poetry. But the future is still a long way off, and how can we see the details, the individuals? We can see the blue line of hills, and guess at the topography from that. But the hidden flowers in the rocks, the little streams and woodlands, the surprise of beauty, intimacy and grandeur, we can hardly guess at.

But bearing in mind my suggestion that social legislation and administration will be the principal activity of mankind for many years to come, we can make a few assumptions, picturing the job that the poets will be asked to do in this great task of rebuilding society. What is happening in Russia to-day gives us a clue. It is not a very cheerful one; at least to people whose taste in poetry is rooted in the deep, rich cultural past of Europe, one that began with Homer's *Iliad*, and was still flourishing with Hardy's *Dynasts*. Russia has rejected none of its own traditional poetry. Indeed, the sale of books by the Russian classical writers, the great few who flourished before the Revolution, has increased by many millions. Pushkin, the Byronic romantic, writing in an age of aristocratic inequality and extreme artifice, is probably the most widely read poet in Russia to-day, a Russia that one would think could hardly comprehend the social setting and the consequent emotional problems immortalized in his diamond-bright verse.

But the poets of the new Russia do not appear to be writing in that tradition. They are largely vocational in their work. They have gone back to an elementary, one might say without injustice, an almost banal technique, the jog-trot of folk-song or the popular ballad. And their theme is too often chosen for them by a social conscience. Their verse is duty-verse, duty to the State and the Community. It is to be expected. Their education has been a State education, and they have grown up tied, as it were, to the State's apron strings. Will the same sort of influence show itself in English poets of the next generation; the poets who tomorrow will be children learning at State-aided schools? We cannot find an answer to that, because the incalculable factors are so many.

But we have to make allowance for a move in that direction. It is probable that there will be less personal idiosyncrasy among our poets. That is especially so if the general public is mildly educated to an unquestioning acceptance of poetry as a general factor in everyday life. It may be that the pungent, one

might almost say tonic Philistinism which so marked the industrial epoch of the nineteenth century, and thereby threw up in conflict such a violent antidote of protesting poetry, will disappear, to give place to a mild, drab and unquestioning knowledgability toward poetry. A very different thing from knowledge, passionate and vivid knowledge! Poetry will be made safe for democracy. Does that phrase mean anything? Is it a real omen of mediocrity? I am afraid that it may be.

But the historian may retort that in the Elizabethan age poetry was part of the general cultural atmosphere of everyday life. To turn a good sonnet was part of every gentleman's social accomplishment. The folk expected their popular drama to be written in verse form. Shakespeare complied, but he did not fail to show his disregard for the mob. Popularity of medium should not make for mediocrity. On the contrary, it should give a poet confidence, a sense that he is really a part of society with a definite job of work to do; work which is wanted and appreciated. The poet in constant rebellion against a society indifferent to his work and to the emotional and moral problems it enshrines, is a man living a pathological life. He is a sulky man, who has slammed his door against his neighbours. But that is how we come to look at our poets; as eccentrics, as over-sensitive creatures, soft or highbrow, with whom the average man and woman have nothing in common. It is a grossly false conception, and thank God it is passing away. Something has happened since the war of 1914 to jolt the world and especially the Anglo-Saxon world, out of its complacency and materialism. That jolt has thrown the elements of our social fabric into a more unified form, a form that requires a service from everybody, including the musicians, painters and poets. The service may be elementary and may have about it a touch of childish propaganda. But this is only a beginning. We don't know yet what the results of the new educational experiments may be. They may be disastrous. They may divide the community into two kinds; the intellectuals and the mechanics, the technicians, neither of whom understands the other, or has any means of contact. On the other hand, the mere evidence of care and service by the State toward the individual, may foster such incalculable emotional and mental responses in the children of tomorrow and their capacity for learning and æsthetic response will surprise the world. William Morris, in his lovely novel *News from Nowhere*, predicted that it would.

I will venture to prophesy that one thing is certain. The people and their poets will be closer together. And with a more fully organized education, with opportunity for all, the range of literary consciousness is not likely to shrink. I know from my own experience in wartime, that a new curiosity has awakened in the minds of the people as a whole. I have been up and down the country lecturing on poetry, and giving readings of my own and other writers' verse, and it has been a humbling and astonishing experience to find such eager enthusiasm for hearing the spoken word, amongst average people. The fact is,

of course, that there is no such thing as average people. For society is a perpetual paradox. It consists of the masses. But those masses remain individuals; the many in the one, and the one in the many. Let the politician who does not recognize this beware! If he legislates for the mass, without bearing in mind that he is legislating for the individual man, he will go down in disaster, as the totalitarian leaders have gone down. The fact that Russian society has not thrown out its revolutionary leaders, suggests that it is not totalitarian, and that its machinery of government does not commit that blasphemy against the Holy Ghost in man of ignoring the nature and needs of the individual.

Much subtlety, much idiosyncrasy, and that in a society which dragged far behind the rest of Europe, has been lost in consequence of Russian writers trying to do something different from the sophisticated poets of the Czarist régime. How much more of individual variety have we to lose in our English Pantheon; or the French? But even so, there remains something to link up with the past, an element that can at any moment, granted the right ease of conditions and environment, blossom out again in a rich, unexpected harvest of personal genius. Out of the folk emerges the individual. Look at our Border ballads. And read this poem by a Soviet poet, Mikhail Isakovsky, written during the war and awarded the Stalin Prize. You might therefore call it a State poem, produced as it were to order by an obedient member of the community, a man who is a complete product of the form which society is bound to take in the future:

I grew up in a dreary, desolate spot,
Where peasants make a bitter joke of it
That happiness wanted to ride to them
But that the rich had not permitted it.

I grew up where my father and his sire
Lived furtively on other men's estates;
Where in every peasant's hut, for centuries,
Chill penury had been the constant guest.

I grew up where mid hard, ungrateful fields
All outward roads were murky and obscure,
Where mothers rocking babies at their breasts
Sang to them of their bitter lot in store.

A strip of earth, a harrow and a plough—
That's all your native land amounted to.

And when I gaze into to-day's broad skies
I often think about those other days.

I think about the years that I lived through,
About my youth, stunted and hard and raw,
And all those things that we possess to-day
Seem to me still more precious than before.

And here is a nineteenth century folksong from the United States of America. It was sung by the field workers of the Mississippi, in Kentucky, and was brought there by Irish emigrants during the hungry 'forties:

Give me three grains of corn, mother,
Only three grains of corn,
To keep the little life I have
Till coming of the morn.

I'm dying of hunger and cold, mother,
Dying of hunger and cold;
And half the agony of such a death
My lips have never told.

I dreamed of bread in my sleep, mother;
The sight was heaven to me;
But I woke with eager famishing lips.
You had no bread for me.

What has poor Ireland done, mother,
What has poor Ireland done,
That the world looks on and sees us starve,
Perishing one by one?

Come closer to my side, Mother,
Come closer to my side,
And hold me fondly, as you held
My father when he died.

Quick, for I cannot see you, mother,
My breath is almost gone;
But mother, dear mother, ere I die,
Give me three grains of corn.

The theme of those two poems is the same: the hard lot of the agricultural worker on fields owned by absentee aristocratic landlords. But to the Russian it is now a twicetold tale, recounted by a mind moulded in a new sophistication. The pure folksong has neither comment nor prejudice; neither theory nor doctrine. It is free. It is utter poetry, a detached statement of suffering humanity. But the Russian poem has a point of view. It has an ethical and even a political purpose. It is written to a thesis, in spite of its apparent folk-like simplicity. Whether or not its bias is right (and who can deny it?) it has that bias. It is not pure, poetic expression, though Mr. Moray Williams's translation makes it sound poetic enough.

What we have to ask ourselves, in considering the poetry of the future, is how much a State-influenced consciousness is going to affect spontaneous poetic emotion. Are we destined to a literary age as coloured by dogmatism? Will our subjects be chosen for us, as subjects were chosen in medieval Europe for

most of the artists, by that first international body and mind-manipulator, the Catholic Church? For we may be certain that the people, the great masses of mankind, as they become consciously organized into an authoritative power, with more and more detailed faculty of corporate self-expression, that vast and terrible arbitrator, will make the most intimidating demands upon the individual artist.

What will then become of the individual poet with a still unlimited range of imaginative speculation, those huge activities of the mind which are beyond normal thought, functionings such as we recognize in the greatest poetry and music? There will be another rebellion by the men and women who want to walk alone, in some perilous way totally unknown to the vague authority of the new and so well-ordered society of man. These rebels will once more invoke a God, the image of something, some creative urge, that society has not, after all, been able to subdue to a civic purpose and obedience. The poets will still be in the forefront of society, attacking forms of government, and their dogmatic philosophies, in order that the ever-changing genius of man may still be free. For to-day's freedom is tomorrow's prison. The human mind is dynamic. Human laws and conventions are static. The poet has the eternal task of breaking and making those aids to human self-government. Once again we see him as the "legislator of the world", lonely and experimental, expressing the spectacle of time, the very stuff of human history.

A technically perfect society, even if it comes, will not be able to satisfy the poets. And it will not satisfy anybody else, because satisfaction contains the seed of dis-satisfaction. That is human nature, a force possessed by unlimited energy. And that is never likely to be reconciled with a static society. It never has been, and I foresee that still less will it be satisfied in the future. It is most likely that we are about to enter a period of fluid or nomadic civilization, repeating (in the way history has) some of those earlier phases in the story of the human race. Maybe another phase of social restlessness is before us, with great blocks of humanity moving about like the Arabs and the Chaldeans. Home life will possibly be something quite different from what we have known during the last two thousand years of agricultural civilization. The machine has really set us on the move again. This new way of life may even call for another set of religious symbols.

Yes—but the mysticism of life will not have been banished. Everything will have changed. But everything will be the same. The human yearning after the Unknown will be there. That yearning is always expressed by the same means; the creation of poetry. We have to recognize that, because it is the stable element in ourselves, selves that otherwise are terrifyingly strange and various.

(This article is the substance of a lecture for the National Book League.)

CORRESPONDENCE

AN INTERNATIONAL HELP BUREAU

To the Editor of THE FORTNIGHTLY,
Sir,

As a regular reader of your excellent monthly, which I think is very prominent indeed for its broad views and exactness of information, I have been somewhat puzzled by certain figures quoted in the article of Miss Anne Dacie, which appeared in your issue of June 1946.

Miss Dacie states that the total losses suffered by Czechoslovakia in the last war amounted to some 3.2 millions killed or dead during the war.

I would like to draw your attention to a document published on April 13, 1946, by the International Committee for the study of European Questions, which contains some reliable statistical data concerning the human losses suffered by the European countries in the last war.

All readers will certainly be considerably relieved to learn from this document (page 9) that Czechoslovakia's losses caused by the war 1939-1945 amounted to approximately 190,000 (nearly all civilians).

These can be compared to 1,650,000 losses suffered by Yugoslavia and 7,000,000 by the U.S.S.R.

The footnote to the table of page 9 adds, that owing to the loss of Ruthenia (which after the war has been willingly transferred to Russia by the Czechoslovak Government), and the evacuation of two million inhabitants of the Sudeten region (which has been ordered by this Government also), that country suffered an extra loss of about 3,200,000 inhabitants, which brings her population in 1946 to a total of about 12,800,000.

These losses in the number of population cannot and should not, of course, be considered as "war losses", especially as the loss of 2,000,000 Sudeten Germans is due to the action of the Czechoslovak Government itself.

Undoubtedly all true friends of Czechoslovakia will be relieved to learn that the losses of that country are considerably lower than those suggested by Miss Dacie.

I think it would be desirable to correct in this respect the figures of Miss Dacie's valuable article, as these may prove misleading to those of your readers who have not been acquainted with the figures published by the International Committee for the study of European Questions.

Yours faithfully,
S.R.

London.

Miss Anne Dacie writes from Trieste:

I am very glad S.R. has corrected my statistics which were obtained from the only available source in Belgrade at the time I wrote my article. In the case of the Czech statistics of losses, these were given me by a Czech official of the Czech Legation but doubtless they include the Sudeten Germans as mentioned in S.R.'s letter. I feel that the correction all the more points to the necessity for the particular subject of my article—an information bureau from which all information on economic questions can be easily obtained and quickly compiled.

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

MRS. MONTAGU'S LETTERS TO LORD KAMES

BY W. FORBES GRAY

THERE has been deposited in the General Register House, Edinburgh, a large collection of historical documents and correspondence from Abercainey House, Perthshire, where it has lain for upwards of a century. The material partly consists of letters from prominent literary personages to Henry Home who, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, sat on the bench of the Court of Session with the judicial title of Lord Kames. Boswell, boasting to Johnson of literary progress in Scotland, exclaimed: "But, sir, we have Lord Kames." Quick came the retort: "You have Lord Kames, keep him, ha, ha, ha! We don't envy you him."

The gibe was a trifle acrid. Jurist, author, philosopher, theologian, agriculturist, Kames was a remarkable person. Moreover he was an indefatigable correspondent, and drew into his net most of the celebrities of his time. Whatever Johnson might say, Kames's acquaintance was eagerly desired by the *literati* and "courted by ladies of the highest rank and accomplishments."

Among the latter was Mrs. Montagu, "The Queen of the Blues," who for nearly half a century held almost undisputed supremacy as hostess in the intellectual society of London. In 1766 she was the guest for several weeks of Kames at Blair-Drummond, in Perthshire, where she met several members of the brilliant coterie for which Edinburgh was then famous. From that time till Kames's death in 1782, Mrs. Montagu maintained a fairly voluminous correspondence with the Scots jurisconsult, in which she delivered her mind appetizingly—and volubly—on a variety of subjects. Some of her letters were printed by A. F. Tytler in his *Memoir of Kames*. The majority, however, were not drawn upon, and it is with these (forming part of the Abercainey Collection) that I am concerned.

One of Mrs. Montagu's early letters to Kames introduces the beautiful Jane, Duchess of Gordon, whose lineaments live for most of us in Reynolds's portrait. Sole arbitress of fashion in Edinburgh, the Duchess was also well known in London where she formed a social circle of the Tory party. Soon after the Duchess's marriage, Mrs. Montagu sought her out. She tells Kames that the Duchess "will find at my House many persons whose conversation will be a great pleasure and improvement to a well-turned mind, and she will never meet there any one whose character can cast a dark shade on those around it."

In harmony with this view card games were not permitted at Mrs. Montagu's parties, and when Kames pronounced unfavourably on the ethics of card-playing, he elicited the sympathy of his correspondent. "Your Lordship's caution against playing cards was well timed in an age when one sees bank bills passing from one fair hand to another at the Loo table." And Mrs. Montagu goes on to say that, while she has no objection to low play, she withstands card-playing because she loves conversation better.

At this time Mrs. Montagu was obsessed with the idea of procuring a "Fair Bride" for David Hume. But her efforts were brought to naught, the Scots philosopher and historian being anxious "to set out on his Travels, and, like Ulysses, wd. not be delayed by the sirens."

In 1767 Kames's son was preparing to make the "grand tour." Mrs. Montagu is informed, and she proffers advice and expounds her views on foreign travel. "In general, I do not find young people much improved by going abroad. The levity belong-

ing to youth makes some of them admire every thing that is new to them," while "those of a graver character unreasonably despise the modes and manners of other Nations." She thinks the itinerary should be largely determined by the disposition of the prospective traveller. "If the love of dissipation was the vice of the disposition, I should not send a young Person to Paris. If a love of the effeminate arts predominated, I should desire him to avoid Italy. The air of Holland is bad, and the Dutch are a disagreeable (*sic*) people. The Hague, as it contains the Ambassadors of many Nations is more agreeable and polite than the Commercial Towns." Travelling from place to place and "taking a superficial view of the beauties of Nature . . . and the external manners is all that should be aimed at."

Town and country life are contrasted in a letter, dated December 15, 1768. "It is happy for me that when the fine vision of the midsummer night's dream is over, there is a winter's tale over the social hearth that is, in its way, as engaging. I own it is less spiritual, less sublime, but tho' more vulgar and prosaick, it is so stuffed out with reality and lined with matter of fact, as not to be the less interesting." Towards the close of this epistle Mrs. Montagu plunges into party politics and abuses the Ministry for postponing the affairs of John Wilkes. "You will see in the papers barbarous and bloody murder done at this election. Fat geese, plump turkies, and well fed fowl were slain for feasting, but of the two-legged animal without feathers none were kill'd, nor do I find on enquiry that any were dangerously wounded."

On February 9, 1771, Mrs. Montagu laments she cannot send Kames "any agreeable news." She thinks "the Town rather dull actively, not passively dull. There is an insipid round of frivolous amusements, in which the old lose their dignity [and] the young dissipate their natural vivacity." The prospect of "a fine Masquerade" rejoices her no longer; and while she will continue to visit friends who frequent masks, she will "never again take the trouble of a Masquerade dress."

With more relish she announces that Thomas Warton, the Professor of Poetry at Oxford, has in preparation a *History of English Poetry*, which, she is confident, Kames will find entertaining. As the first volume of this work was not published till 1774, Mrs. Montagu must have been early apprised of what was afoot. And while dealing with a literary topic, she tells Kames that he is about to receive a copy of her "poor Essay on Shakespeare" with "a sort of inscription." Mrs. Montagu took umbrage at Voltaire's disparaging references to the dramatist, and in 1769 published anonymously an *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare*, in which a refutation of Voltaire's criticisms is attempted. The *Essay* had its detractors, but the praise of Reynolds and Lyttelton made the authoress "very happy".

When Adam Smith published his *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, Mrs. Montagu wrote to say that the author had "taken the only means to introduce another Golden Age." As for Kames's *Elements of Criticism*, she had read it four times and could hardly commend it sufficiently: "The generality of Writers in Criticism only form Criticks: your Lordship, by your admirable investigation of causes, will form Writers." Equally cordial are her references to Kames's *Sketches of the History of Man*. "As well might I have sent up a paper kite after the Eagle . . . as have hoped any comments of mine would have come even . . . with you or any chapter of your book." Still she confesses there are portions of the work regarding which she wishes she could confer.

The final letter from which quotation will be made, relates to the palatial mansion Mrs. Montagu built herself in Portman Square, where for upwards of ten years she gave dinner parties and evening receptions which gained her the title of "Mm. du Deffand of London." "All the celebrated artists in England," she writes, ". . . have done something towards embellishing my House, but its best grace is simplicity. My rooms are large and lofty, and the apartment I inhabit is admirably well disposed."

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, by K. C. Wheare. *Geoffrey Cumberlege. Oxford University Press.* 15s.

The average man instinctively associates the United States with a Federal Government just as he regards France as a centralized nation. Few appreciate how variable can be the dividing line between these two systems even when they are aware of the centralizing tendencies that today encroach more and more on every federative structure.

In his book on Federal Government, Professor Wheare has made a valuable contribution to a subject regarding which the ordinary layman's knowledge is confined to a few broad generalizations. The Professor of Public Administration at Oxford has undertaken a comparative study into the workings of Federal Government, notably in the United States, the British Dominions, and Switzerland. He explains many differences that exist in the legislation and in the practises of these countries particularly as they have to do with the relations between central and local authority. He holds no brief for any system, but by giving practical examples he illustrates many aspects of a highly varied relationship.

A continuous current of new developments has led to a no less continuous encroachment by the central on the local authority and this has taken place even when there has been no desire to increase the powers of centralization. For instance, in the United States, the Federal Authority has tried to help the States by giving these grants in aid. One consequence of this has been that the resources obtained by taxing the wealthier parts of the country have served to correct inequalities by helping the poorer régimes.

No matter how rigid may be the structure of a State, ways will always be found to adopt practises that will answer to the pressure of necessities. Professor Wheare aptly enumerates the principal forces which in recent years have been the cause for general governments increasing this authority at the cost of the regional

bodies. This has happened either by giving fresh interpretations to existing powers or else by acquiring new ones. These new necessities have been occasioned principally by "war, economic depression, the growth of the social service and the mechanical revolution in transport and industry, the last named so familiar that its existence and significance are often overlooked." Unquestionably the stresses and tensions imposed by problems of these kinds required a unitary control and have called for financial measures which only a centralized government could apply. To a large extent this has held true in the case of the social services. Also the novel extensions taken by transport and industry made their regulation and control more and more subject to national instead of to local authority.

The author rightly concludes that among the most urgent problems of the day is how to preserve local diversities together with a necessary unity and he discerns in Federalism one way of attaining this end and this in spite of the fact that the relative importance of the federal state unquestionably has declined and it is difficult to believe that it will ever again reacquire its earlier position. A scholar so well qualified as Professor Wheare may, it is hoped, one day enlarge on this subject in order to show how the functional aspects of politics will always tend to circumvent original principles. This happens even when the surface of an earlier structure is preserved. The range of illustrations selected in this book indicates the evolution that has taken place already both in newer communities like the British Dominions and in an ancient Confederation like the Swiss Republic where the federal Government had to increase its powers owing to the proximity of war.

Of all federal governments the United States is the most successful and the reason for this Professor Wheare attributes to its two party system which provides a unifier that is felt through the entire framework. Yet the party system is far from being an unqualified benefit.

To have discussed its complexities would plainly have taken the author far beyond the limits of his purpose but no reference to party will bring out its true nature without estimating also the connection it has with patronage which is inseparable from the system and is probably the strongest weapon in the President's hands.

Federal Government is a subject that treats of the relations which exist between the individual and the State at several different levels of group association. The circumstances that the unit of all government is man whether he forms part primarily of a local or of a national group, helps to explain why federal and centralized authority although opposite in theory, yet tend to shade off one into the other as problems arise that make less clear the lines of demarcation between them.

LEWIS EINSTEIN.

LANGUAGE AS A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FACTOR IN EUROPE, by Stanley Rundle. *Faber & Faber.* 12s. 6d.

In recent years language as a philological curiosity has become a favourite hobby-horse of scientific dilettanti. Basic English was on the way to becoming a cult, with Mr. Churchill as high priest: and Professor Hogben, with his *Inter-Glossa*, and Mr. Hugh Harrison in *"Exit Babel"* have had their sects of esoteric devotees. But the scientist's treatment of such a delicate and, in the last analysis, spiritual phenomenon as language is essentially bogus. Mr. Rundle has now come along with the sort of primer of linguistics which is wanted for the ordinary intelligent man (or woman) conscious of the sociological issues involved. The author deals with language in its two primary manifestations, as a means of com-

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and his contemporaries*

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Notes and Queries.

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munication and as a medium of thought. And in touching upon the barriers to social intercourse produced by language differences he brings out the astonishing fact that Europe, which is only one-fourteenth of the land surface of the globe, comprises no less than forty languages (not dialects) forming over thirty cultural groups. (Incidentally geographical language frontiers, he reminds us, as distinct from these barriers—are commonly mitigated by intermediate dialects and bilingualism.) Mr. Rundle has no panacea to offer for this unscientific fact of life, a reflection of mankind's rich diversity: his chapters on the notion of one language and one only for the world—the champions of which, as he says, never really get beyond statements of how nice it would be if there were no language problem—and on the cognate conceptions of an international auxiliary or artificial auxiliary language, deal faithfully with those pseudo-scientific chimeras. What he gives us is all the necessary elements for a serious scientific study of the living dynamics of the language problem. Part II contains a statistical survey, with numerous maps, of the actual linguistic situation in Europe to-day.

W.H.C.

HENRY THE NAVIGATOR, by Elaine Sanceau. Hutchinson, 16s.

The most glorious and productive age of Portuguese history lies within the century-and-a-half between 1380 and 1530; and the life of Henry the Navigator (1394-1460) was passed in the earlier part of this golden age, when the foundations of the Portuguese empire were laid, and before the decadence, associated with a surfeit of riches and success, had set in, or even threatened to appear.

Not a little of the success of the Portuguese exploits at this time was due to the "illustrious generation"—the five sons of King John I, who himself had assumed the royal power by universal acclamation, an act which staved off for 200 years the

threat of Castilian domination. Two of the first acts of John I, after the decisive rout of the Spaniards at Aljubarrota in 1385, were his confirmation of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance by the Treaty of Windsor in 1386 and his marriage with Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt, in 1387.

Prince Henry, the hero of the present volume, was the third son of this marriage, and Englishmen should not forget that his education undoubtedly depended to a great extent on the precepts he had learned from his mother, who appears to have been as clear-headed and determined as she was calm and saintly—a great lady of the type of Philippa of Hainault (her grandmother) and of Lady Margaret Beaufort in later years.

It is not to be wondered at that quite a considerable body of English writing has centred on Henry the Navigator, in addition to the translation of the classical work of Oliveira Martins on the sons of John I. Miss Sanceau does far more than recapitulate what has already been written; she has had access to the most recently discovered documents and has shown the greatest skill in making use of them, so that her book is very far from being a dreary biographical study. Her conversations are not fictitious; there is no reason why they should be, as contemporary writers provide a vivid record of the spoken word, and the vitality and actuality of these chronicles are in no way weakened by Miss Sanceau's translation.

A good deal of further light is thereby thrown on the character of Prince Henry, though nothing will make him other than a mysterious personage. Why, indeed, should he not be? He was born to a position of power at a time when the middle ages were in their death-throes and the new knowledge was fermenting in southern and western Europe; when new discoveries—to which the Prince himself contributed no mean part—were being made almost daily; yet when the dynastic tangles of medieval kingdoms

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still shackled the limbs of the stirring nations.

There seems to be little doubt that Henry's ideas of colonization were modern to a degree. His captains had strict injunctions, if they met any strange peoples, to make peace with them. The natives of the Gambia and Senegal who were brought back to Portugal were treated with characteristic Portuguese kindness, and, if Portugal has to share with all Europe the sin of the slave trade, it is yet true, as Miss Sanceau points out, that slavery in Portuguese-speaking countries has always been in its mildest form. The tone was set in the first instance by Prince Henry, who regarded these pagan captives as men and brothers, and souls to be saved from perdition.

How the first great step came with the discovery of Porto Santo and Madeira in 1419-23—then the Azores in 1427-32—then at last the rounding of Cape Bojador in 1434—all this is graphically related by Miss Sanceau. Equally enthralling is her account of the disaster of Tangier and the barren lustre 1436-1441; then at last began the great period of expansion, due very largely to the invention of that admirable vessel, the caravel, a Portuguese design born of the necessity for oceanic navigation.

The pace of discovery increases as the years go by. Each captain brought back a story of fresh lands approached. Miss Sanceau skilfully contrives to differentiate between their tales, and thus keeps up the interest. The alert Italian brilliance of Cadamosto's tale is quite unlike the more naïve yet sounder exploits of such pioneers as Joao Fernandes and Diogo Gomes.

In a last chapter the author sums up the achievement and character of Henry the Navigator as well as they have ever been reckoned. Whatever may be said of him, one thing is certain: he was the first to attempt the expansion of European civilization and of Christianity since the tide of Islam had barred the eastward routes.

This is a book that everyone interested in exploration, or indeed in the history of

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Europe, should read. It deserves another edition, and there are one or two flaws that might well be removed. There is no index; and the end-paper maps are grossly inadequate and full of mis-spellings. These are mere slips, however, and, after a few emendations, there is no reason why the book should not take a place in the leading ranks of historical biographies.

L. RUSSELL MUIRHEAD.

OF ANTS AND MEN, by Caryl P. Haskins. *Allen & Unwin*. 12s. 6d.

Solomon said "Go to the ant" for enlightenment. That was rather an unfortunate remark, since owing to his great reputation for wisdom, many men have actually gone to the ant with a view to making analogies between them and us. It is an exceptionally futile proceeding. Now comes Dr. Haskins who constructs a whole volume round the idea that we can find, not only analogies (who doubts it?) but significance to be read and even warning signals to be conned out of the analogies. The life of ants, it is supposed, may throw light upon our own origins and development, and even our future. That is the idea, and conscientiously throughout the book Dr. Haskins makes his analogies. Yet from first to last he completely fails to make any observation that could be taken seriously as worth making on this theme. Very often his remarks are nothing more than the feeblest kind of journalism, and he even goes so far as to label one chapter 'Fascism or Communism?' He says that the highest evolution of an ant community is "as truly a super city-state as Athens ever was." He compares the ant habit of regurgitation to that of an author writing books.

Before proceeding to emphasize that his book is nevertheless of the greatest interest on its factual side, we should perhaps say why even if the author were a thinker, thinking along such lines is futile. It is futile because it gets us nowhere. Ants live in communities and so do men. But so do birds, fishes, and many others—none in the least like the widespread

societies of men. There are agricultural ants; that is to say, they store up grain—but no child would seriously compare that with our agricultural activities. Ants make war on each other. They do not share this activity with men alone—and if they did what conclusions can we draw from it? Ants make slaves of other ants and domesticate other animals—and though you can make your analogy here, why take more than a passing notice of an interesting fact? It throws no ray of light upon our destinies. We might compare ourselves with the apes. But even there a great gulf is fixed. Life goes on, evolution goes on, but never does there come a time when any animal attains the miracle of language. This profound mystery makes superficial analogies between man and animal unprofitable.

But any reader interested in ants should not miss this book because the author is weak as a thinker. He is by no means weak as an ant specialist. He takes us farther than Huber, Fabre, or Forel. For instance we knew that the queen ant on taking up her position after the bridal flight, dispenses with her wings; but Dr. Haskins shows how the wings are then used as food for her young and manure for the fungus on which they also feed. On the subject of fungus-growing he is full and fascinating. He has a fine chapter on the history of ants and upon their distribution to-day, and is particularly interesting on the Doryline carnivorous nomads, eternally wandering and bivouacking in the forests in tents composed of their own bodies. On their sense of smell with their extended noses called antennae; on their anatomy being such as to allow life and normal behaviour for many days after decapitation; on the slavery practises that lead in the end to ultimate parasitic slavery to their own slaves; on their terrible hunger and cannibalism; and on many other aspects, Dr. Haskins produces facts of such interest that his ant-and-men theme does not seriously detract from the value of the book.

JOHN STEWART COLLIS.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BIBLE, by Stanley Cook. *Penguin*. 1s.

Dr. Cook's brief introduction to and exposition of the composition, nature and right use of the collection of writings which constitute the Bible is of course but the latest of a long series of similar introductions in many of which an uneasy task has been well done. So it has here; but Dr. Cook's work is different from most of the others in at least two important aspects. First, he realizes that he who would introduce the Bible to large sections of the contemporary generation can assume no previous familiarity whatsoever in the reader with its contents and must moreover try to introduce wholly "western" minds, with their scientific and pragmatic background, to wholly unfamiliar and oriental values and manners of thought. And secondly, that living as we do "in an age of trial and testing when one epoch of world-history is passing into another", the Bible although written around events of long ago and far away yet has an inner meaning and message of essential importance to this age.

Dr. Cook, although writing a "popular" booklet rightly assumes the reader will be willing to give reasonable thought and concentration to its contents and argument; and he who is prepared to give this will certainly find the small effort to reap a considerable reward of either new knowledge on the Bible, or fresh insight into it, or both. A suggested course of Bible reading and a carefully selected bibliography will help the new reader who wishes to pursue the subject further.

J.P.H.

MEXICAN EMPIRE, by H. Montgomery Hyde. *Macmillan*. 18s.

BUXTON THE LIBERATOR, by R. H. Mottram. *Hutchinson*. 16s.

With the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 the ceaseless efforts of Fowell Buxton and his friends to alleviate the lot of the slaves became much easier. In that same year there was born in Austria an

Archduke whose progressive intentions when he was Governor of the Lombards—Venetian portion of his brother's dominions—and, subsequently, when he embarked upon the Mexican adventure did not enjoy this good fortune. Maximilian's career has been the subject of not a few books.

This volume is justified for the light it casts on various dark episodes, such as the relations between Maximilian and the Nuncio in Mexico, when Carlota—whose mental derangement, which lasted until her death after many years, was to begin in the Vatican—irreverently suggested to Bazaine, the chief of the French contingent, that the Nuncio for his obstinacy should, as once happened at Prague, be defenestrated. The dramatic scene between the Empress Carlota and the Pope is very well described. The poor woman was driven to distraction by the Pope's inability to come to Maximilian's rescue, for Bazaine and his troops were withdrawn

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by Napoleon III. and Juarez, with his Liberal forces, was about to overwhelm him. We are told of the successes in the field of the 'brilliant' young Juarez General, Porfirio Diaz, who in later years became the almost perpetual President of his country. His attitude to the Indian majority would not have commended itself to Fowell Buxton and after his many years of power various revolutions had to be endured before the modern and far more enlightened Mexico, of which Maximilian had dreamed, came into existence.

John Lothrop Motley, the historian, happened to be the United States Minister in Vienna when Maximilian set out for the West. 'That a Prince of the House of Habsburg,' he wrote, 'should become a satrap of the Bonaparte dynasty and should sit on an American throne which could not exist for a moment but for French bayonets and French ships is most galling to all classes of Austrians.' It was less galling to the Emperor Francis Joseph, so jealous of his brother that his removal to Mexico came as a relief.

When Fowell Buxton, country-gentleman and brewer, flung himself into the Anti-Slavery cause and ultimately enjoyed a vast success he did not dream that the constitution of the negroes in the West Indies and elsewhere would be reproduced in Europe after a hundred years, the victims then having indeed to endure a more barbaric treatment. 'Elephant' Buxton, so called on account of his great size, is here shown to us in his admirable home life, interwoven as were the families of Buxton, Gurney and Hoare, to which Mr. Mottram brings to bear all his knowledge of Norfolk and, it need hardly be said, his literary skill, so that even the primness of Quaker atmosphere assumes a fascination. By the way when Buxton, near the close of his arduous life, visited Rome he compared St. Peter's favourably with the Friends' Meeting House at Plais-tow for real religion. He never went to any of the countries where negroes were held in slavery, but he was well informed as to their state. Their actual legal

position can be seen from advertisements in a Jamaica newspaper of 1826. 'Sixty dollars reward,' says one of them, 'for a brown man named Sam who absconded from the subscriber on the 11th inst. It is supposed he is gone to Trelawny as his family was sold some years ago to Robt. H. Scott, Esq. for Kinloss Estate. One pistole will be paid for lodging him in any workhouse . . . He has a sulky countenance.' No wonder. Then we read of 'A sambo woman named Ann . . . strongly suspected of being harboured by her husband a sambo man. Any person giving information of the said runaway will be suitably rewarded.' With Wilberforce Buxton was in the closest alliance; of course they had vested interests very much against them. On the other hand they had the valuable help of more than one valiant missionary.

Colonel Hyde has a far more picturesque subject than Mr. Mottram, but his book is also a serious contribution to our knowledge of those events, while Mr. Mottram is the ideal biographer of this Norfolk worthy.

HENRY BAERLEIN.

THE DUCHESS OF MALFI, by John Webster. Limited edition with illustrations by Michael Ayrton. *Sylvan Press*. 30s.

In this volume we have book-production of peacetime standard once more. The new *Sylvan Press* "Malfi" is elegantly and strongly bound, and printed, with an accuracy rare in the past seven years, in Bell type, and on a pleasing Strathmore Saxonet paper. It is a book which every reader will handle with added delight for the years of austerity in the making of books.

Mr. George Rylands, who directed the recent staging of the play at the Haymarket Theatre, and the late Charles Williams contributed prefatory essays which blend true critical insight with warm feeling for the play. Mr. Michael Ayrton's auto-lithograph illustrations, drawn direct on to the stone are com-

pletely successful; the blood of the play runs in them so that they belong in the text. One feels that the objects that compose it should make his illustration to Act V, Scene III, commonplace, but such is the artist's mastery of macabre idiom that the dead hand is instinct with the horror of the play and the picture seers into the memory.

The text used here is that of Mr. F. L. Lucas's *The Duchesse of Malfi* from his *Complete Works of John Webster*: it is scholarly, satisfying and, presumably, definitive.

"Malfi" is, for me, the most distinguished of the "tragedies of blood." It has, in the Duchess, a character which demands admiration and pity and, in Bosola, a villain who is not completely black—both rarities in the Webster and Tourneur *genre*. More important though, than the characters, is the vein of Elizabethan poetry that shows so richly through the play, which shows even in the prose as when the Duchess asks the disguised Bosola, come to murder her, "Who am I?" and he replies:

Thou art a box of worm-seed, at best, but a salvatory of green mummy: what's this flesh? a little crudded milk, fantastical puff-paste: our bodies are weaker than those paper prisons boys use to keep flies in: more contemptible: since ours is to preserve earth-worms: didst thou ever see a lark in a cage? such is the soul in the body, this world is like her little turf of grass, and the Heaven o'er our heads, like her looking glass, only gives us a miserable knowledge of the small compass of our prison.

Also from Act IV, which is the peak of the play, comes the terrifying exchange between the Duchess and Bosola—

BOSOLA. Doth not death fright you?

DUCHESS. Who would be afraid on't?

Knowing to meet such excellent company

In th'other world.

BOSOLA. Yet, methinks,

The manner of your death should

much afflict you,

This cord should terrify you?

DUCHESS. Not a whit—

What would it pleasure me, to

have my throat cut

With diamonds? or to be

smothered

With Cassia? or to be shot to death with pearls?
I know death hath ten thousand several doors
For men, to take their *Exits*:
and 'tis found
They go on such strange geometrical hinges,
You may open them both ways:
any way, for heaven's sake,
So I were out of your whispering.

From the same scene comes the ice-cold couplet, set in the dirge,

Much you had of land and rent,

Your length in clay's now competent.

Yet, a few lines later in the scene, Ferdinand, who has ordered her murder, looks at his murdered sister and speaks with the softness of

Cover her face: mine eyes dazzle: she died young.

This book presents "Malfi" to be read with delight: only the sliding-rule critic can remain unmoved by it: no poet of to-day can read it and be satisfied with his own work.

JOHN ARLOTT.

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BOOKS ON THE TABLE

MR T. S. ELIOT in his preface to *THE DARK SIDE OF THE MOON* (Faber 12s. 6d.) writes:

It is not for the nation which declared war upon Germany because of her violation of the Polish frontier, and which subsequently was glad to avail itself of Polish soldiers and airmen . . . to forget Poland . . .

and this book reminds us afresh that the problems of one country in this generation are but the problems of Europe and of the world. The anonymous author gives in detail the history of the relations between Poland and the Soviet Union from 1939 to 1945.—On the other hand, *POLAND* by Henryk Frankel (Lindsay Drummond, 12s. 6d.) is concerned with her struggles from 1772 to 1939 and stresses social and economic rather than diplomatic and political factors. The book merits the attention that this somewhat novel attitude arouses and contrives to show without bias the place that Poland must have among the United Nations.—Which serves to remind one of the philosophy of the lately dead Gertrude Stein:

The idea of enemies is awful it makes one stop remembering eternity and the fear of death. That is what enemies are. Possessions are the same as enemies only less so, they too make one forget eternity and the fear of death.

This is quoted from *WARS I HAVE SEEN* (Batsford, 15s.), still lying on the table because, as Miss Stein always wrote exactly as she thought, more than ten pages of her style at a sitting casts a sort of hypnotic spell over one's own. In fairness, however, it must be added that her last kaleidoscope is more than usually appropriate to her theme and that the thoughts are those of a brilliantly original and resourceful woman.

Youth and party government

On July 26, 1945, the voters of Great Britain corroborated Disraeli's belief that "without party, parliamentary government is impossible." A revised edition of E. Royston Pike's *POLITICAL PARTIES*

AND POLICIES (Pitman, 5s.) is a timely little history, in itself impartial, of the principles and practice of the four parties and a guide to current politics which should help future electorates to distinguish convictions based on understanding from prejudices on fear or indifference.

—The miserable story of one of those men who attempted to foist another party on to the British people is told in the *TRIAL OF WILLIAM JOYCE*, edited by J. W. Hall (Hodge, 15s.). The proceedings in the Central Criminal Court, together with the Criminal and the Lords Appeals are recorded verbatim. The prisoner probably felt nothing but contempt for the laborious building up of the case as he recalled the summary methods of his adopted country but British justice, as set out in this book, can survive any such comparisons.—Olaf Stapledon in *YOUTH AND TOMORROW* (St. Botolph Publishing Co., 4s. 6d.) would indicate how the young may avoid the pit that trapped the adolescent "Haw-haw" and, after tracing the transformation of morals and manners (often a depressing business) through the ages, he leaves us with a hope for the future, man being but a half-made creature, spiritually and psychically, and therefore overhung by unexplored immensities.

And the prefaces too!

What is there left to say about Mr. Shaw? The eulogies of the past month have endangered his centenary to the point of anticlimax. Meanwhile, though, to celebrate his ninety years and thirty-seven days it might be the most grateful tribute of all just to print the list of his mental output in its full astonishment. But as this is not practicable here, the titles of the *Penguin Million* (1s. each) published in honour of his birthday, are set forth for those who need to fill the gaps in their Shaw shelf: *PYGMALION*, *MAJOR BARBARA*, *PLAYS PLEASEANT* (*ARMS AND THE MAN*, *CANDIDA*, *THE*

MAN OF DESTINY and *YOU NEVER CAN TELL*), *PLAYS UNPLEASANT* (*WIDOWERS' HOUSES*, *THE PHILANDERER* and *MRS. WARREN'S PROFESSION*), *PLAYS FOR PURITANS* (*THE DEVIL'S DISCIPLE*, *CAESAR AND CLEOPATRA* and *CAPTAIN BRASSBOUND'S CONVERSION*), *MAN AND SUPERMAN*, *THE DOCTOR'S DILEMMA*, *SAINT JOAN*, *ANDROCLES* and *THE LION* and *THE BLACK GIRL IN SEARCH OF GOD* and *SOME LESSER TALES*. Happy man! he has seen the vindication of his teachings as few prophets have, but probably he is less content with the rôle thrust upon him of the entirely respectable sage who no longer requires the services of the apologists.

It is positively because he is quick-witted that he is long-winded. A quick eye for ideas may actually make a writer slow in reaching his goal, just as a quick eye for landscapes might make a motorist slow in reaching Brighton.

This is from one of the best books ever likely to be written about Bernard Shaw, by another genius, G. K. Chesterton.

Imagination into vision

Somewhat of an apologist too, John Masefield describes himself as an old admirer of Dante Gabriel Rossetti in his little book *THANKS BEFORE GOING* (Heinemann, 7s. 6d.). This "belated tribute" is a study of a number of the original poems of the leader of the Pre-Raphaelites and admirably fulfils a primary purpose in sending readers back to the source. He follows the aims of the Brotherhood, whose roots grew out of the romantic movement, through a period of extraordinary achievement which he thinks ended on August 4, 1914.—In the thirty years since then, William Kean Seymour has been writing poetry which betrays a sharp but not slavish ear for tradition—that is to say, he pays for beauty with beauty, and some of his earlier pieces are so full of lyrical loveliness that they deserve to be better known. In contrast, the realism of his later and "topical" poems, those concerned with the problems of war for instance, is not so satisfying. However, the opportunity to see his work

as a whole now comes with the publication of his *COLLECTED POEMS* (Robert Hale, 8s. 6d.).

Fresh air

There are unmistakable signs that the cult of the harsh and the formless, so characteristic of the later years between the wars, is losing its hold. No longer do our young shrink from rhyme as though it were accursed, no longer eschew the sharpening, the cutting, the polishing which precedes inevitably the essential sparkle. *FOR THOSE WHO ARE ALIVE* (The Fortune Press, 6s.) is an anthology of new poetry edited by Howard Sergeant and, though there are drear and sometimes dire patches, most of it is the work of men and women of the war generation who have learned above battle and death to refresh themselves, and us, at nature's inexhaustible spring.—This feeling for nature breathes like morning country wind through *THE LEAVENING AIR* (also The Fortune Press, 6s.), Howard Sergeant's own collection of verse.

The star-eyed snowdrop genuflects

Amongst the roots of rigid silver birches,

he sings.—*FLASH AND OUTBREAK* (Collins, 6s.) seems to emphasize John Whitehead's taste in flowers by displaying a rose and a butterfly on its jacket. And, as most of his verse was written during the Burma campaign and is the fruit of an individual mind it is not "begot of stunted vision upon a limited experience."—In *The Time Piece* Frank Kendon made the seasons of the year the theme of that long poem. In 1945 he won the Seatonian Prize for *EACH SILVER FLY* (Cambridge University Press 1s. 6d.), the subject prescribed being from Proverbs, chapter 16: "A just balance and scales are the Lord's." In some 250 lines he has skilfully skirted the peril of sterility that awaits the poet who works at a task not set by him.

Adventurers both

No less a man than Ibsen set Norman Ginsbury's task. He made a translation of *PEER GYNT* (Hammond, Hammond,

8s. 6d.) which was the one used by the Old Vic Company late in 1944 and now published. As he explains in his notes, he "worked on the basis of rhythm without rhyme" and the pattern of each scene is thus that of the original. All who saw the play and now read it will agree that the medium is entirely successful, and that it sounded as spontaneous as it now looks here. The book is a souvenir of value to those who delighted in the performances of Ralph Richardson as Peer and Sybil Thorndike as his mother. The whole cast being beyond praise, it is perhaps invidious to mention names, even Laurence Olivier's, who showed how well he could subordinate himself. To them all and to Tyrone Guthrie's production the twenty photograph illustrations, by re-creating the play, pay great compliment.—From Norway in the middle of the nineteenth century we turn back with C. S. Forester's LORD HORNBLOWER (*Michael Joseph*. 9s. 6d.) to the Prince Regent's England. Needless to say, Hornblower is equal to all emergencies, whether they be mutineers, Bonaparte or threatened execution. His adventures reach and sometimes surpass the standard imposed by *The Happy Return*, *A Ship of the Line*, *Flying Colours* and *The Commodore*, the preceding books in the series.

The art of the short story

There could scarcely be a sharper contrast between Hornblower and Gerrard Winstanley, the "strict churchgoer and hearer of sermons" who dominates Philip Rush's novel *FREEDOM IS THE MAN* (*Dakers*. 9s. 6d.). The now forgotten Winstanley, respected cloth merchant and freeman of the City of London, did more than protest against the Civil War of 1642. As the churchmen failed to denounce its iniquity, he left his prosperous business and safe social status to work among the poor; he proposed with their help to take over the derelict common lands which covered two-thirds of England. All this makes familiar reading to

those who have lived through the two wars of the twentieth century. How Winstanley and his diggers fared at the hands of the gentry, the clergy and General Fairfax is recounted very readably and his idealism is allowed to shine undimmed throughout the book.—Konstantin Trenev, who recently died, was a schoolmaster before he became famous as a Soviet writer. Sixteen of his short stories and a play in five acts have been collected under the title of *IN A COSSACK VILLAGE* (*Hutchinson International Authors*. 12s. 6d.) translated by J. Atkinson. Nearly all his tales are set in the Don Cossack country, where he was born, and are of peasant life both before and after the Revolution. His play, *Lyubov Yarovaya*, has been performed in most U.S.S.R. theatres during the past twenty years. He was much influenced by the satirist Gogol, by Chekhov, and by Gorky who was his friend.—The progress of the English short story may be marked at the moment by *THE CRUISE OF THE BREADWINNER*. (*Michael Joseph*. 5s.). H. E. Bates seems in this to have shaped and moulded his particular medium into a form and texture which looks very nearly perfect. There is not a superfluous word in his horribly realistic account of the few hours' voyage of a small boat off the coast of England with a captain, an engineer and a boy. How the two pilots, German and British, came to be on board with their ripped bodies and how the engineer turned into lumps of flesh on the deck is told so vividly that, while reading on the bus, one who enjoys the envy of fellow travellers for being a good sailor in the stormiest seas felt too sick to continue either the story or the journey. Eventually, however, nausea, *The Cruise of the Breadwinner* and the bus ride were all finished—and the reader is left not only with the consciousness of the utter futility of war but of the strength of the creative power it seems to have called forth in Mr. Bates.

GRACE BANYARD.

THE FORTNIGHTLY

OCTOBER, 1946

SOME PROBLEMS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

BY SIR HENRY SLESSER

THE increasing burden which is being placed by Parliament on local authorities has produced a situation which demands a thorough examination of their constitution, functions and capacity to perform their duties which can no longer be evaded. It would seem that, as at present organized, they operate under considerable handicap, in part due to historical accident, in part to failure by the legislature to consider the ability of the councils to carry out the vast responsibilities cast upon them. Reform is essential and urgent, but the form which it should take is, unfortunately, a matter of inconclusive and often acrimonious debate.

The problem has often been presented as one of discrimination between urban and rural areas—there is reason for this for, while our town administration dates from medieval or even earlier times, the counties, until 1888, were governed by the unelected Justices at quarter sessions; their districts in their present form date only from 1894—but in fact the present tendency of the legislature in matters of public health, housing, education, highway facilities and poor relief is to treat the urban and county areas in much the same manner; and moreover to-day there has grown up in many places a populated area of sub-urban type which can neither be strictly described as rural or urban. At present the country is divided primarily into two classes of area, the County, which includes the non-county borough, the urban district and the rural district (which latter is again divided into parish council areas) and the County Borough which exercises practically all local governmental functions within its boundaries. So much as to legal partition, but, in fact, of late years the County Council has gradually acquired many powers and duties formerly vested in the districts. Thus, in the matter of highway administration, this has become a county duty for the most part, other than the case of national roads, though, by delegation the County has often arranged for a district to act for it for certain roads in the district area, and, similarly, the Ministry of Transport has delegated powers to the County. Poor law, formerly administered by local guardians, is now the care of the public assistance committee of the County, though here again district guardian committees have been set up with local delegated powers but no final financial responsibility. Public health will pass to the Counties under the new dispensation in so far as local administration is concerned. Education is a county responsibility though in some places divisional executives have been constituted and indeed little but housing

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matters are now left to district rural councils, though the urban and non-county boroughs have slightly larger powers. The whole tendency in rural areas has been to transfer ultimate administration to the County Councils, with or without delegation back to the districts at the discretion of the County. One of the first questions therefore to be decided is whether there is left any place under modern conditions for district councils at all as independent elected bodies. Recent developments in the direction of joint planning committees, combining several districts and even overlapping more than one county, have further reduced the status of the districts, degrading them to the precarious position of "interim" planning authorities. Water supply, formerly a district duty, under recent legislation public and private, is being vested in joint Water Boards, often covering a whole catchment area; fire control is to become a county service, and so forth.

It is not everyone interested in local government, however, who is prepared to see the County Council become the sole power in the shires. Far reaching schemes are being advanced whereby the rural autonomy as it has existed since Saxon times would be changed at the expense or even annihilation of the County and new areas of governments set up centring round the great cities with perhaps a degree of subordinate control left to new districts, small boroughs and urban areas. Such a change would alter radically the whole structure of local country life and, as a member of a large County Council, able at first hand to realize the value of the rural outlook, which is more stable and critical than that to be found in the fortuitous congregation of city dwellers, often without any basic common way of life or interest, I do not deny that I view all such proposals for urbanizing the countryside with disquiet; on the other hand it is argued that as most modern people work in cities, even if they sleep outside—in the County of Devon, a rural county, it is said that half the population is to be found in towns—their rates should be paid to the places where they have their real interest, that the towns can afford the provision of officers of a higher efficiency than those obtainable in the Counties, that they can provide better services and that, generally, they are far more progressive and act more in accordance with the spirit of an industrial age.

The replanning of bombed cities, the institution of new towns and the development of old ones, have all been used as arguments in favour of the new "city state" conception; in so far as the matter is one of alteration of boundaries to meet new exigencies it is a matter for the new Boundary Commission, but the idea of dismembering the counties in favour of municipal administration goes much further than readjustment and will have to be decided sooner or later on some general principle. It is idle to deny that behind the agitation there lurks a political issue, for, if a conception of local government be entertained which looks to ever augmented powers and duties, it is doubtful whether the scattered organization of a large county is capable, as at present constituted, of bearing the financial or administrative strain; if, on the other

hand, the older notion of limiting local activity to the provision of basic needs is retained, such as water, highways, housing to supplement local private effort, and education, there is no reason to suppose that such functions cannot properly, nay better be performed, by a council predominantly rural in character. Until the future form of society is defined it is not easy to state what sort of local machinery will be needed; this is an argument in favour of retaining the existing structure, at any rate during the period of transition through which we are passing.

A similar conclusion would seem to arise in connection with the relation of local and central administration. Here, at present, the dependence of local authorities is masked by their titular autonomy. In reality there is scarcely a function of importance which a Council is called upon to perform where it is not necessary for it to borrow money from governmental sources, with the inevitable consequent requirement of inspection, valuation and approval. Moreover, during the last hundred years, beginning with the Poor Law, strong government departments have been set up, one of whose principal duties has been to superintend or direct local activities. In addition many former obligations, such as the care of the able bodied unemployed, have recently been taken away from the area of local government altogether, and the new insurance acts will still further diminish local powers. As has been said, many highways have been declared "National". The curriculum of education is finally determined in Whitehall; the National Health Service will tend in the same direction, so that while the towns are menacing the counties, both are slowly being brought under central domination, disguised sometimes by a regional administration. Here then is another problem ripe for determination. how far is centralization to go?

A notion has been growing for some time that it is the purpose of local government to implement Government designs—at the last local elections voters were asked to support Labour candidates for this reason; doubtless had we a Conservative government in power the argument would be used to work the other way—but the whole outlook of local government as the servant of the central executive is one which must almost certainly work to weaken local independence. Indeed the introduction of party politics into local elections has had that effect already. In towns, the party agent, the canvass and, in the council, the Caucus and the Whip have already made their appearance, and even in the counties, the challenge of Labour has made the sitting members, mostly so far regarded as "independent", more conscious of their political affiliations and more reliant upon party machines for their return. The future of the true independent, that is a candidate who is without political contacts both in the Council and outside it will become inevitably more and more precarious. Party programmes may come to include local as well as national policies, candidates for councils will by being elected promote their chances of being selected for Westminster and the security of the disinterested councillor, concerned

only for local welfare, who recognizes that the Councils do not legislate but only administer, and that in them politics are consequently out of place, is rapidly disappearing. The effect on local affairs of having the whole council elected on political lines is not easy to forecast. In many large cities it has already come; when it permeates the counties one more distinction between municipal and rural government will have disappeared.

I turn next to the machinery of administration within the council. As is generally known, this is effected by means of committees, some "standing", to discharge permanent duties, some appointed for especial purposes. In so far as their recommendations require money, the Finance Committee approves or disapproves the expenditure, and the Council must decide between the conflicting views of the spending and conserving committee. As a rule, however, there is agreement, if only because the leading members of a council generally have seats on both committees. Whatever deficiencies may be found in our present system, it is generally conceded that the committee system suits local government best; in theory its personnel should be recruited from those most expert and interested in the particular work of the committee, but, in practice, where political interests dominate the Council, it must be admitted that the system of giving each party its proportionate representation on committees leads often to the exclusion of persons otherwise most fitted to serve. The Chairmanship of a committee, an office of ever increasing importance, is usually given to a member of the "party in power"—for local government, like parliamentary, develops its own conventions, and very soon a "cabinet" makes its appearance and demands adherence from its side; the threat of withdrawal of support at the next election being usually a sufficient sanction to command obedience.

In the less political counties and in rural districts things have not yet come to such a pass. There, seniority, status in the county, and even capacity, operate to influence the selection of the Chairmen. The Chairmen in some counties themselves form a committee and recommend to the Council the selection of committee members and other nominations. As these Chairmen are usually aldermen or elder statesmen their advice is almost invariably followed—thus in the counties there is danger that government may be conducted by a Venetian oligarchy, in towns by a "democratic" *junta*. Both systems tend to exclude from power those who tend to depart from the accepted standards of behaviour, though such criteria differ in town and country. Oratory and polemics are, on the whole, discounted in County areas, but land holding, ancestry and good manners are not without their effect.

The importance of the Chairmen, which is scarcely recognized by the general public, lies in the fact that, normally, they are the means of contact between the committee and its officials, secondly that they often direct what business shall be placed before the committee and when it should meet, and, thirdly that it is their duty to report the decisions of the committee to the council—

indeed under modern conditions it is not too much to say that a powerful chairman may very readily become indistinguishable from a cabinet minister. The Chairman of the Council is a person of more dignity of office, but often of less actual power; after the committees have had their say there is little for the Chairman of the Council to do. The meetings of most county councils, in most cases held quarterly (this, like the duplicate appointment of the clerk who is usually clerk of the peace, perhaps a relic of the Quarter Sessions), tend to become merely formal save where there is a dispute between two committees, resolutions of a general nature are discouraged and opinions of persons not acquainted at first hand with the affairs of a committee given little weight. The Chairman has no robes, no chain of office; in this his severely Victorian status contrasts with the medieval splendour of the Mayor with mace, chain and mantle, so also County aldermen have no robes and often sit mixed with the elected members; as a rule they are re-elected for life at intervals of six years, whereas in the political towns the office is often used to swell or to maintain a precarious majority or given as the reward of political services. The practice of sharing aldermen in proportion to the strength of parties is becoming less usual as the acerbities of municipal politics increase.

The selection of the officials of the Councils at the present time is in the discretion of the Council. With the exception of a few large cities and the county of London, local authorities do not possess the means to examine candidates for office and have to rely on interviews, testimonials and qualifications in the form of degrees or experience. Nothing comparable with the civil service commission exists, but, with the great, even alarming, growth of employment among local governing bodies, the problem how competently to staff the authority cannot much longer be ignored. With counties and the larger boroughs the selection of the lower ranking officers is often left to the Clerk, the chief Accountant, the Solicitor or other head of a department, but the smaller bodies are generally jealous of their patronage and often insist upon promoting the candidatures of the humblest of their employees, a selection ultimately to be decided, if necessary, by vote.

How far local influence works to secure certain selections it is not easy to decide, but it may fairly be said that, as a rule, local government is still in the patronage state—no objective and disinterested examination of candidates for various municipal employments, such as exist in the case of national civil servants, has yet found favour. This discrimination cannot be justified on the ground of lesser importance. The clerk of a large County Borough often administers an area with the population and revenue of a small state; while a second class civil service clerk is properly examined, the town clerk of a great city escapes all obligation to submit himself to such an independent test.

The demand for expert planners of local areas has produced a need for a new type of municipal officer; the duties and functions of education officers, medical officers of health, surveyors of highways and sanitation, valuers, public

assistance officials, librarians and superintendents of hospitals are daily enlarging, as are the numbers of such officials and their subordinates required. To those who are required to compile "short lists" for consideration by committees, the existence of a panel of persons who have already been tested for their knowledge by some body with an especial duty for this purpose, would, I imagine, be most welcome.

The standing of the official must to some extent depend upon the remuneration to be offered to him—there are now scales or conventions which govern these matters. Joint industrial boards exist to fix the rates of wages for the less responsible employees—in all this matter. It is idle to suggest that a small and impecunious authority is not at great disadvantage in obtaining the services of the most competent officials, and it is hoped that this fact will be borne in mind when suggestions for the reorganization of local government are finally considered.

The relation of the officer to the Council and its Committees is a delicate one. In county areas a committee, such as that dealing with education or public health may meet only once a quarter; between these intervals action has often to be taken and the only representative available may well be the Chairman of a Committee and even then there must always remain over a large area of business in which the official must take the responsibility of decision. The personality of those exercising powers of direction will determine where the real initiative lies, but as the work becomes more and more onerous it is obvious that the salaried head of a department must in fact have greater and greater authority. This, it may be stated, is not the result of a zest for power on his part, it is the inevitable result of staffing committees by persons who often have other occupations to attend to, who may live at a distance from the County offices, or who may lack the necessary technical knowledge to correct or criticize the action of the trained and experienced departmental chief. If we compare the position of a cabinet minister, a full time employment served with secretaries and staff and liable to parliamentary criticism with that of the Chairman of a municipal committee, still more of a county one, it will be seen at once that the opportunities for control are far less in the case of local than of national government.

Another question, calling for consideration, is the transference of officials from one local authority to another. Here, subject to their particular contracts, there is no possible direction as exists in the case of the civil servant and no higher authority to promote them to more important office. Indeed the efficient clerk to a small local authority is frequently urged to remain where he is without any particular prospects, if he is popular with his employers. On the other hand, dismissal is extremely rare and in many cases incompetence suffered, for the avoidance of local gossip. If local service is as important in its own sphere as the national, surely some scheme of recompense and advancement for the ambitious official should be devised; at present there

none.

Thus, when the present position of the local officer is considered, the regretful conclusion must be arrived at that his position, power and status are in as confused condition as any other of the dilemmas of local government—though, on the whole, they have received less attention than have the problems of boundaries or finance.

The dependence of local authorities on governmental assistance has been touched upon but demands further elucidation. The rateable value of many county areas is little more than a half of their expenditure and is in the neighbourhood, on the average, of about ten shillings in the £, in boroughs it is higher, but in any case a very large proportion of the local expenditure is found out of government monies, either by annual grants or by processes of loan. This is not the place to discuss the various manners in which the central authority or Parliament can finance the local authorities. In some cases conditions are imposed as to efficiency and inspection, in others, as in recoupment of derating, no such requirements are made. In any case, to a student of local government, it is clear that the whole endowment is one made without any consistent method and is yet another matter calling for rectification. A problem even more fundamental than that of the adjustment of local and central responsibility is however raised by the whole rating system. The valuations of property which are carried on by district valuation committees, almost independently of the council, subject to certain rights of appeal, are based upon no satisfactory principle, nor can it be said without qualification that the method of raising local revenue out of rates, solely on the real property in its neighbourhood, can be accepted without doubt in an age when the acquisition of income has so often so little relation to the ownership or occupation of land. The system, or want of it, dates from the poor law of Elizabeth when England was an agricultural country; to-day things have so altered that, on the whole, agricultural land is exempt from rating. Other means of raising local revenue, a local income tax, the retention of part of the national income tax in local hands and other devices have been suggested.

The present crisis in local government (for so we may fairly describe it) is due in part to the fact that the legislature, which formerly as a rule gave to the Councils optional powers, has of late imposed upon them obligatory duties to prepare schemes of various kinds and, when approved by a minister, to carry them into effect. Curiously, however, in one of the most urgent matters now engaging attention, that of housing, no obligation has been placed upon local authorities to build according to the local needs; no means of ascertainment of shortage has been devised and no method of dealing with housing shortages—all is left to the doubtful vigour of the local district council, which is just as likely to display apathy as zeal. In educational matters, on the other hand, compulsion is more apparent. We may search the statutes to find any principle upon which Parliament decides whether to compel or merely to em-

power—certainly the action taken does not depend upon need. One is inclined to think that the decision rests with the whim of the particular department or minister; in any event the local authorities themselves are rarely consulted as to their power, financial or otherwise, to bear the intended new burden, nor are their associations as often brought into the matter as might be desired. Here again is a matter demanding fresh investigation: how far and when is it expedient to require a local authority to carry out any specific duty?

Finally there remains the almost insoluble special problem of London and its environs. The County area here does not cover anything like the total urban district which may fairly be called the metropolis. The London police district, itself for so long regarded as definitive of greater London, is now insufficient to compass it. Within the County area are the statutory Metropolitan boroughs, without are urban districts, boroughs and some five counties; even districts nominally rural are not unknown. Is it expedient to create a huge county or county borough sufficiently large to cover the immense population, or how otherwise can this vast conglomeration of people best have their social welfare preserved? An enquiry is now proceeding in the matter of London government and perhaps it will be wisest to say no more until its report is published; meanwhile it is sufficient to point out the confusions of the present situation.

Readers of Arnold Bennett's *Clayhanger* will remember how the old miserly printer attempts to fix heavy machinery upon a defective upper floor, with results very nearly disastrous; as it seems, our present local government is in very similar precarious condition. Legislation, Orders, Schemes and other mandates are continually increasing the burden upon local authorities and their officers; meanwhile little is done to reorganize the structure which has to sustain these ever enlarging responsibilities. Royal Commissions have sat and reported, enquiries are endemic, but so far little effectual reform has resulted from them. It must be realized that in the field of local government a vast entanglement of vested interests, decayed traditions and sentimentalities coupled with a genuine desire to conserve what is still vital, meet the would be reformer at every turn. Many old customs and habits deserve preservation, and were it not for the assumption that increase of local government functions is one of the means of effecting a revolution in our social life, things might well be allowed to continue as in the past; the trouble is that while parliamentary institutions have adapted themselves to novel requirements, local government, being perhaps less elastic through its statutory limitations, has failed on the whole to cope with its new obligations. How and where the necessary changes must take place, it is not for this article to suggest—it is sufficient to emphasize the great urgency for action if a partial breakdown is to be avoided.

WORLD SECURITY AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE

By W. T. WELLS, M.P.

ON the last day that the House of Commons sat before the Summer Recess, it devoted an hour to the discussion of a motion in which Mr. J. H. Martin, the member for Central Southwark, said: "I want the House to consider the part which the British Commonwealth of Nations and ourselves have to play in the problem, first of the abolition of war, and second in security." The brief time accorded on this occasion to this vast and complex subject could not fairly be represented as an indication of the importance that the House attaches to it, but there is an undeniable temptation, at the end of a great war, to ignore, amid the pressure of political and economic reconstruction, the problems of strategy on which the question of peace or war may hinge in the generation ahead. At the end of no war have these problems been more urgent than they are now. The ambitious attempt to create an international organization that will succeed in the place of that which was allowed to fail, and the menace of unparalleled destruction held by the atom bomb, itself "neither the last nor the worst weapon which could be used against humanity",* have made it more imperative than ever to place the organization of security on a firm foundation. While peace ultimately depends on international co-operation and goodwill, the strength or weakness of these will show itself in the success or failure of the security arrangements.

It is manifest that the strength of the whole will depend on the strength of the parts. After the war of 1914-1918 a school of thought had great influence, in Great Britain at any rate, which held that the main cause of international friction and therefore of war was suspicion, and since the great majority of people in all lands wants to live in peace it argued that this suspicion was unjustified. Failing to take sufficient note of the unawareness of all but a small minority in any country of the causes of war, and consequently of the demands that the public makes of politicians in the expectation that peaceful persuasion will obtain them, this school argued that disarmament must precede security, which was a state of mind rather than a material condition. The result of acting on this opinion in a world which, as the Cluniac hymn-writer reminds us, is very evil, was to make the well-intentioned weak and the evil-minded strong.

This fallacy has but few influential adherents to-day; perhaps indeed the

* As Dr. Haden Guest pointed out in a debate on the Atomic Energy Commission. (*Hansard*, August 2, 1946, col. 1382.)

pendulum has swung too far in the opposite direction, and we are too prone to forget, among the English-speaking nations, what serious obstacles to peace fear and suspicion can and do erect. Strength in the right hands is an object of policy which few would disclaim, and equally few citizens of this country or of the Dominions and Colonies would question that the British Empire was one of the hands which should firmly grasp a sword. To maintain so loosely-knit an organization as the Empire in a condition of military strength in time of peace, and, having attained that objective, to ensure that this strength shall enure to the benefit of the United Nations and not be a source of division among them, are aims which, however unquestionable in themselves, present baffling problems in fulfilment.

A vivid example of these difficulties Mr. Martin gave in the Commons debate in his references to the position of the Dominion of Canada *vis-à-vis* the Joint Defence Board with the United States on the one hand and Great Britain and the rest of the Empire on the other. As a self-governing Dominion of the British Empire Canada is committed to standardizing many articles of equipment and to exchanging officers with the other countries of the Empire. As a member of the Joint Defence Board she is equally committed to a policy of mutual protection with the United States in the event of war. In the former capacity she is linked with an organization whose responsibilities and commitments are world-wide. In the latter she is part of a regional organization for defence distinct from, and which might conceivably have a policy opposed to, that of the Empire. While a wide divergence in policy between the two groups seems unlikely, their separate existence does impose a certain limit on the planning of Imperial defence, for it is by no means certain that this duality of attachment will be confined to Canada.

The question here involved is important. Articles 52 and 53 of the Charter of the United Nations envisage and indeed encourage regional arrangements and agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security, and once war had broken out it is clear that such organizations as the American Joint Defence Board would play a great part. On the other hand it is clear that in the foreseeable future, at least, world peace will depend on the co-operation of the world powers, of whom Soviet Russia tends to regard regional defence arrangements as being directed against herself; and while it is not always the best way to obtain Soviet co-operation to give way, there seems little doubt but that regional defence arrangements in Europe will lead to friction with Russia, of which there is already quite enough to militate against the work of the United Nations Organization without adding any further causes of it. Thus while some countries within the Empire are to have the benefit of a regional organization, Great Britain, for the present at least, must do without it, and her efforts must be concentrated on perfecting the Empire's organization. At the Conference of Empire Premiers held this year Great Britain clearly took this line, while Canada, and possibly other countries, sought to avoid formal en-

agements. In the organization of defence there is, consequently, a difference of emphasis between this country and certain of the Dominions; it would be pessimistic, however, to the point of unreality to exaggerate this difference into a conflict of interest, for the stronger the position of the Dominions, whether through regional arrangements or otherwise, the stronger are the United Kingdom and the whole Empire. Further, the Dominions realize that the United Kingdom cannot play so predominant a part as formerly in the defence of the Empire as a whole: in the words of Mr. Chifley, "it was recognized that Australia must, in future, make a larger contribution towards the defence of the British Commonwealth."

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Viewed against this background, what are the tasks that face the United Kingdom in playing its part in Imperial strategy and world security? These would seem to be:—

1. To maintain a system of inter-imperial transport and communications.
2. To carry out obligations assumed in agreement either with the other Great Powers or with the United Nations as a whole—regarding, for example, the occupation of Germany.
3. To co-ordinate training, so far as possible planning, and the provision and standardization of equipment throughout the Empire.

These duties can be summarized by saying that we have to take the lead, within the Empire, in providing for present needs and in preparing for future ones. There may be a certain measure of conflict between these two, for the pressure of present needs is intense, and the money and technical man-power available for the two purposes are not unlimited, while it may be that the new weapons and methods of scientific warfare now in being or in development may so revolutionize the whole nature of the problem as to render all present provision obsolete in a few years: it may be so, although previous inventions have nearly always complicated warfare without wholly superseding the old weapons. British forces, for example, used the bow and arrow in the war just over, and their skill with them in some sort helped our Commando troops to assert their superiority over the enemy as it enabled their forebears of six centuries ago to win the field of Crecy.

With this dual problem before us, in a period certainly of transition from war to peace, and probably from one period in the long history of human conflict to another, we have to decide how to organize our forces, how to supply them, and, perhaps most controversial of all, how to recruit them.

It is a commonplace that in the 1939-1945 war co-operation between the Navy, Army, and Royal Air Force was developed to a higher pitch than inter-service organization had been carried in any previous war. The Chiefs of Staffs Com-

mittee, presided over by the Prime Minister as Minister of Defence, was the apex of a system which comprised planning, intelligence, and many other activities. In the later phases of the war, in each major theatre of war there was a Supreme Commander who had under his control executive commanders of each of the three Services. These developments have given rise to two questions. Is there any need to have separate Service Departments, and could not a single Ministry of Defence eliminate much overlapping and unnecessary complication? Could not, some even go further to ask, the three Services be amalgamated into one?

During the war, while the Services frequently operated as one, and to a large extent had their equipment supplied through the common channel of the Ministry of Supply, they were consistently administered as different entities, with different wants and, indeed, with by no means uniform standards of living. Since the war, pay codes have been standardized and there is a strong case to be made for carrying the process of standardization a great deal further, both in settling conditions of service and in the provision of services and of equipment. Why, for example, should the three Service Departments maintain separate organizations of chaplains and doctors? Christianity at sea presumably does not differ very much in fundamentals from Christianity on land; and although naval doctors no doubt have more experience of sea-sickness than their military colleagues, appendicitis and influenza probably affect sailors in much the same way as they do soldiers and airmen. And while it is clear that the three Services will have a number of different requirements for equipment, the mere fact of having to approach the Ministry of Defence instead of the Admiralty, War Office, or Air Ministry to state these should not necessarily result in their being either unable to obtain them, or able to obtain them less expeditiously.

As against this view, the Select Committee on National Expenditure formed the conclusion that the Services should not only be allowed to state their wants but to make direct provision for their supply; in other words, they should not only have their own Departments of State but should revert to the pre-war system, always maintained by the Admiralty, of having a supply department under their own control, so eliminating, for these purposes at any rate, the Ministry of Supply. Sir Ralph Glyn, M.P. and Sir George Schuster, both former chairmen of sub-committees of this wartime Committee, attribute deficiencies in the supply of tanks to this cause. The true cause probably lies deeper, in the failure of the War Office either before or during the war to visualize the demands of war or to formulate a clear policy and, in necessary consequence, in its vacillations and over-refinements in the face of rapidly changing conditions; and in the failure of industry, partly culpable but partly not so, to adapt itself to these conditions. While it is true that industry showed insufficient understanding of the problems of fighting tanks and the Army failed to appreciate the difficulties of manufacturing them, intelligent staffing of the military branches of the Ministry of Supply could easily have avoided this result.

Changes in the conditions of warfare have reduced the authority of the Heads of the Service Departments in peace and have caused them not to be included in War Cabinets in war. On the principle laid down by the Haldane Committee on the Machinery of Government, that Government Departments should be constituted in accordance with the subjects with which they have to deal rather than with the people they have to administer, there is a strong case for the merger of the Service Departments, with, perhaps, junior Ministers responsible for the administrative questions peculiar to each Service. The case against it is, no doubt, the danger of a rigid centralization in Whitehall remote from the practical difficulties of each Service and individual, and it requires careful, detailed, and impartial consideration, but it may equally be said that the present system tends to over-accentuate the differences between the Services whilst their common tasks are being increasingly assimilated.

To carry the investigation further, and to consider the unification of Services as well as Service Departments, would be logical but it is not clear that it would be realistic. Although there are many points at which the duties of the three Services touch each other, their characteristic tasks remain different, and while the technical skills of Navy, Army, and R.A.F. officers do not, perhaps, differ more than do those of an infantry officer from, shall we say, a survey specialist, or those of a pilot from an equipment officer, the individual Services yet remain teams for the performance of separate individual tasks, whose organization is well understood by those who have to form part of them. The Services have traditions of their own, or, in other words, their own ways of doing their own jobs, and the advantages of merging them are not very clear except in so far as they are theoretical.

Thus, from the point of view of organization and supply, it seems probable that separate Services under a common Defence Ministry, with a common organization supplying their common wants but with separate bodies for providing the requirements of an individual Service, is the best and most economical solution of our present problems. It is necessary to advance this conclusion with some measure of diffidence, for the problems involved are admittedly most complex and the single Defence Ministry, in particular, has been rejected before. But nothing, at least, would be lost by an open and complete examination.

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The slow progress made by the campaign for voluntary recruitment, coupled with the heavy commitments that we have undertaken, faces us with the alternatives either of maintaining compulsory service or of reducing our commitments. In the long run, of course, we must limit our commitments in proportion with our strength. But if, in the immediate future, we wish to have a share in creating a world order of the kind within which we are willing to live, we must accept a military burden that will severely strain our economic and

human resources in the next few years. Thus there is no present alternative to conscription.

Whether the latter is desirable for its own sake, in equalizing the burden of defence among our young men (and women) and increasing the number of trained reserves, is a question for perennial argument. In this writer's view, conscription is neither fair as between individuals nor necessary for the nation, as a long-term measure. There is no equality of sacrifice between a young man who merely misses a year from an office stool and one who has to interrupt a course of higher education and so delay his entry into economic life. Nor, if conditions are made reasonably attractive and the soldier is treated as an adult, should there be any difficulty in raising enough men for the long-term requirements of the forces, though, in view of the important part played by the Home Guard in the war, there is a good deal to be said for a measure of compulsory part-time service, on the lines of the training now provided by the Cadet Forces. The real argument for conscription is diplomatic, namely that it is so much a part of the life of other nations that they can with difficulty be brought to believe in the seriousness of our intentions unless we adopt it; and the only answer to this argument lies in propaganda.

Conscription may be a democratic institution but it is certainly not a libertarian one. Alike in the interests of education, of the British economy, and of the British tradition of freedom, we should abandon it as soon as immediate military needs permit.

The only human and comprehensible hope for humanity lies in the creation of a world policy, and in the spheres of strategy and military organization all our efforts must be concentrated on increasing to the utmost extent the authority of the United Nations Organization. Regional defence and the world organization must march in step, and the present political situation gives the Empire in general and the United Kingdom in particular an unique opportunity of synchronising the two. The Anglo-American Combined Chief of Staffs Committee contains the germ of an effective Military Staff Committee working under the Security Council, and in the international sphere we must keep alive the wartime machinery and seek to prevent regional organizations from becoming narrow and exclusive. We must, further, seek to ensure that if we incur any fresh commitments we only do so under United Nations auspices.

Within our own sphere, we should strengthen the Ministry of Defence and give serious consideration to its superseding the old Service Departments. We should progressively seek to attune the Services to the population from which it is drawn, rather than starting from preconceived notions of what soldiers (or men in the other Services) should be like, and seeking to assimilate recruits to this ideal—without, of course, deluding ourselves into the belief that either armies or States can live without discipline. We should seek volunteers rather than conscripts, and make them and the world realize that the British Armed Forces are instruments of peace rather than of war.

AMERICAN MID-TERM POLITICS

By H. G. NICHOLAS

FOR those who like a little symbolism in their politics there was piquancy in the alleged reason for President Truman's delay in passing on the British federation plan for Palestine; the President, it was explained, was absent in his home state of Missouri, casting his vote in the primary elections, at which candidates are chosen for the Congressional contests in November. And if, to a Colonial Office obsessed with a Palestine seething with continuous revolt, the President's behaviour might suggest Atlas stepping down for a moment in order to tighten a slack suspender, it might also usefully symbolize the dependence of the Truman administration, first, last and all the time, upon the attitude of the American electorate. No American President is stronger abroad than he is at home; as the record of even that most deft diplomatist, Franklin Roosevelt, abundantly proved, and it is no longer a secret that President Truman is not strong at home. The President who can claim no "mandate" having come into office by succession from the Vice-Presidency, may, by unusual qualities of personality, aided by good fortune, build himself a position in public esteem. It has been done; Theodore Roosevelt did it. But President Truman's best friends would stop short of attributing to him any unusual qualities of personality: he is a plain man, who does his best. And he has had to do it with little enough good fortune for his aid. Catapulted into office amid the strain of war, he was soon faced with the gigantic readjustment and reconstruction problems of peace. Anxious for nothing so much as to follow out faithfully the policies of his predecessor, he soon found that, politically, Franklin Roosevelt had died almost intestate, a brilliant improvisator in everything except the broadest outlines of domestic and foreign policy. Moreover the retirement of the aged Cordell Hull, and the deaths of Harry Hopkins and Sidney Hillman, soon removed the dead President's closest counsellors and aides. Now, eighteen months after taking office, Mr. Truman faces a set of conditions to which no New Deal blueprint is applicable, and with a team of advisers from which the New Deal element has almost disappeared. In November he will, in effect, ask the electorate to say, through their choice of Congressmen, whether they recognize and approve the Truman blueprint and whether they like and trust the Truman advisers.

A sufficient number of primaries in various states have now been held to give the administration clear hints of what to expect in the autumn. The enemy presents himself in two forms—as dissident Democrats (or "Republocrats" as

one organizer of rebellion proposed to call them) and as frank Republicans. In the Congress that has just ended the first have proved, if anything, more troublesome than the second; when the President voted in Missouri it was to prevent the re-election of a ringleader of Democratic rebellion, Representative Slaughter, whose anti-administration activities on the House Rules Committee were typical of the legislative sabotage which Conservative Democrats have conducted against nine out of ten of the President's domestic proposals. Representative Slaughter was defeated, but it did not escape general notice that the President's supporter in his overthrow was Jim Pendergast, nephew, namesake and heir of the notorious political boss of Kansas City, once Harry Truman's own patron and subsequently convicted of fraud and speculation. The election posed once again a problem with which Franklin Roosevelt had often been familiar—how to create and keep a majority of Liberal Democratic votes in Congress without being tarred by the brush of association with the tough, corrupt Democratic machines of the big cities. Roosevelt had never let the problem worry him over much. Political theorists might prove conclusively that such oil and water would not mix; he was content to subject them to the pressure of his programme and ignite them with the spark of his personality and accept the recurrent miracle of the resultant explosion. It is doubtful if Tom Pendergast's protégé, for all his early association with the machine (perhaps indeed *because* of it) will be able to repeat the magic; it may even be argued that the ultimate cost of the Roosevelt miracles in terms of wear and tear to the American political engine was so high that it is undesirable that he should. Certainly initial victories like the defeat of Roger Slaughter are being bought at the increasing risk of subsequent Republican gains. No one who remembers the heyday of Republican machine politics in the 'twenties can humbug himself into believing that Mellon smelt sweeter than Hague or that Harding's Ohio was any better than President Truman's Missouri. But during the last fourteen years although the odour emanating from the rusting Republican machines has not exactly been an incense of holiness it is the strong scents of Flynn, Curley, Hague, Kelly and Crump which are fresh in the short-memoried nostrils of the average voter. By contrast Republican victories will seem to hold the promise of a return to the American Never-Never Land of rigid (and generally rural) public morality, a territory which the G.O.P. has always claimed as its especial own. A year which has seen the Democratic Chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee involved in an unsavoury mess of fraudulent war contracts at the same time as ex-servicemen fought a pitched battle (with considerable casualties) to wrest a Tennessee county from its self-perpetuating Democratic bosses cannot fail to strengthen Republican title-deeds to superior political virtue.

Whether the C.I.O.—P.A.C., that organization of politically-minded labour which proved as potent in 1944, can offset for the President these weaknesses the ranks of the old-fashioned Democratic regulars, is a matter still in dispute.

The Lithuanian born Sidney Hillman, coming to New York by way of Manchester, forged this weapon out of his peculiar European awareness of labour's potentialities coupled with a clear comprehension of what was and was not possible in the very different political climate of the U.S.A. But Sidney Hillman is dead, and his Excalibur is a weapon of two-edged menace in less capable hands. Even in 1944 there was a certain risk that the C.I.O.—P.A.C.'s exuberance might prove excessive and recoil on its supporters. Since then the allegation of Communist sympathies, always more plausible and more damaging in the U.S.A. than in Britain, has grown in potency as a political instrument: it will certainly be employed against the C.I.O.—P.A.C. and certainly with effect. To that extent the C.I.O.—P.A.C. may prove an embarrassing ally. But there is also the question, more seriously worrying to the White House, of how far labour, inside or outside the C.I.O.—P.A.C., will prove an ally at all.

With a clumsiness which only his exceptional difficulties can justify, the President has gone to both extremes with labour, and failed at each. He started off as labour's friend, sponsoring wage increases without price rises. For some time the high and rising cost of living and the ruthless intractability of such industrial giants as General Motors seemed to justify the administration in throwing its weight to the weaker party in the contest. But strike succeeded strike, making a mockery of the President's panacea—production—and reaching its climax in the railroad strike of early summer. The strike of the Railroad Brotherhoods heaped paradox on paradox. Here was the most conservative and responsible of labour unions lending itself to the most immediately anti-social piece of direct action. In reaction to such behaviour here was the liberal-minded Mr. Truman asking Congress for dictatorial powers, while Senator Taft, the Coolidge from Ohio, led the fight in the Senate which alone saved labour from these punitive consequences of its own indiscretions. It was a significant moment in the history of Democratic-Labour relations, the moment when the bargain struck in the famous 7a clause of the New Deal's N.R.A. seemed to have exhausted its mutual usefulness. With John L. Lewis back in the top councils of the A.F. of L. and with big business, in all but its most dinosauric manifestations, having granted union recognition—the time seemed ripe for Labour and the Republican Party each to bethink themselves of the advantages of co-operation. This development could proceed in one or two ways—either by the emergence in the Republican Party of a Willkie-ite type of leadership which will associate Labour with its councils on the New Deal as it did under Franklin Roosevelt, or, more probably, by an understanding purely industrial and economic, a twentieth century *cuius regio, eius religio*, between Taft-ian Republicanism and non-C.I.O. Labour. The second development will perpetuate and widen the present split in American labour, but it is hard to see any influence at present operating to close it. Nor, if the split persists, is there much reason to suppose that the C.I.O. will be strengthened by it—except indeed in those backwood territories of the solid South where the C.I.O.'s gains

are Dead Sea fruit to the Democratic Party.

But if the alliance of the 'thirties between Democrats and Labour is in danger of cracking, this year's primaries have proved that an even older and more "fundamentally American" political alliance has already crumbled. This is that combination of isolationism in foreign policy with radicalism in domestic which claims descent from Thomas Jefferson and certainly goes back to William Jennings Bryan. Already its intellectual followers had hauled down their standards; President Hutchins from the battlements of the University of Chicago had acknowledged the disenchantments of the atomic age, and the editorials of the *Christian Century* had given grudging assent to the proposition that the New Jerusalem could not be an exclusively Mid-Western foundation. But now the grass-roots themselves have registered their recognition that democracy cannot end at home. Not only has North Dakota declined the opportunity of correcting its earlier rejection of ex-Senator Nye, but also, far more remarkably, the miners and farmers of Montana have dispensed with Burt Wheeler—a vote comparable to Seaham's rejection of Ramsay MacDonald. But the most powerful embodiment of this Mid-Western isolationist radicalism, powerful enough to throw up its own political party and campaign for the Presidency, was the great La Follette dynasty of Wisconsin. Their party, the Progressives, had already become a shadow of its former self when its leader, Phil La Follette, called on it in May to liquidate itself and reunite with the Republican, from whom it originally sprang. Nevertheless expectation was general that the magic of the La Follette name would guarantee its holder re-election for a further term. But Republican regulars refused to be ousted and for the first time in many voters' memories Wisconsin will lack a La Follette representative in Congress. It was scarcely surprising that in adjacent Minnesota Senator Shipstead, who embodied La Follette principles without La Follette charm, should have shared in the *débâcle*.

Whether this widowing of radicalism by the now defunct isolationism will benefit Democrats or Republicans is hard to say. It clearly represents the voters' dissatisfaction with a negative and impotent American rôle in world affairs. But he would be a rash man who attempted to predict the effect of foreign policy upon mid-term election. There will be much to sway the voters' minds—exasperation with Russia, irritation over Palestine (where anti-Semitism and Zionism go hand in hand), boredom with Europe, disillusion over UNO ("The Men Who Stayed to Dinner"), guilt and confidence about atomic energy (reaction ranging from the drunken correspondents at Bikini to the magnificent foresight of the Acheson-Lilienthal report). But these influences will be wrapt up in each State and District with a dozen other, purely local issues, the price of hogs, the school board scandal, the progress of rural electrification or the closed shop in the local tinplate factory, and without the focusing influence of a presidential contest obliging the nation to place national issues first in its political thinking, it is these local issues which will probably settle the majority

of contests.

In these circumstances it will be surprising if the Republicans do not score significant gains and recapture control of the House. If ever a swing of the pendulum was due it is surely now, after fourteen years of sustained Democratic inclination. The President's difficulties and diffidence make it unlikely that his personal influence will suffice to arrest it. The Republicans, even if they have not enlightened apologists pretend, have at least shown that they will not attempt to unscramble the New Deal or to return to their pre-Pearl Harbour isolationism. They have no lack of men of ability and ambition, who can be relied upon to take advantage of all the opportunities which the present situation offers them.

Nevertheless the likelihood of a Republican majority in the new House of Representatives should not blind any observer to its disastrous consequences. It will render inevitable that alienation of executive from legislature to which the American Constitution, by its very motive, is always predisposed. The seventy-ninth Congress, despite its Democratic majority, was barren in achievements and fertile in bickerings to a degree which, if perpetuated, would rightly bring representative government into contempt. The eightieth Congress, if dominated in the House by a party professedly at odds with the Executive, may easily repeat, on domestic issues, the record of Woodrow Wilson's Congress from 1918 to 1920 when government was virtually deadlocked at the legislative level. No doubt the conduct of foreign affairs, in its strictly political aspect, would remain "bi-partisan" and go forward unimpeded. But over all that field of domestic and economic problems which so closely interlock with international politics, from full employment to the price of grain, the rivalries of party politicians would be added to the preserves of private interests. To get along with such a Congress, and even more to control it, the President and his advisers will need a greater skill, amidst greater difficulties, than they have displayed with the last one. The stakes for success or failure will also be higher—they will be no less than the Presidency in 1948.

THE VATICAN AND THE WHITE HOUSE

BY MAURICE PERNOT

IN the first days of June President Truman received a delegation of the Protestant Churches, which came to ask him to recall his Ambassador to the Vatican. The Reverend Oxman, who led the delegation, afterwards addressed to a Council of the Churches a report from which it appears that the President of the United States has not the intention of keeping a diplomatic representative at the Vatican after the signing of the Peace Treaty. If one goes back to the letter of December 1939 in which Franklin Roosevelt announced to Pope Pius XII the impending arrival of Mr. Myron Taylor, one sees that Mr. Taylor, while holding the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary, was not allowed to use the formal title; that he represented not the American Government, but the President personally, and that his mission was to end with the cessation of hostilities. It is apparently this latter clause that the delegation recalled to President Truman. Could one foresee at the end of 1939 that such a long time would ensue between the end of hostilities and the conclusion of peace? It is, however, a fact that the successor of Franklin Roosevelt has decided not to recall his Ambassador until peace is concluded.

The action of the Protestant delegation once more attracts attention to the relations of the Holy See with the great American Republic. Until 1870, the United States maintained a regular representative to the Pope, Sovereign of the Papal States. The entry of the Italians in Rome having abolished the temporal sovereignty of the papacy, diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Washington were severed. But in 1929, the Lateran Treaty restored the status of Head of State to the Pope. Pius XI intended to profit from this circumstance to re-establish relations between the Holy See and the United States in the same form as before 1870. It was with this intention that in October 1936, he sent to Washington on a special mission, his Secretary of State, Cardinal Pacelli, who has succeeded him on the throne of St. Peter. He was to propose to the President the sending of an Ambassador to the Vatican in exchange for an Apostolic Nuncio accredited to the Government of the United States.

President Roosevelt greeted the Pope's envoy with singular eagerness; on November 5, he received him at his country home at Hyde Park and had several interviews with him, but he did not agree to the proposals of the Holy See. The President even let the Cardinal understand that he regarded the temporal sovereignty of the Vatican City as an 'honourable fiction', and that the Pope remained essentially what he was before the treaty of 1929: that is,

the head of a great Christian community. There was thus no reason to substitute for the apostolic delegate who was a religious and administrative agent, a Papal Nuncio who would be a diplomatic agent, nor to accredit an American Ambassador to the Holy See.

In declining the invitation of Pius XI, Roosevelt was only interpreting the opinion of his countrymen faithfully, including that of the Catholics. After the rupture of 1870, the Roman Curia remained without either religious or diplomatic representation in the United States. When, in 1892, Mgr. Sartolli headed a mission from Leo XIII, he announced to the American Bishops the Pope's intention of establishing a permanent apostolic delegation, the episcopate pronounced themselves unanimously against this project. Rome disregarded this and, at the beginning of 1893, the post was created with Sartolli as its holder. The answer of the American people was prompt: a sort of league against papism was founded under the name of the 'American Protective Association'.

It was not until 1908 that there was a change in this state of affairs when the great reform of Pius X made the United States pass into the common congregational system. In other words, the American Republic ceased to be a 'Country of Mission' and became a 'Country of Common Rights' organized into dioceses. (Constitution *Sapienti Consilio*, July 7, 1908). From then on, the question was whether the apostolic delegate, an administrative and religious functionary, would be replaced by a Nuncio, a diplomatic representative accredited to the Head of State. The creation of a nunciature seemed to entail that of an embassy to the Holy See.

Once again, Rome met with general opposition, as much from the Bishops and American Catholics as from the government and public opinion. That was because the envisaged project was contrary to the idea that Americans have of the independence of the State regarding churches. This independence is written in the Constitution; there could not be, as in England, an established Church. The churches in America collaborate in a friendly way amongst themselves; together in a body, they collaborate with the State. From its side, the State considers and treats them as bodies useful to the material and moral progress of the nation. But the essential safeguard of the American churches is precisely their national character. The Catholics are free to regulate as they wish their relations with Rome as regards the election of Bishops, the status of schools, etc., so long, of course, as they remain within the limits imposed by the Constitution. As long as these limits are respected, the State sees no reason to intervene.

This explains why in November 1936 the State saw no reason to treat the head of a church as the head of a State and to establish official communications of a political sort with him. A few months before the visit of Cardinal Pacelli, the American Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, had publicly declared that there could be no question of establishing a papal nunciature at Washington.

On March 2, 1939, Eugenio Pacelli became Pope with the title of Pius XII.

In the beginning of the same year, the apostolic delegate at Washington took to the Pope a personal message from Franklin Roosevelt; the Head of the Catholic Church answered with a letter conveyed by a Cardinal to the White House. At last, on Christmas Eve, Pius XII announced to the Sacred College the arrival of an envoy of the American President. Mr. Myron Taylor would represent at the Holy See, not the Government of the United States, but its head; his mission would end with hostilities. In order to avoid any quibble, the Ambassador would not reside at Rome but at Florence, whence he would visit Rome when necessary. Before addressing this sensational proposal to the Pope, the President had sounded the most qualified representatives of the other religious denominations and met with no opposition.

How can one explain such a complete and sudden change? There is a single reason: the war. If, at the beginning of 1939, Franklin Roosevelt felt the need to establish a certain and regular means of communication between the White House and the Vatican for maintaining constant exchanges of information and plans, it was in view of preparing for peace, the reconstruction of Europe and of the world. The meeting he had had three years previously with Cardinal Pacelli had sufficiently enlightened him as to the intentions of the new Pope, which he judged to be sufficiently like his own on certain matters. This conformity already appears in a striking manner—as will be seen later—in the Presidential message of December 1939 and the Pontifical Brief of January 7, 1940.

If Pius XII eagerly accepted the collaboration offered him by the President of the United States, it is that he remembered the strange duel between Pope Benedict XV and President Wilson after the first world war. Each aspired to play a preponderant rôle in the peace-making. The American won; his victory was dazzling and much too complete than was desirable for the interests of Europe. The Pope felt his defeat keenly and kept away from the negotiations; he had no other way of marking his spite than to criticize the peace that had been made without him. That was not difficult, and he did not disguise his feelings but the prestige of the Holy See was much impaired by the adventure.

Having learned by this experience, Pius XII set himself at once to bring into accord his efforts for peace with those of the neutral States who appeared to him both in favour of them and able to support them. In 1940, the United States answered well this definition. "When the moment comes to re-establish peace on surer bases," Franklin Roosevelt wrote to the Pope, "it is of the greatest importance both for humanity and religion that their common ideals should find a common expression." The Pope answered: "When it becomes possible to obtain a serious peace, conforming to the rules of justice and equity, only those will be able to find the straight road who unite the most extensive political power with a clear understanding of the voices of humanity and with a profound respect for the divine rules contained in the Gospels of Christ."

In his answer of January 7, 1940, to the Presidential message, Pius XII dwelt

on the idea, so strongly stressed by Roosevelt, that it is the will of the masses, the profound feelings of the peoples, which must dictate the future peace. Also, in his broadcast Christmas talks, Pius XII returned each year to the same points: the rights of all nations, great and small, strong and weak, to life and independence; a reduction of armaments and precautions against material strength; the creation or reconstruction of international bodies; establishment of legal institutions to help guarantee international engagements; the revision of treaties by peaceful means when such changes appear necessary; a restoration of the sense of responsibility and of moral justice in political manners and habits. The same ideas were to be found in the speeches and messages of the American President.

Thus in both Rome and Washington was revealed the desire to maintain throughout difficult circumstances a single-mindedness or at least, a harmony of purpose and action from which the Pope and the President hoped for results in accordance with their desires and equally favourable to the higher interests of the Catholic Church and of the civilized world. Let us not go further in our judgments than they themselves went in their declarations; there is no question here of alliance or coalition, only agreement on very general principles, which could, if it should so happen, lead to common action towards a determined goal.

A severe illness kept Mr. Myron Taylor away from the Vatican for some time. As soon as he recovered he left his Florentine residence to establish himself in Rome and the frequent audiences he had with the Pope and his closest collaborators show sufficiently the continuity of relations between the Vatican and the White House. The many sojourns spent in Rome by the Archbishop of New York, Mgr. Spellman, now Cardinal, provided further proof. The death of Franklin Roosevelt was deeply felt by the Roman Pontiff, but did not slow down the activity of ambassadors, official and officious. Nevertheless, the influence of that personal contact which had allowed the future Pope and President to get to know and appreciate each other was much missed.

On February 18, 1946, Pius XII gave further proof of his kindly feelings for the Catholic Church of the United States in appointing four American Archbishops to the Sacred College, which brings to six the number of United States Cardinals. Let us not forget that in the eyes of the Pope, the fate of the Catholic Church must not be linked with that of Europe; in the more or less distant eventuality of a failing or enfeebled Europe, it is necessary for the Head of the Church to be able to call on a substitute, a new prop ready and waiting. It is for this reason that the step taken by the Reverend Oxman caused a certain stir in the Vatican. Four times in one week, Pius XII received the envoy of the White House; one may surmise that he thus showed his desire to retain him and the regret that his departure would cause him—a departure which, if one reflects on the little progress yet made in the peace negotiations, appears still some way off!

AMERICAN COTTON POLICY

BY PETER F. DRUCKER

THE Deep South is entering upon a process of change as dramatic, as rapid, and as profound as any of the major waves of the Industrial Revolution. During the next decade both the geographical distribution and the nature of cotton farming will shift sensationallly. The backward and poverty-stricken agriculture of the old Cotton Belt is likely to become efficient and moderately prosperous. But in the process millions of people—especially Negro tenant farmers and share-croppers—will be driven off the land, with results which will deeply affect the social structure of America, North as well as South.

The mechanical cotton picker is no longer a promise or a threat, it is a reality. Last year for the first time, fully mechanized cotton was grown on commercial farms in the South, with planting, thinning, weeding, defoliating, and picking all done by machine. The rapid spread of the cotton picker in the old Cotton Belt was temporarily checked by wartime shortages which restricted the supply to a few dozen machines, but the engineering problems have all been solved, and mass production is about to begin. In Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, where the much simpler mechanical cotton stripper* can be used, mechanized farms already account for more than one quarter of the total crop.

Yet mechanization of farming is only one of the major changes that are going on in Southern agriculture to-day. There is a wholesale shift away from cotton. All through Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, cotton land—even good cotton land—is being converted into pasture or sown to small grains. In many counties, particularly in central Alabama, livestock has become the major product. Three big grain elevators—rightly regarded by Southerners themselves as the symbol of an agricultural revolution—have been built by Quaker Oats in the very heart of the Mississippi Delta. And in the Piedmont the badly eroded and depleted small hillside farms are being abandoned in entire districts and the land turned into forests.

The new farm economy which is emerging now should not only give the Southern farmer a much higher income, it should also slow down soil erosion and restore the fertility of land sadly depleted by the continuous growing of cotton and corn. It should do away to a large extent with the wicked system of Southern land tenure, destructive alike of land, landlord, and tenant. And while cotton should continue to be one of the major crops—the foremost one

* The cotton picker picks only the ripe bolls. The stripper taken all bolls off the stalk in one simple raking action and can thus be used only where all bolls ripen together, that is, on the semi-arid high plains of Texas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico, or on irrigated desert land in Arizona and California.

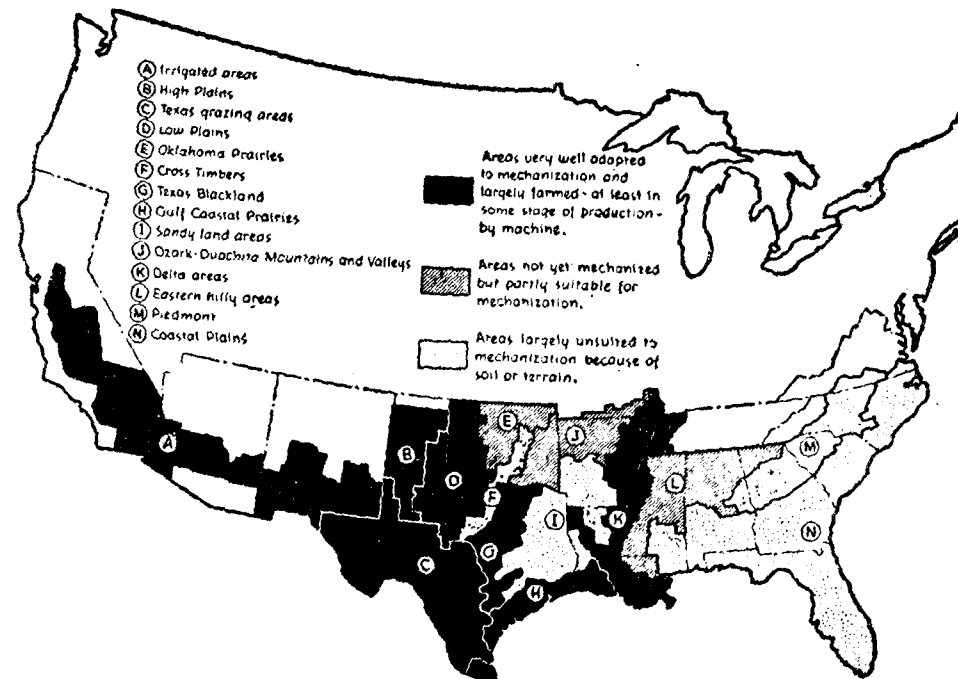
on good cotton land—Southern agriculture should become well diversified. Twenty years from now Southern agriculture might well be one of thoroughly mechanized and efficient farm-factories.

But the price to be paid for these gains is very high. Because Southern farming has been very largely done by unskilled hand labour on uneconomically small plots, the South has had not only the lowest farm income but also the densest agricultural population in the whole country. Hence the transformation of Southern agriculture will push off the land the major part of the small farmers, tenants, and share-croppers; as many as one to one and a half million families—five to eight million people—may, within the next decade or two, lose their homes and their livelihood. And the bulk of these refugees from cotton will be Negroes. The economic and social structure that was founded on one machine—Eli Whitney's cotton gin—is being razed by another—the cotton picker. And as a result America is facing one of the most severe and profound social dislocations in the history of the country.

During the past fifteen years we have been trying to cope with the problems of the cotton South by bolstering the *status quo* through subsidizing cotton farmers and cotton prices, buying up surplus crops, and forbidding the extension of cotton growing to the new cotton lands of the West. Even the farm pressure groups most responsible for this policy admit that it has not solved anything; on the contrary, it has made a real and radical solution both more urgent and more difficult. It is true that the New Deal cotton policy was successful, at least until 1940, in its main goal of preserving the old structure, though at increasing cost and against increasing obstacles. To-day, however, the disintegration of the old Southern pattern can no longer be prevented; it can hardly even be slowed down. The Cotton Belt is in that truly revolutionary situation in which every measure designed to preserve the old system only hastens its downfall. This is the result partly of major technological developments, but above all the change in the international and domestic position of cotton.

Whether American cotton can be sold abroad in quantity is very dubious, whatever the price; it depends on the world supply of dollars—that is, on American purchases abroad, especially in Great Britain and on the European continent. But cotton can hardly be sold probably not even against a loan, if the price is much higher than ten or twelve cents a pound. At home, sales can hardly be maintained at their pre-war rate, much less expanded, at a much higher price than the same ten or twelve cents a pound—for cotton will face sharp competition from paper, rayon, nylon, and other synthetic fibres. Furthermore, the new markets for cotton (such as insulating material) can be won, the lost markets (such as bagging) can be recaptured, only if cotton sells at an even lower figure, perhaps as low as eight cents.

This does not, of course, apply to the next two or three years, when cotton will be desperately needed all the world over and when America will finance her exports through reconstruction loans. But these years will be only a breathing



THE WESTWARD SHIFT OF COTTON

spell which should properly be utilized to make the cotton South able to face competition at much lower prices.

If the price of cotton is allowed to find its natural level in order to restore its competitive position, total production will probably not decrease very much. It may even increase as new, fertile cotton land in the West is taken under cultivation. But cotton production will be concentrated in the areas with the most favourable soil and climate: the rich level lands of the Delta, the Gulf Coast especially around Corpus Christi, some of the hill counties of Alabama and Mississippi—wherever a yield of more than one bale an acre is possible—and the new, irrigated cotton land of New Mexico, Arizona, and California, where cotton can be grown for as little as four or five cents a pound on full mechanized farms. The low-yield, high cost regions—all of South Carolina, Georgia, and eastern Texas, most of Arkansas and Alabama—will be forced out of cotton. And it is in these low-yield regions that more than half of all cotton farmers live—primarily small, poor farmers who have no alternative cash crop and neither the capital nor the training to develop one.

To-day the land of the cotton farmer can be utilized profitably to grow new cash crops which bring in a much higher return, especially on land unsuited for cotton. The most important of these new crops are timber and improved pasture for livestock.

Climatically the Cotton Belt is ideally suited to livestock breeding, as outdoor grazing is possible ten months in the year or longer. In the past the South

has not had good pastures or a sufficient supply of the essential carbohydrate feeds. (Corn, on which livestock breeding in the Midwest is based, grows very poorly on Southern soils with yields only one-third of those in Iowa.) But to-day the South has developed excellent improved pastures; and while the cost of improving pasture land is high—up to \$500 per acre—the return on the investment is good. And the South has also largely overcome its carbohydrate problem through the development of a process to convert sweet potatoes into a fodder able to compete with corn. Hence there has recently been a tremendous development of livestock raising throughout the South.

Undoubtedly this movement will slow down as soon as meat prices and feed prices go down—that is, after the immediate war and postwar shortages have been overcome. But at the same time more and more of the depleted cotton land of the Piedmont will be turned into timber.

Pines will grow on almost any Southern land. They require no cultivation, except spraying against pests, which can be done from the air. In the South there is no need for elaborate afforestation programmes; for if a few trees are left standing after cutting the forest will reseed itself rapidly. And—most important—the Southern pine grows so fast that it can be cut for saw-mill timber after twelve to fifteen years and for pulping after five to eight years.

It is the use as pulp wood which is particularly important, as the demand is bound to increase sharply—for paper, for rayon, for building materials and plastics. And the South is the only region in the country which can satisfy the demand for pulp wood. Also timber not only gives the highest return on labour and investment, it is also the best crop to check further erosion and to restore soil fertility; for pines are the natural cover of Southern soil.

We may be able to slow down the new development in the South by subsidizing the inefficient one-mule cotton grower but we cannot prevent or even long postpone the shift to mechanized cotton raising, livestock farming, and timber growing. The difference in cost, efficiency, and return between these new methods and products and the old share-cropper economy is too great—both because the old method is singularly inefficient and because the new methods are extremely efficient.

Technologically, cotton farming as it has been practised in the South is two hundred years behind the times. The share-cropper works only about ten weeks in the year but has to be kept, fed and housed all the year around. The social system of the South—the one-year tenant contract—was never designed to be permanent: it was built hastily in the chaotic days of Reconstruction. But it has not been repaired nor rebuilt since. Even on very good cotton land, where the cost of fertilizer does not eat up an increasing part of the return, the system is so inefficient and results in such a high cost of production that only the absence of an alternative method of cotton-picking prevented its collapse fifty years ago.

This obsolescent system now finds itself suddenly face to face with the most

mechanized and most efficient method of production; consequently the impact of mechanization is stunning. On farms in the Mississippi Delta mechanization has cut labour requirements eighty per cent.—from 160 man hours per bale on the one-mule farm to twenty-eight for mechanized equipment. Even on the high plains, where hand cultivation has never been used except for picking, the installation of a mechanical stripper brings down labour hours per bale from fifty-four to fifteen. Very few crops in America can be raised with as little labour and cost as cotton on a large mechanized farm where there is no hand operation from sowing to harvesting.

Similar savings result from the shift to livestock or to timber. To raise beef cattle requires about one-quarter of the labour force that is required for cotton; to grow trees requires very little labour at all except at cutting time, that is, once every eight years.

But the savings are possible *only on a large farm*. Under the old system of cotton farming there was one share-cropper to about every ten acres of cotton land. The minimum for mechanized cotton cultivation is 150 acres of cotton land, equivalent—with wood lot, pasture, and land in food and fodder crops—to a farm of 300 acres, which can be run by the farmer and one hired hand. The acreage required for efficient live-stock farming or timber land is even larger. Hence the conversion to efficient farming means that there will be no room for the bulk of the present farm population.

Three examples show this very clearly. The farm agent of a cotton county in the Mississippi Delta has converted his land entirely to small grains. This has made it possible for him to build attractive houses for his workers, to pay them a decent wage, and to give them long-term contracts. But instead of eighteen tenant farmers, he now has only three. An Atlanta businessman recently turned the whole of his land into timber. As a result he will get an income, almost for the first time since he inherited the farm twenty years ago—but the six cropper families who used to till the cotton are gone and their cabins have been torn down. One of the directors of the Mississippi Farm Bureau who owns, together with his brother, a thousand acres in the southern part of the state, now raises some of the best beef cattle in the country. His stock is so good that he is concentrating almost exclusively on cattle for breeding purposes. But instead of twenty-five tenants, he now has only ten men working for him.

Hence as much as one-half of the Southern farm population will be surplus in ten or twenty years and will have been pushed off the land. In itself a forced migration of such proportions would be a nightmare of social and economic dislocation. It would threaten not only the social and political stability of the South but it would endanger the stability of the nation as a whole. For one thing, it is likely to explode the shaky structure of the Southern Democratic Party and to provide a fertile field for demagoguery, because the people who are dislocated will be chiefly those who are unskilled and untrained

and who will be bewildered and lost outside their accustomed environment.

But what will complicate things even more is that a large proportion—probably the majority—of the dislocated will be Negroes, partly because most of the share-croppers on the big plantations are coloured, partly because the Negro is always the first to go when the economic pressure is on. The old pattern of Southern race relations, which, vicious as it was, at least gave both white men and Negroes a fixed rule of conduct, is bound to be destroyed. Unless handled courageously and determinedly, the Southern agricultural revolution will inevitably lead to extreme racial bitterness and will nullify the gains the South has been making toward a solution of the race problem.

There is thus far one plan to handle the conversion problem of the cotton South, a plan drawn up by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics about a year ago. This plan—one of the best of government documents and, in view of the terrific pressure of the cotton interests, one of the most courageous—proposes to abolish all cotton subsidies within five years (or maybe ten) to enable cotton to compete both at home and abroad. Each year the cotton subsidy would be cut by one-fifth (or one-tenth). At the same time the Government would finance the conversion of Southern farms into economically efficient units.

Within ten years, under this plan, the South would have an agriculture in which cotton would only be produced on good cotton soil and on large farms. At the same time the production of livestock, dairy products, and vegetables would go up sharply, the increases ranging from about fifty per cent. in the case of milk, to twenty-nine per cent. for beef, thirty per cent. for truck crops, etc. The average size of the farm unit in the South would go up from 110 acres to 170 acres, while the average number of people employed on such farms would probably drop from five or six to two or three. The whole programme, at least as far as expenditure on the farm is concerned, would not cost more than the present cotton subsidy—and of course it would taper off year by year as the new farm pattern was established, whereas the cotton subsidy would have to be constantly increased.

The drafters of this plan intentionally made optimistic assumptions: a cotton price of thirteen cents and full restoration of pre-war exports. But even so the plan has met with violent opposition in the South. It is true that the more intelligent Southern leaders realize the seriousness of the situation; and as stalwart a defender of cotton's royal prerogatives as Senator Bankhead supports the plan.

Actually the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has been far from radical; its plan fails to go far enough. If put into effect it would indeed provide for an orderly conversion of Southern agriculture. It might also, in a small way, cushion the impact of the conversion on the Southern Negro; for it would probably slow down somewhat the "flight from cotton" in the plantation regions of the coastal plains and the Delta. But it would not help the small

farmer—on the contrary, its main aim is to enlarge the individual unit, with 150 acres as the minimum size for the Southern farm. And it is the small farmer who would feel the squeeze worst.

So there have been proposals to complement this plan by a programme that helps the small farmer to stay on the land and in economical production. These proposals aim basically at a return, on a much larger scale, to the pre-war policies of the Farm Security Administration, the Rural Electrification Administration, and the TVA. They are sponsored by men out of the old Wallace stable—altogether perhaps the ablest and most public-spirited group of government officials this country has ever had. While there are considerable differences between individual plans, they all propose to settle small farmers in organized communities. Each farmer would own and cultivate a small plot—maybe thirty or forty acres—on which he would raise the food for his own subsistence or specialized cash crops such as vegetables and fruit. A large plot—maybe 500 acres for ten families—would be farmed co-operatively either in cotton or in some other cash crop.

That such ideas are not confined to what may be called the "Left" is shown by the fact that in as conservative a group as the Mississippi Farm Bureau a plan is seriously discussed to achieve the same end without what they would describe as the "Communitistic" co-operative ownership of land and equipment. Instead, each family would own its plot, but, following the practice of Mid-western corn growers, a group of small farmers would co-operatively rent mechanized equipment for the harvest. Either plan—and the difference is small—would preserve small farms, though they would still be considerably larger than a great many of the present units. The income of these co-operative farmers would be substantially lower than the incomes of the large farms envisaged by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, which hopes eventually to raise Southern farm income to the national level; but the small co-operative farmer would still make about twice as much as he made before the war.

At best, however, few of the small farmers of the South could be rescued by such a co-operative programme. And, like the Bureau of Agricultural Economics programme, the co-operative plan would be restricted almost exclusively to owner farmers, that is, to white ones. For only the owner farmer has enough land to go in for diversified farming; and he alone—if any small farmer—has enough skill, both technical and managerial, and enough ability to learn to be successfully converted into a diversified co-operative farmer in as short a time as five to ten years. The average tenant and share-cropper, especially the Negro with his low educational standard, simply cannot be expected to be able to make such a tremendous switch in so short a time. (Also there would be the most determined political opposition in the South against any attempt to buy out white farmers in order to provide land for Negroes.) Nevertheless it seems definitely worthwhile to make the attempt to keep as many small farmers on the land as possible. It may cost a lot of money, but

it would be money well and profitably spent.

It is probably far too optimistic to expect that these two programmes will be put into effect early enough and on a large enough scale. But even if fully effective, the two plans, singly or together, would not solve the main problem created by the Southern agricultural revolution: the re-employment of the masses of farmers and farm hands who will be crowded off the land. If Southern agriculture is to be sound, the labour force on the farms will have to be cut forty per cent. during the next ten or fifteen years; even then the South would have a farm population fifty per cent. higher proportionately than the rest of the nation. This means that the non-agricultural labour force would have to be raised by five millions. An increase of more than sixty per cent. in total employment off the farm would be needed within the next ten or fifteen years.

The rate of expansion obviously depends primarily on the speed of industrialization; for it is industrial employment which creates the job opportunities in the trades and services. It is reasonably certain that, barring a severe depression, the South is entering now upon a period of rapid industrial expansion. But it is hardly likely that its rate of expansion will be much greater than it was during the 'twenties, the period of most rapid growth up to now, when industrial employment in the Cotton Belt expanded by twenty-eight per cent. in ten years. To expect more than a one-third increase—against a needed increase of more than two-thirds—is to expect a miracle.

Even the absorption of one-half of the uprooted and dislocated ex-farmers will require great efforts. It will require a major training programme. Union restrictions on apprenticeships will have to be removed or modified. A special wage scale will have to be drawn up to make possible training-in-industry of large numbers. Also, many of these new workers will have to be moved within the South; the best industrial locations are quite a distance away from the probable centres of dislocation. And that means organized employment services, new housing, schools, hospitals, etc. But after all this has been done, there will be left a surplus population of 500,000 to 750,000 families—two to three and a half million people—for whom there will be no livelihood in the South. And they will be predominantly Negroes, who are both the first to lose and the last to find employment—particularly as, so far, Negroes have rarely been employed in Southern factories or in the trades and white-collar jobs, except in the most menial capacity.

Even if we have full employment—and all these figures are based on this assumption—we thus face a tremendous migration of the Negro from the South to the industrial centres of the North. Few people in the South doubt this—though they do not know whether to regret the loss of so large a share of the South's human assets or to welcome such a drastic reduction in the size of the Southern race problem. Responsible Negro leaders such as Dr. Johnson of Fisk University, are credited with the belief that the migration will be even

greater and that, with the mechanization of cotton farming, four million Negroes and more may leave the South during the next ten or fifteen years. And it is not even considered very improbable that fifteen years from now the majority of the nation's coloured population will be north of the Mason-Dixon Line. Hence the Southern agricultural revolution poses serious problems for the North—not only quantitative problems of employment but problems of race relations in the industrial cities where racial hatred and discrimination have been rapidly growing these past ten years. Even if America has full employment and the fullest co-operation from unions and managements, it will be very difficult to integrate such large groups of coloured workers, especially as the Negro tends to gather in a few urban areas.

It is easy—and very popular in the Deep South to-day—to see only one aspect of the technological revolution through which the Cotton Belt is passing: the removal of the dead hand of the cotton economy and plantation society, the establishment of a sound agriculture and of a better balance between industry and farming, higher incomes, better living standards, the end of share-cropping—in short the final emancipation of both white and coloured from slavery. It is also easy to see only the other aspect: the dislocation, the suffering, the uprooting of millions of people who will lose their homes and their livelihood. However, the full picture, as in all technological revolutions, emerges only if both—the better life for those who can adjust themselves and the suffering of those who are pushed out—are seen together and at the same time.

In one very important respect, however, the Southern prospect differs radically from this standard pattern of revolutionary economic change: the sufferings are not altogether inevitable. Because the Deep South is part—a comparatively small part—of a large, fully developed, and rich nation we have the means to cushion the shock and to make it bearable both for those affected directly and for our society as a whole.

To do this would require an abandonment of our policy to preserve the Southern *status quo*, a policy which can no longer be successful. Instead of subsidizing the Old South, America ought to spend the same amount of money on the reconstruction of Southern agriculture to a point where it is on a sound economic structure and fully able to compete. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics plan is the first step in this direction. Also a great deal of money and effort will have to be spent on the training of displaced farmers and on their re-establishment. And America will have to do much educational work—both on Negroes and on whites—to enable large masses of Southern Negroes to live a decent life as industrial and white-collar workers, especially in the North. An honest and courageous policy could clear up much of the terrible mess left behind by the Reconstruction period. But if the challenge is not met, the South, and the nation, will be in for real trouble.

MACEDONIA UNITED

BY STEPHEN CLISSOLD

DURING the last year and a half Yugoslavia's claims in the Venezia Giulia area have loomed so large on the political scene that they tend to obscure her other and more far-reaching territorial aspirations. Yet the acquisition of territory in the south, at the expense of Greece and Bulgaria, is an equally vital if less publicly vaunted part of Marshal Tito's programme. It is significant that crowds of demonstrators in Skopje have recently been shouting not only the usual slogans of "Trieste to Yugoslavia!" but also "We demand that all three parts of Macedonia be united."

These three parts are (1) Yugoslav Macedonia, which now forms one of the federal units of the Yugoslav State, (2) Bulgarian or Pirin Macedonia, comprising the Bulgarian districts of Petrich, Mevrokop and St. Vrach, and (3) Greek or Aegean Macedonia, peopled mainly by Greeks but also including considerable Slav enclaves. As the area comprised by these three regions has never in modern times formed a single political or administrative unit it is impossible to assign precise frontiers to what is meant by Macedonia as a whole. Roughly speaking, however, it may be taken to include that part of the Balkan Peninsular which is bounded on the east by the Rhodope mountains and the river Mesta, on the south by a line from the mouth of the Mesta running southwest to Mount Olympus and thence to Metsovo, on the west by the Albanian mountains and on the north by the Shar range and hills behind Skopje. It comprises an area more than twice that of Albania and nearly equal to that of Bulgaria, with an estimated population of nearly three millions. It includes the great port of Salonika and the Struma and Vardar valleys leading inland from the Aegean towards Central Europe. The formation of a Macedonian state of this description would thus clearly have the most far-reaching political and strategic implications and must be considered in conjunction with Bulgaria's claims on Thrace and Russia's demands to control the Dardanelles.

A united and independent Macedonia has been the dream of many patriotic Macedonians and the battle cry of innumerable political adventurers who have sought to win Macedonia for the interest of either Serb or Bulgar chauvinism. It should be remembered that IMRO (The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization), which later won such notoriety as the classic instrument of Balkan terrorism and brutality, was originally founded in 1893 with the object of achieving liberation from Turkish rule and equal rights for all ethnic groups. Under the forceful leadership of Gotze Delchev it looked for the establishment

of an autonomous Macedonia within a Balkan federation. It was only later that the so-called Supremist faction seized control with the object of incorporating Macedonia within the frontiers of Bulgaria. The feud between the Supremists and the Federalists (who looked more to Yugoslavia for support) continued until well into the 'thirties. In the meantime there had come into being a third and smaller faction which was ultimately destined to play an important rôle. This was the United IMRO (Obidinena IMRO—OIMRO) founded in Vienna by Dimitar Vlahov, now President of the Macedonian National Front and one of the leading personalities in Macedonia, in 1925—the year that Europe was stirred by the most spectacular of IMRO's killings when Todor Panitza of the Central Committee was shot by the young woman sitting next to him at a performance of *Peer Gynt* in the Burg theatre. Vlahov's career is instructive. He was a member of the original central committee of IMRO and representative in the Young Turk Parliament of the Macedonian Popular Federal Party whose aim was to work constitutionally for Macedonian autonomy. He later entered the Bulgarian consular service, worked in Odessa and Vienna and established close relations with the Soviet Union. Whereas the other factions of IMRO looked for Yugoslav or Bulgarian support, Vlahov's OIMRO aimed at winning Macedonian independence with the aid of Soviet Russia. Between 1934-43 Vlahov directed the work of his organization from Moscow until returning to occupy a key-post in the new Partisan régime in Macedonia.

The programme for the unification of all Macedonia is clearly too ambitious to be achieved at one stroke. Its realization appears to be envisaged in three stages; first, the consolidation of the Yugoslav Macedonian Republic within the framework of the Yugoslav State; secondly, the adhesion of Bulgarian Macedonia; thirdly, the acquisition of Greek Macedonia.

The first stage—the consolidation of the Yugo-slav Macedonian Republic—is proving in itself difficult enough. The area is amongst the most backward in Europe, and the rivalries and animosities of the varied ethnic groups which comprise the population die hard. The official view of pre-war Belgrade was that Macedonia did not exist. There was only a South Serbia, and if the inhabitants spoke a strange tongue of their own it must be because they had been corrupted by Bulgar influence and must be reconverted as soon and as vigorously as possible into good Serbs. So a policy of intensive Serbianization through the schools, the local administration and the Orthodox Church was pursued. The inevitable result was that when the Yugoslav army collapsed in April 1941 and South Serbia was occupied by the Bulgars, the latter were greeted as liberators by large sections of the population. Disillusionment however soon followed. The liberators at once set about the task of turning the Macedonians into good Bulgars. Discontent deepened into revolt and peasants, workers, and townsfolk took to the hills in increasing numbers to swell the Partisan bands which were being organized by Mihajlo Apostolski, a former major in

the Yugoslav army, and Tito's personal representative, a young Communist agitator who concealed his identity under the pseudonym of Tempo. The Partisans set up their own administration on liberated territory, and after the withdrawal of the Germans took over control of all South Serbia. On August 2, 1944—the anniversary of the historic Ilinden rising against the Turks in 1903—the first meeting of the Anti-Fascist Council for the liberation of Macedonia was held at Bitolj. The Macedonians, it was claimed, had at last achieved their historic dream of independence. They had been recognized by their fellow Slavs as a "national entity" and were guaranteed the full use of their own language, culture, educational system and local government. The Macedonian flag—a yellow star on a red field—fluttered proudly overhead beside the new Yugoslav flag. The Yugoslav Macedonian Republic had been formed and could now be, as Keremechieff, one of the chief irredentist leaders from Greek Macedonia, put it, "the Piedmont of all Macedonians outside Yugoslavia."

The degree of autonomy allowed to the Macedonian Republic during the first year and a half of its existence has however been strictly limited. Although the President of the Macedonian government, Lazar Kulisevski, is a Communist—as are almost all of his ministerial colleagues—who can be relied upon to keep faithfully to the party line, Belgrade has found it necessary to exert constant supervision and in some cases to intervene forcibly to curb Macedonian nationalist exuberance. Even before the Germans had been driven from the frontiers of Yugoslavia there had been incidents at Bitolj where Macedonian troops clamoured to march on Salonika. Other extremists held that the expulsion from Yugoslav Macedonia of the former Serbian colonists was not enough. They wished to sever all connections with Serbia, and Belgrade found it expedient to include a Serb—one who had long been resident in Macedonia and was a disciplined member of the Communist Party—in the reconstructed Macedonian government. The problem was one of proportion and timing. Macedonia must be free and independent—but not too free nor too independent; it must be united with the unredeemed lands beyond the Greek and Bulgar frontiers—but not too hastily.

A development which may be shortly expected as a further step towards statehood is the creation of an independent Macedonian Church. According to orthodox theory, each sovereign State is entitled to have its own autocephalous church. During the last half of the nineteenth century Macedonia became an ecclesiastical battleground between the Greek Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Exarchate, both of which exerted powerful cultural propaganda on behalf of their two rival nations. After the formation of Yugoslavia it was the turn of the Serbian Orthodox Church to make its bid for the soul of the Macedonian people. The Serbian Church is now in opposition to Marshal Tito's régime, and the creation of an independent Macedonian church would at the same time deal it a telling blow as well as delight Macedonian national sentiment.

In a land where banditry and racial feuds are endemic, it is not surprising to find that there are scattered groups still attempting to champion their particular brand of nationalism against the Skoplje government. A proclamation issued by the Macedonian National Front in August last called upon the people "to extirpate Mihajlov's IMRO bands, and the bands of professional murderers." Vancho Mihajlov, whose henchmen had helped the Croat Ante Pavelic build up his terrorist Ustash organization, resided in Zagreb during the greater part of the war and was sent back to Macedonia under German auspices on the eve of their withdrawal in a last minute and unavailing attempt to build up a new pro-German Macedonian régime and forestall the Partisans. Many of his lieutenants have by now been caught and executed and it is doubtful whether he himself can be considered a serious menace.

Parallel with the liquidation of their rival factions, the Macedonian Government is attempting to put into effect its reform of the educational and administrative system. An effort has been made to standardize one of the Macedonian dialects and raise it to the dignity of a recognized literary language. A vigorous, but as yet not very successful, drive is being launched against illiteracy, new text books are being written and the schools purged of Serbian influence. The varied ethnic groups—Greeks, Albanians, Turks, Jews, Vlachs and others—are being encouraged to develop their distinctive cultures and run their own newspapers. But in the schools, the health services, economic life and local administration, the programmes are being held up by the same factor—lack of trained personnel. The Macedonian Piedmont still lacks its cadre of disciplined national revolutionaries.

It would thus seem that the master plan for Macedonia was still in the first stage. At the same time however the ground is being prepared for the further stages and the scene appears to be already set for the second stage—the adhesion of Bulgarian Macedonia—as soon as the time appears propitious. The population of Bulgarian Macedonia is estimated at 220,000. In addition, considerable numbers of Slav Macedonians previously resident in Greece are now domiciled in Bulgaria. The manifesto issued by the Macedonian National Front in Skoplje at the beginning of August this year declared that "the strengthening of cultural links with Pirin Macedonia and the promotion of the national development of our people in that area will make possible the ardent desire of the people of Pirin and Yugoslav Macedonia that, through the fraternal understanding of Fatherland-Front Bulgaria and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, Pirin should be united with the Macedonian Republic." As a matter of fact, despite official Bulgarian denials, it had been unofficially admitted at the beginning of 1945 by Dr. Smoljaka, then Yugoslav Commissar for Foreign Affairs, that a deal to this effect had already been made between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Perhaps the Bulgarian Government flatters itself that the claims raised against Greece at the Peace Conference will compensate her for this loss of territory.

The desired acquisition of Greek Macedonia naturally presents Marshal Tito's Government with a problem of a vastly more formidable nature. So far, he has ventured little further than the careful stimulation of a press campaign reminiscent of that which preceded Yugoslav action in Venezia Giulia and designed to win sympathy inside and outside the country for the Slav minority which is alleged to be persecuted by "Greek monarcho-Fascist bands". No accurate estimate of the number of the Slavs—or Bulgarophones, as they are often called—of Greek Macedonia is available. Yugoslav authorities naturally place the figure high and speak of the "tens of thousands of refugees" which have already crossed into Yugoslavia. The total population of Greek Macedonia is about a million and a half. Of this, the Greek census of 1928 put the Slav community at not much more than 80,000—certainly an underestimate. An almost equal number had already left Greek Macedonia and been replaced by 60,000 Greeks from Bulgaria during the voluntary exchange of populations between Greece and Bulgaria of 1922-26, and the ethnic character of the land had been still further modified by the influx of 600,000 Greeks from Asia Minor. The main Slav enclaves left are situated in the mountainous territory north-west of Salonika, where Albanians and Vlachs also form minorities.

During the last year and a half a number of vigorous protests have been made by Yugoslav politicians such as General Tempo, Dimitar Vlahov, and Dzilas, one of the chief spokesmen of the Yugoslav Communist Party, against the alleged persecution of the Slav minority. The Macedonian National Front has now addressed a memorandum to the Paris Conference deploring "the terror prevailing in the other part of our country" and stressing the plight of "tens of thousands of refugees" from that area. That some reprisals have been taken by the Greeks against the Slav minority appears to be certain, but the explanation lies less in Greek racial intolerance than in the record of the minority under the Axis occupation. Many of these Slavs had then declared themselves to be Bulgars, as readily as they now invoke their Yugoslav kinship, and had received correspondingly favourable treatment from the Germans. This has not been readily forgotten or forgiven by the Greeks who have not been slow to pay off old scores. It appears that even EAM has shared the general distrust of the Bulgarophones, a number of whom had joined their ranks before the German withdrawal. In the autumn of 1944 a number of these Bulgarophone Partisans crossed the Yugoslav frontier and were incorporated into a Greek Macedonian Brigade under Yugoslav auspices. The Political Commissar of this Brigade declared that his men had been forced to seek refuge in Yugoslavia as EAM had broken the agreement by which the Bulgarophones had been promised their own military and political units within the framework of EAM, their own administration on liberated territory, and their right to self-determination including, if so desired, the right to secede from the Greek state.

Two months later, in December 1944, it was announced from Bitolj that a political counterpart of the Brigade had been set up in the form of a commission

whose purpose it was "to direct the struggle of the Macedonians in Greece." It seemed as if the local hotheads were intent on forcing the pace and threatening to wreck the master-plan by precipitate action. Marshal Tito found it expedient to express his disapproval of all anti-Greek activities and declared that Yugoslavia had no aggressive intentions against Greek Macedonia and that no Yugoslav troops would cross the frontier. But there has since been no lack of reports of minor frontier clashes and incursions of Yugoslav bands into Greek territory and the Yugoslav border continues to be fraught with explosive possibilities. The border is known to be heavily manned on the Yugoslav side and Keremechieff, the Political Commissar of the Greek Macedonian Brigade, and other irredentist leaders are still active in Yugoslav Macedonia.

It is interesting to speculate to what extent the Left in Greece is prepared to accept the proposed cession of Greek Macedonia. Some reports declare that an agreement on this point was reached by the Greek and Bulgarian Communist Parties in the summer of 1943 but the hostile attitude of EAM towards Slav aspirations in Greek Macedonia has already been mentioned. It would seem that the Greek Communists find themselves in much the same quandary over Greek Macedonia as do the Italian Communists over Venezia Giulia. No Greek political party with any pretension to patriotism could for a moment approve the loss of so Greek a city as Salonika any more than could the Italian nationalists endorse the loss of Trieste. Yet the Greek Communists dare not, on the other hand, fall out too openly with their Slav comrades who enjoy the support of Moscow. As far as possible they try to maintain a non-committal attitude.

The result of the Greek plebiscite in favour of the return of King George of the Hellenes undoubtedly represents a serious check to the plans for the creation of a united Macedonian State. Serious armed clashes have been reported from several districts of Greek Macedonia and it was the contention by the Greek royalists that the Communists were in league with Yugoslav irredentists to bring about the cession of Greek Macedonia which swung a large section of moderate opinion in favour of the King. In the meantime, on the Yugoslav side of the border, canvassing is in full swing for the election of the new Macedonian Constituent Assembly which is shortly to meet at Skoplje. Elections to it will be held at the end of September. It is possible that, as a counter stroke to the success of the Greek Right at the plebiscite, Slav delegates will be returned representing Bulgarian and Greek as well as Yugoslav Macedonia. Such a gesture may have little practical significance at present, but it will at least serve to remind the world that the creation of a united Greater Macedonia is only awaiting a favourable moment for its realization.

(Mr. Clissold served with the British Military Mission to Yugoslavia during the war and was attached to Marshal Tito's Headquarters. Since the liberation he has been the Press Attaché at the British Embassy in Belgrade.)

SWEDEN NOW

BY HENRY BAERLEIN

'WE the people of Sweden are the world's worst psychologists.' So says Sten Selander, one of their best-known writers. This he thinks is due to the fact that for generations the Swedes have lived on out-of-the-way farmsteads. On the other hand a Swede becomes a genius when he has to do with the interiors not of men but of motors or other machinery. If you have a break-down on a Swedish road everyone in the neighbourhood will come hurrying to the spot and in a few minutes your motor will be running again as smoothly as ever, for the Swedes have perforce had to be their own smiths, carpenters and Jacks-of-all-trades.

They have forced their national prosperity from a barren and stubborn soil, by means of patience, much hard labour and the gift of organization. They are rightly proud of their high standard of living: it implies something of a feat and they do not want to lose it. This does not signify that they are mean. On the contrary, they like to have a good time and wish others to share in it. They are good at making money, better still at spending it—every other Swede lives above his income.

The practical trend of their minds does not exclude a strong current of sentimentality. Level-headed business men cannot make a speech without getting lumps in their throats; after a drink or two solicitors and estate agents air the woes of their tragic, misunderstood lives. Deep down in most Swedes there is hidden a real melancholy, akin to the tender sadness of their summer nights and the dreary monotony of their forests.

During the recent war the Swedes had the usual anxiety of a small people surrounded by powerful belligerents. Until 1943 they were scarcely in a position to defend their immensely long land frontier, if the Germans had invaded them from Norway. In 1943 they were well equipped—largely with German weapons, which the Nazis had no choice but to sell, compelled as they were to be on good terms with the country from which came so much of their iron-ore.

One can hardly blame the Swedes because they took some time to realize that a culture to which their own had been much affiliated could degenerate into Naziism. Many of them considered that the absorption of Austria would be to that country's advantage and as Chamberlain and Daladier seemed to be satisfied with the Munich decision one could not expect the Swedes to denounce it. But then came the invasion of Denmark and Norway, whereupon the over-

whelming majority ranged themselves on the side of the Allies. Such, for instance, were the sentiments of practically all the 4,000 students of Uppsala University. Thousands of Norwegians managed to cross over into Sweden, young men (and many who were not so young) proceeding to Britain by devious routes in order to enrol themselves in the Norwegian armed forces. When the Germans resolved to put into concentration camps all the Jews in Denmark it was made known to them that Sweden was very willing to grant them shelter, so that they came across the narrow water. One, however, Madame Texière, the 103-year-old mother of Jacob Texière, the famous reciter of Andersen's tales, was concealed by friends in Copenhagen. Until then the Nazis had always maintained that the acts of sabotage were committed by the Jews and whenever an explosion occurred after the Jews had departed everyone used to say: 'Listen to old Madame Texière, she's at it again.'

Before 1943 the Swedes had to be very careful. It will be of interest to quote one or two extracts from a circular issued to the Swedish press during the earlier part of the war by the State Information Board and the Press Council, the former an institution which the crisis brought into being, while the latter consisted of members nominated by the press organizations and appointed by the Government; it was their task to promote good relations between the press and the authorities. The Government held the view that administrative interference in the activities of the press should only occur when absolutely unavoidable. Here then are some extracts from the circular: 'If communiqués from the belligerents regarding one and the same matter do not correspond, it is inadvisable to adopt an attitude which supports one side or the other . . . Derogatory statements which cast a slur on the actions of foreign armed forces must, unless fully confirmed, be carefully avoided . . . Headlines, both on posters and in the newspapers, should be worded in such a way as to avoid favouring one side or the other.'

As long ago as the middle of the eighteenth century a writer formulated the principles of press freedom which underlie all Swedish legislation in this field. 'The freedom,' he said, 'of the press is a people's invaluable and solemnly expressed right to enlightenment. The freedom of writing is the same in a State as the freedom of thought in one's soul and the freedom of speech in one's relations with other people. They are equally necessary and have but one law—the truth.'

Swedish democracy, under which they have shown that in competition with other nations they can make both material and cultural progress, is nothing new and has not been imported from abroad. It is purely Swedish and has been evolved over a very long period. It provides first that the people themselves shall determine the manner in which their country shall be governed, and secondly that every citizen shall possess, within the limits of the laws adopted by the nation itself, not just abstract freedom but a number of definite and concrete liberties. The first Swedish *Riksdag* met in the year 1435 and in

Europe's oldest written Constitution, the Swedish Laws of Government of 1809, the most important of these liberties are defined.

To safeguard her neutrality during the war Sweden with her limited population could not reckon to defend herself with quantitative superiority over any possible aggressor. Every effort was directed towards the attainment of the highest possible quality. Wherever foreign war experience has contributed to developments, it has always first been considered on purely Swedish lines and revised to suit Swedish terrain, Swedish climate, Swedish tactics and Swedish troops. The Swedish conscript material ranks among the most excellent in the world. Thus in an average year less than five per cent. of the young men liable to enrolment are exempted on medical grounds. Each conscript is submitted to a series of carefully worked out psychological tests aimed at determining his disposition and suitability for one or the other branch of military service. The great popularity sport and athletics have won among the Swedish people has been of benefit to the defence forces. As an example may be mentioned orientation cross-country running, a typically Swedish branch of athletics; this sport gives an ever growing number of youths, before undergoing military service, an ability to find their way in wooded and open country with the aid of map and compasses. In the same way the well-known skill of the people on skis is of benefit to the armed forces. It would be no exaggeration to describe the Swedish army as the best winter army in the world. It has for a long time been purposefully engaged on the special problems of winter war. Large forces have for months at a time camped out in the forest and open country during exceptionally hard winters, when the cold has constantly stood at -25 degrees Centigrade. The fact that not a single man has in that time been seriously frost-bitten constitutes good evidence of the ability of the troops to overcome the ardours of winter. With regard to war material Sweden can now rely to a large extent on her own designs and her own factories. Suffice it here to mention in the sphere of gun manufacture the Bofors works which have for long enjoyed an international reputation. Excellent tanks and armoured cars have been produced; Swedish shipyards have furnished the navy with new light units at a rapid rate and especially as regards submarines they have achieved speedy deliveries. The country used to be dependent for aircraft on import from abroad or the building under licence of foreign types of planes, mainly British and American. Now, however, an entirely modern aircraft home-industry has been created. Here I may add that an American air officer was telling me the other day that he considered the Swedish airmen as unsurpassed. They are admirable technicians. By the way, in the Swedish civilian air lines a number of British, American and Norwegian pilots are engaged, the reason being that an insufficient supply of personnel is liberated from the Swedish Air Force, while the obligation persists for a civilian pilot to have at least 1,500 flying hours to his credit.

The physical fitness of the conscripts to which I have alluded is held up to

the whole people as an aim to be achieved. More and more the public has awakened to the importance of the fitness of the individual and the authorities have opened many new possibilities to those who feel called upon to join in the national campaign. As for the army, special attention is given to the training of the corps of officers who must set an example to their men. An excellent method for promoting enterprise and fitness has been the modern pentathlon, the five items being cross-country riding, fencing, shooting with duelling pistols, swimming and cross-country running. This interest is later kept alive by inter-district competitions and a national contest to decide the champion district. And isolated as Sweden was in the war she still was able to hold international matches with Switzerland.

Everything, however, in the Swedish garden is not lovely. A glamorous picture unfolds itself to the traveller—shops full of attractive goods, plenty of food, including such things as pineapples, bananas, tons of chocolate and eggs in any quantity, lights everywhere, the coloured signs making the night perfectly pre-war, comfortable electric trains—availing herself of her innumerable rapid mountain rivers, Sweden is the most electrified country in the world—motor traffic picking up (and a traveller from Britain is allowed to take his car by ship to Sweden without any charge), employment at peak level. But this picture is rather deceptive. Behind the façade of prosperity gape the gulfs of empty coal yards. According to official figures the coal imports for the whole of last year amounted to 440,000 tons, less than a tenth of wartime imports, which were already cut by half. It has been possible to carry on somehow so long as there were some of the reserves left, carefully maintained during the previous lean years, and exports could for a time be kept on a high level with the aid of stocks built up for this transition period. Without coal it will be quite impossible to reach full output, for example in the timber, pulp and paper industries, with the consequence that export deliveries on anything like last year's scale cannot be hoped for. It may sound strange that timber production should be dependent on coal, but in reality, of course, the connection is simple: under present conditions labour has to be directed to the cutting of wood for fuel, and the saw-mill requirements of logs are not forthcoming. The pulp factories in their turn are in part directly dependent on coal fuel for their running, and have seen some of their cut wood requisitioned by the State for fuel purposes. With the sources of oil supplies once again open to them, the Swedes will probably be able to provide, after a fashion, for domestic requirements even over another year with the aid of the small quantities of coal reaching the country from Poland and the United States. But, apart from the fact that the whole business is extremely uneconomic, they feel that it is unsatisfactory, to say the least, that they should be unable to play their part in filling Europe's crying need of timber products for reconstruction.

A financial arrangement has been made between Britain and Sweden, whereby Sweden undertakes to sell Swedish *kroner* for any British purchases in

Sweden and to hold a reserve concerning any such transactions, because there would obviously be a surplus. Last year we bought six times more than Sweden bought here and therefore Sweden has sterling piled up in reserve which she can only use in the sterling area, where the possibilities are very small. This amounted last year to £25 million, another £15 million will be added this year. When I stated that an arrangement had been made between Britain and Sweden I should have said that it was made between the Bank of England and the Bank of Sweden, the *Riksdag* not having been consulted. In effect Sweden is giving credit to Britain without interest—but she does not complain very loudly.

Cheerful news comes from Kiruna Iron-ore Company which owns not only those excellent mines the content of whose ore is so superior to others, but the harbour and all the installations at Narvik, the port of which we heard a good deal a few years ago. It will not take long for this port to be wholly restored to its pre-war condition and then, if the British steel firms will modify their present methods and work with this higher grade ore, all will be well in that particular sphere.

On the whole, therefore, and taking into account the psychology of Swedes and British people we shall be justified in looking with some confidence into the future. In the meantime there will be many in this country who will wish, now that our islands are no longer so entirely marooned, to pay a visit to such a country as Sweden. By sea and by air the Swedes will take you from here in the utmost luxury. They have just added to their pre-war line of ships the excellent 'Saga', which should have been built in Britain, but which owing to the war was constructed, and how wonderfully, in Gothenburg. The journey from Tilbury takes forty-two hours and will take thirty-five when the North Sea is quite free of mines, thus doing away with the present necessity to sail up towards Flamborough Head before striking north-eastward. The diesel-engines of this beautifully appointed vessel occupy one-fifth of the space of ordinary ones, thus affording more for the 390 passengers and the ninety-nine members of the crew. There is additional accommodation at very moderate rates for youth organizations.

We did not hear much about Swedish 'planes in the war; but the Germans were aware of what was being done to convey such precious things as ball-bearings to Britain and of the exploits of the Swedish airmen who brought them to Scotland. After the cessation of hostilities the Swedish civilian lines were the first in Europe to cross the Atlantic. They now run to many parts of the world. The journey from London to Stockholm takes about six hours, Gothenburg being the only place where a landing is made. Every half hour or so the pilot sends a card to be shown to the passengers, giving the height, the speed and so forth. The development of domestic air traffic has also been attended to; Sweden is a long and narrow country, the distances between her northern and southern extremities are vast and the internal air communications have

proved most useful. Then there is the traffic to the fascinating island of Gotland in the Baltic, whose delights are being discovered by people from Britain. Visby, its medieval capital, surrounded by a perfectly preserved wall two miles in length, has among other ancient buildings a patrician house of the thirteenth century which is surely the most picturesque and the oldest air office in the world. There was a time when the sea-laws of Visby had to be observed by English, Russian and other ships trading in the Baltic. The merchants of those days built many of Gotland's ninety churches, none of them later than the year 1360.

And what of the people in this interesting country? One instance shall suffice to indicate their courtesy. One evening in Stockholm I happened to be watching a man who approached a blind fellow-countryman sitting with his back to a wall and with a tin for contributions on his knee. Into this tin the passer-by dropped a coin and, as he departed, he took off his hat to the blind man. The point of the story is that when I mentioned this to the other Swedes they were not astonished.

TRANSATLANTIC FRIENDSHIP

BY A. M. WILDING-WHITE

SOME years before the war, when I came to Oxford as a student, I had many friends among American and Dominion Rhodes scholars. During their first few weeks in England, these newly arrived Americans and others would describe much that they observed as a hundred years behind the times. "Show me the first boat back," was a fair summary of their views. Yet, almost without exception, the passage of six months found them enjoying themselves and their new found friends. By now they had been captivated by the quiet efficiency of the tutorial system and by the eloquence of "just boys" at the Union Society. Later, the bungling through methods, which had caused them so much amusement when they first arrived, appeared to them in a different light. They began to see the plan behind the apparent muddle. Soon some were even contemplating living in England.

During the war American soldiers showed the same tendency to criticize before they understood. Visiting university towns some remarked that the old buildings should be swept away together with the antiquated methods of education they represent. Most did not realize that leading American universities including Harvard and Yale have improved their methods by adopting the Oxford system. Some have even copied the buildings. One Canadian officer, a paratrooper, described the assizes as "a page out of Alice in Wonderland." But it was the same story over again, Canadian soldiers who had been in England four or five years rarely found fault. When they did, what they had to say was usually valuable and constructive. The same became true among American soldiers who were stationed here several years.

On the other hand, two and three years ago the Yanks in England did not go uncriticized. When they left they had won a very noticeable position in the affections of many Britons. They were described as "a familiar landmark in London", as "part of England now". Still, Britons at school and university, in business and in society have often told me how uncivilized Americans are. Yet some settle every year in America and before long they learn to like it. I have heard also many airmen of the R.A.F., when starting their training in Canada, criticize freely customs and institutions before they understood them.

This fault of criticism prior to understanding is by no means a habit only of the semi-adolescent undergraduate and the untutored soldier. Men who have reach the top in their own particular branch of endeavour have been equally guilty, in recent years and in the past. When Charles Dickens first visited the

U.S.A. he was severely shocked by what he found. Soon after he wrote *Martin Chuzzlewit*—a harsh criticism of the country. Yet Dickens was without doubt one of the most human men we know. One of the few equally human men—Mark Twain—was also shocked after his first visit to England. In *A Yankee at the Court of King Arthur* he attacked bitterly English institutions and customs.

Later when Dickens knew America better he became a great admirer and expressly withdrew much of what he had said. Mark Twain was a frequent visitor to England and in his later books expressed great admiration for England and for British methods.

Some Britons visiting America have reached the top in their own profession or calling. They would be the first to admit that, on their own subject, it is not possible to speak except after many years of experience and study. Yet they rush in with wild comments on a situation they have met for the first time, and by so doing undo a great deal of the good work of such lifelong students of the matter as Lords Lothian and Halifax, Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt and others. Such men supply welcome fuel for the fires of anti-British propaganda machines.

On the other hand there is some truth in the British plaint that American newspapers are very free with adverse comment about England, while appearing resentful of British criticism of the U.S. Biased American papers will resent everything, often with the hope of increased circulation among anti-British elements. But the unbiased, and they are in the majority, will take with good grace a sincere straight from the shoulder talk of the type Lord Halifax and some others who know their subject have had on occasion to give. The irresponsible babblings of unofficial persons, who do not know their subject, cannot, in any country, be accepted with calm. In the U.S., where the press can be explosive, a bedlam of outcry usually results.

Although Dickens and Mark Twain, unlike some more recent critics, recanted in large part, much indeed of what they had said was true. But behind the superficial unpleasantnesses and evils so noticeable to the newcomer and which fashion his first impression, they began to see influences, problems and difficulties. In almost every country the native usually perceives and deplors these evils and unpleasantnesses. But he knows that most, at least, are the result of economic, social and geographical circumstances, which he has not been able yet to control; they are by no means solely the product of human vice.

Residents abroad learn, like Dickens and Mark Twain, the cause of the evils they first noted. They find them to be the well-nigh unavoidable concomitants of periods, trends and circumstances which man cannot alter except gradually, sometimes during several generations. Their criticism turns to understanding and a desire, if possible, to help.

Official British action sometimes seems unwise, even to Anglo-phile Americans; compatible only with a lack of knowledge and understanding. The suggestion, during the recent loan negotiations, of an outright grant to England affords an example. Those who understand America could see almost no

possibility of success for that proposal but much chance of harm. The philosophy behind the British policy in this type of situation is probably partly the product of that severely criticized institution, feudalism. It has left its aftermath of good as well as of bad. Something of a belief remains that power and wealth involve a duty to succour and protect. It left, at least in an England with ample sources of foreign revenue but largely dependent for her existence on trade, and later, a willingness to give away much apparently in return only for the prospect of a prosperous and grateful customer.

Life in the American colonies and in the young republic on the other hand, was a continuous battle largely by the individual against the forest, the Indians, against great distances and extremes of hot and cold. Every man had to depend for his living, security and prosperity primarily on himself alone. He was largely his own policeman, salesman, collection agent and court of law. He became suspicious of any suggestion which appeared on its face to be an attempt to get from him something for nothing. The aftermath has remained and affects international as well as domestic affairs. Especially has it remained unleavened in the Middle West. But every State in the Union, including each of the many though thinly populated mid-western States, sends two Senators to Congress.

The Economist of February 2, 1946, discussing another but related matter, (p. 170) recommends that Britain's foreign representatives should include some men who are not familiar solely with "Eaton Terrace and Matching Priory". "Such men," *The Economist* continues, "carefully chosen, are likely by reason of their experiences, to be more accurate observers than those who have always had access to cars and first-class carriages." This comment is apt. But it seems more important indeed that representatives abroad should observe from more humble gazebos than, as is usual, first-class carriages and luxury hotel rooms. In these circumstances the origin and upbringing of the observer, if "carefully chosen," does not seem quite so important.

The first experiences of an Englishman on his first visit, for example, to New York may well be these. The railway porter is surprised and abusive at receiving no more than the reward fixed by the railway company. The taxi-driver blows his horn furiously to make pedestrians scurry aside, leans out and exchanges violent abuse with a slightly dilatory pedestrian or with a colleague. In the subway (underground) late comers dash up and hurl themselves against him, forcing their way into the crushed mass. At a main stop he is pushed out onto the platform by the outsurge, carried well into the carriage, fearing internal injuries, by the inrush. The subway is draughty, dirty and uncomfortable. Walking under the elevated railway a spit lands inside his shoe or on his hat. He is very much surprised when he meets politics and somewhat unaccustomed to the methods in courts of law which, to his surprise, he finds are not the models of brisk efficiency he expected.

Though annoyed and a little shaken he is a greatly impressed by the engineer-

ing—yes and architectural—marvel that New York is. He gazes in wonder at Radio City, the Tri-Borough Bridge and many another startling achievement. Alternately he is shocked at stories of the disproportionate cost of many, often handsome it is true, municipal buildings each described to him as the local "memorial to graft". He is amazed at the size and beauty of a fairly recent skyscraper and at the period of months only that elapsed between the first blue print and completion of the building and by the information, perhaps, that it has always lost money. He enjoys the sovereign but friendly and polite self-assurance of the truck driver on the next seat at the drugstore counter. For quite some time he is bewildered. Then as the months go by he begins to see the picture as a whole and to understand. He re-reads Mr. Russell Davenport's poem "My Country" with a comprehension he did not have before.

America is not a land of ease.
We have not paused from action to beget
Heroic simile and song and frieze;
We have no empire of the mind as yet,
Nor have we shed our light within the grave:
But, as the sons of enterprise and sweat,
Honour the quick, the strong, the free, the brave—
The mind whose thoughts are cradled in the hand—
The fierce emancipators of the slave
Exact^{ing} destiny of virgin land.
We are the builders of dynamic things,
Successors to the spires of Samarkand—
Boilers and bars, propellers, wheels and wings
To run and fly and dive at our behest,
Through which the mighty wind of freedom sings
America is not a land of rest.

The destiny of a great deal of virgin land in America was its ruin for agricultural purposes. But that is to look at the details of the picture. Man when he undertakes great things is, like Nature, often a great waster. When new ideas are being tried and great experiments made it is probably impossible to avoid giving scope to the unscrupulous to scoop their profit and to the lawless to run amok. Private rights and privacy and even lives are cheaper. The man whose thoughts are cradled in his hand is bound to make mistakes but, given the right resources and scope, he will also achieve great things.

In American pioneer days and later, the early bird caught the worm. There was no time to stop to apologize, to assist or to pick up anything dropped. Resources were plentiful and it was less trouble and less expensive to get more of what was lost than to recover it or to protect adequately what a man had. Complete protection from lawlessness was not, therefore, greatly in demand. Hence the opportunity for the gangster, the corrupt politician, the fraudulent promoter, the tendency toward curt expression of sentiments. When America ceased to be a frontier country it became less trouble to protect one's own or

recover what was lost. The American began to watch his neighbour, his business colleague, his politician and his government. Hence the trend toward greater security, legal and social; toward a more static life bringing with it a desire for culture, politeness and calm.

The legislation of President Roosevelt to regulate stock markets and company promotion, banks and insuring deposits, to introduce social security and protection of homeowners' loans, is all part of this trend. It was probably hastened by the vision of a great statesman: but the country was ripe for it and must have had it soon. The fights of Thomas Dewey and others against gangsterism and the trend towards less corrupt governments in some cities and states are part of this development. So too was Mayor La Guardia's campaign to improve the politeness of the New York police.

Britons tend to ascribe some of America's domestic difficulties, past and present, to the "check and balance" system under which the U.S. is governed. They claim that the British so-called "bungle-through" system based on co-operation is more effective. Rather indeed American difficulties have been due to gaps in the check and balance system. Examples are frequent. They include the insufficient control by the Administration over Congress; the less effective procedure in Congress, especially in the Senate; the lack of control in some States over the judiciary because of the system of popular election of judges for short terms. Americans charge that Britain is ruled sometimes too much by tradition. This may be true. On the other hand in the U.S. there is a tendency to excessive subservience to dogmas such as separation of powers, freedom of speech and freedom of the press. The mere iteration of one of these is often sufficient to quell criticism of the Government or Constitution, of Congress, or of the press. Tradition at least is built slowly and can be adapted, though quite often it lags, as it grows.

The British check and balance system for government, orderliness, etc., is more detailed and complete. It includes the careful balance built into the British type of Parliamentary government. It includes even the discipline imposed in the educational system nurtured and enforced by a powerful public opinion, established by these means, which controls to a considerable extent selfish individualism.

What of the American visiting England? He starts by losing his baggage on the simple trip to London. He finds that since 1909 Committees and the public have been discussing and recommending about a planned expansion of London, with no visible result. He deplores the old school tie, until he realizes how harmless it really is, how ever larger numbers of people are able to wear it and how many reach the top to-day who cannot. The actual wearing itself, like the pageantry of the Assizes, other traditional functions and many another similarly human institution, help to attract, he finds, a pride and affection and, with other institutions, to prevent the accumulation of wealth from being the only means of relief to an otherwise possibly drab existence. As such they are part of Britain's check and balance system. Similar institutions are slowly be-

ginning to appear in the U.S., as the still noticeable aftermath of puritanism and mistrust of any form of panoply retreats.

Britons and Americans will humble themselves in their attitudes toward one another when they realize that many of the domestic evils in America to-day have existed also in England during periods, such as the eighteenth century, when economic and social conditions made control more difficult and less desired. Many of the evils which Americans see in England to-day are rapidly disappearing. Many are the shades of a system which was never established in the United States. America was never endowed therefore with the advantages and evils which it left behind in England. Eighteenth century England was a land of enthusiasm, of plentiful resources and promise; of corruption in high places and in low. Gradually by legislation, by reorganization and social building, opportunity for the corrupt was largely removed, adequate supervision and protection supplied. America is moving fast in the same direction. When viewed in due perspective, America's influence on the world, like that of Britain and the Empire, has at all times been toward fairness and decency.

There seems little doubt but that criticism both ways across the Atlantic is more frequent and more severe because of a feeling of kinship. What is tolerated in a stranger as "to be expected" is resented in one of the family. But much bad feeling between cousins would be avoided if each understood better the conditions in which the other has to earn its living.

England, it has been said, has always lived riskily. As a country England has had to live riskily, both militarily and economically. Britons as individuals have lived reasonably securely apart from their share in the national danger. Americans as individuals have, on the whole lived riskily; but America's present and future as a country has in substance always been assured. Inevitably these factors have affected differently the two countries and their nationals. As a nation England has had to plan carefully her every action, discipline her residents more severely and more ingeniously. America, both in her federal and State governments and in business will have in the future to think more deeply before acting. The cost of trial and error has become too great.

Life in America will, however, gradually become calmer and pleasanter as it becomes more static. The difficulties of modern day England must inevitably, it seems, induce here a more go-getter spirit. The special advantages of leadership in the industrial revolution could only prove ephemeral when other countries inevitably caught up. This go-getter spirit may make life less pleasant for many than it was before the war. It seems essential, however, if better days than these immediately post-war, are to come. But America will like and more easily understand such an England; just as England will better comprehend and find more restful and probably more helpful, the America we foresee.

(A Rhodes scholar, Mr. Wilding-White recently returned to the U.S.A. after a number of years spent in England.)

TWO POEMS

BY GORDON SYMES

THE MENACE

FREIGHTED from pillar to post, always under orders—
Horse-cars in France, forced marches in Macedon,
Trucks blistering on the desert—he's geared to his own
Groove, and at last has stolen across the border
To an authorized prestige. But the final cadre's
Closed down. He stands outside it in the sun,
Looks at his hand for orders, but finds none.
And hears the trade he learned is now called murder.
Time hangs. And false nostalgia blows on parade
Old friendships, tasks and beaches; recreates
That doom-ringed self-respect. Beware the germ-
Carrier, the blackening cloud! Oh mark him, betrayed
By the terrible preacher with ribbons, who postulates
Orders, a leader, and a new uniform.

NOW THAT THE BUNTING

NOW that the bunting over broken panes
Is put away, and streets cry to be clear,
It's time to make an algebra of the signs
Mazing our landscape, mocking the surveyor.
We are not fools, nor children; could foresee
War's squalid backwash, look for stranded mines
And rusty wire and dumps left high and dry;
Face cut-throat crime-waves, morose picket lines.
Even the gaps in towns, round family tables,
Make our grief proud. And some torpedoed hearts
Talked to their fears on rafts and found them fables.
Our skins have thickened, shed the softer parts.
But—oh dear God—if we could but discover,
All the world frozen, how to warm each other.

'H.G.' AND HIS NEIGHBOURS

BY S. L. BENSUSAN

"I KNOW," said Thomas Hardy one afternoon, as we strolled through the garden at Max Gate, his restful home on the Wareham road near Dorchester, "that you come to me as a friend and not as a journalist, and this is why I can talk freely about life and men and letters." Remembering this, I refrained my pen when he passed on and did not join the chorus of comment. Now, another good friend of an even older time, H. G. Wells, has been released from suffering and gone his way and I can recall some happy memories which it seems permissible to print because there is no attempt to appraise the writer, the only purpose is to acknowledge a debt to a friend. The memories go back a long way, to the editorial offices of a long-dead magazine called *The Idler*, edited by Jerome K. Jerome, who started his successful career with *Three Men in a Boat* and after finding fortune in varying moods, achieved a final success with a play, *The Passing of the Third Floor Back*.

In connection with *The Idler* Magazine there was a Club, which met once a month and chose the subject for a symposium to which members contributed. I remember most of them; I am afraid that nearly all have passed. They included W. L. Alden, then a successful story writer, Frankfort Moore, Israel Zangwill, Robert Barr, G. B. Burgin, and Eden Philpotts, who is still with us. One afternoon, a slim, quiet young man joined the circle; he had written a book called, *The Wheels of Chance* and was just about to publish another that opened many doors, *The Island of Dr. Moreau*. He became a contributor to the symposiums until the *Idler* fell on bad days and there came a spate of posters: 'Robert Barr has bought the *Idler* and hopes everybody will do the same.' Unfortunately 'everybody' refrained and the magazine could not stand up against the competition of the *Strand*, *Pearsons* and the *Windsor*. The members of the Club scattered, never to come together again.

Years passed and one day I met H.G. in the Chelmer Valley country. He was staying with R. D. Blumenfeld, the brilliant editor of the *Daily Express*. R.D.B., perhaps the best journalist of his generation, had been on the *Daily Mail* and left it to support Arthur Pearson's venture. "You're going to bury yourself in a paper that isn't selling a hundred thousand a day," Alfred Harmsworth had told him, very annoyed to lose his best news editor, but R.D.B. didn't think so and he was the better judge. He had asked H.G. down for a week-end to take part in some big outdoor game, I've forgotten what, but we were both concerned in it and an old acquaintance was renewed. H.G. fell in

love with the countryside, a singularly lovely one, and took a lease of the ample rectory of Little Easton which was too large for the incumbent. It was re-christened and became Easton Glebe. Within a mile, Frances, Countess of Warwick ruled over Easton Lodge, kept a large herd of deer in the park which is an aerodrome to-day, and maintained a very considerable staff of gardeners, keepers, woodmen, men servants and maid servants, stablemen, grooms and the rest, in the best Victorian tradition. A great hostess and a woman of kindest disposition, her visitors made pilgrimages to the Glebe to visit a man of genius and his friends; these on their part went to the Lodge to meet rank and fashion. Lady Warwick was host and hostess in herself but Lord Warwick added to everybody's comfort, 'grand seigneur' and simple English gentleman in one. The two houses between them added to the interest of those week-ends, still a feature of country life.

I don't think the Glebe would have been so popular had it not been for 'Jane', as all Mrs. Wells's friends called her. Very competent, very clever, very kind, she was one of the most gracious women I have met and her courage was marvellous. I can remember when, in one of the hockey matches that were part of the week-end programme, a young man's rash and clumsy stroke struck her in the face breaking some of her teeth; the way she set the trouble aside left some of us wondering. And later, when a merciless disease condemned her to a lingering death, she would receive a few friends in a rose-trellised summer house and talk to them of everything except herself. Who can forget her kindness or her courage?

H.G. was always a worker. In the very early morning, he told me, he would make himself a cup of tea and turn to his desk; between tea and supper time he would retire again to his study, leaving his guests to his wife's care and their own devices while he worked.

"H.G. and Jane" kept open house at weekends; the distinguished visitor from London and the neighbour from the nearby village gathered on equal terms. One met cabinet ministers, great scientists, leading writers and publishers in simple friendliness; at the Glebe equality ruled, all self consciousness melted in the warmth of a genuine hospitality and in the presence of a quiet friendly host who, incidentally, was a man of outstanding genius. Ball games were the rule; everybody played. You might be young, old or middle-aged, but you did your best until you could do no more. H.G. himself was indefatigable and there was sport under cover in bad weather. Sometimes, high spirits broke out after supper; there flashes on and past the screen of memory a distinguished author and critic contributing a clog dance. How easily H.G. turned from his world of strange, forceful and compelling dreams, from his theories that were to exercise world-wide influence, to the simple happy pursuits of a countryman, one of the few who destroy nothing for the sake of amusement!

I can remember when he came to see us for the first time, in days when I was still content to shoot, and pheasants were so plentiful that we used to bottle

them in the winter for summer use. "Let us give H.G. roast pheasant," suggested the C.O. and on the morning of his visit, perhaps an hour before he was due, one of the bottles was opened, with most appalling results. The gardener was summoned hastily to bury the unfortunate bird deep in a compost heap, windows were opened, the menu changed. "I thought at the time it was so kind of you," H.G. remarked later on when I told him of the tragedy associated with that visit, "to receive me quite cheerfully and to hide your emotions, when obviously you had a corpse in the house."

Writing of pheasants reminds me of an early autumn day, a first of October if I'm not mistaken, when I and a neighbour had walked my hedgerows with a dog and shot a dozen birds. We laid them by the side of a bush in the garden and had just set them out, when 'H.G. and Jane' called. "You must be photographed with the birds," I told him, "and then you shall choose your own pair." "Very well," he said, "we will be photographed by them, on the understanding that you don't publish the photograph. I don't approve of shooting."

We were to be photographed together once again, this time at Warwick Castle, to which a small party of us drove in a couple of cars from Easton Lodge.

Lady Warwick established the Barn Theatre in her park and just before the war in 1914 a trifling country play of mine, *The Furriner*, was produced there. The cast was fairly large and Easton Glebe lay across one or two meadows but 'Jane and H.G.' provided supper for the company on the three nights of the performance. It was a spontaneous act of kindness, the kindness in which both found real pleasure. How happy we all were just then, how supremely unaware of the approach of the First World War only about a month away, the war that was to change, *inter alia*, the whole face of the countryside, and the war years in which H.G. wrote that unforgettable novel *Mr. Britling sees it Through*. I have always thought that his friendly attitude towards the Germans was strengthened by the young German tutor who was living with them for the benefit of his boys Gyp and Frank, a very pleasant, friendly but punctilious little man who was the very perfection of politeness. He went home just before the outbreak and survived the war.

Through the anxious years, when the Lodge was one of the H.Q. centres, and busy generals came and went, when Lady Warwick's elder son was on the Staff, her younger son was in the Air Force and her brilliant son-in-law, Lord Feversham, was killed in France, Easton Glebe contrived to keep up a part at least of the traditional hospitality; the atmosphere never changed. Everybody was making some contribution to the war effort, but all found time to live. And when *Mr. Britling sees it Through* was published, several character sketches of H.G.'s friends and neighbours were to be found between its covers. Many of the young men who had joined in the games that were part of the week-end programme at the Glebe saw hard service; some did not return.

It was very hard to look far ahead, nothing like that war had come to England

since the Napoleonic era. There was talk of invasion; I had charge of food production in two or three little villages and so came to receive instructions and advices; there were months when at any moment we might receive notice to trek after a wholesale destruction of live-stock. Through all this turmoil, life at Easton Glebe moved soberly, helpfully and without perturbation and from his study H.G. seemed to survey the kaleidoscope of human affairs with detachment and serenity. As I have said, his attitude to us was always genial, always friendly and so remained to the end. We left the Chelmer Valley country and so did he, and occasions for intercourse came to an end, but in the years that remained he sent me occasional friendly messages, the last only a few weeks before he died.

He was many-sided and not the complete egoist depicted by some of his critics; I was fortunate in the aspect I encountered. A friendly sympathy was never lacking, but he did not fail to rouse and respond to antagonisms; no strong man can. There are those who, if you meet them at their front door, want to know why you are there and what it is you want, while if you meet them in the bee garden or the orchard will talk of fruit or honey on terms of amity and equality. So it was with H.G.; it was my good fortune to meet him outside the area of formalities in which he had few interests. I think that he liked a backwater, a passing association in which he could lay aside all the weapons of controversy and satire, all the burden of great endeavour, and rest awhile in a world bounded by fields and flowers.

'Jane's' mother, Mrs. Robbins, another very attractive woman, was a keen chess player and so too was I; I would go to Easton Glebe to play a game with her when there were no other visitors and H.G. would have a little spare time. But I failed entirely in an endeavour to establish friendly relations between him and another man of letters only slightly less distinguished than himself. On my initiative they met but it was with a certain latent antagonism and they parted without warmth. Later H.G. told me quite kindly that I had undertaken an impossible task. He was always patient and courteous and when I wrote him during the last war to protest against certain statements that sounded unjust or ungenerous, he found the time to write a very friendly and disarming letter of explanation. He never allowed his great gifts to stand between him and his friends; he could set you at ease and leave you there. He was generous. I had sent him Mallock's rendering of the 'Life and Death' of Lucretius and he enjoyed it as I thought he would. In return he sent me a copy of his then latest book with some pen and ink sketches on the title page; he was nimble and effective in this field too.

In the past few years we exchanged letters at long intervals; it was from others that I learned of his suffering and the hopelessness of the outlook. I reminded him in a letter that he, Eden Philpotts and I were the sole survivors of the Idlers Club, and he wrote that he hoped it might still be possible for the survivors to meet. I did not expect to see him again but the shock of his loss is very real. The lights that lit the long road of life are now so few that when yet another goes out, the way grows strangely dark.

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

THE POWER OF BOOKS

BY JOHN ARMITAGE

THE job of the publisher is little understood by the general public and even by many who seek to enter the profession. Those who manage to gain an entrance quickly find that to be fond of books is insufficient qualification. If they are adaptable by nature and possessed of an inner core of business sense they may pull through; otherwise their life as publishers is likely to be a short one, although this is not to say that they will fail to produce some good books and some handsome volumes. Yet, it is not true to aver that publishing is just like any other business, a matter of accurate costing, wide appreciation of the public taste and clever marketing. Books are personal things. A successful publisher must not only understand the buying of raw materials and the selling of the printed product but he must, unless he is the organizer of a mass production factory, look upon each new title as a living force which is the child of its author and a friend in the hands of the right reader.

It is not often that a man who is successfully engaged in running a business is able to impart his experience to others through the printed word. If anyone is able to do this no doubt a publisher should be that man but even this conjecture cannot detract from the achievement of Sir Stanley Unwin, whose book, *The Truth about Publishing*, has recently re-appeared in a fourth edition, completely revised and re-set.* This book was first published twenty years ago. Its merit was immediately recognized and, additional to its popularity in Britain, it was translated into many other languages. Now, at last, a new edition is available and certainly it is no exaggeration to say that everyone who is connected with the production of books in any way should read it. Nor can the reading of it be regarded in any sense as an unwelcome task. Sir Stanley is constantly informative and never dull, always straightforward but never for a moment losing the reader's interest, a remarkable performance in a finely printed book.

If Sir Stanley has a fault it is a slight *penchant* for sympathizing with the troubles of the publisher. That is only to say that he has the gift of making us "see ourself's as others see us" without always placing himself in the same enviable position. For to the author, and probably to the literary agent (about whom Sir Stanley is not altogether kind) the publisher is in much the same position as the motorist is to the pedestrian, he always has the power. In fact, the author wants his publisher to be financially strong, just as he wants his banker to be strong, in order to be certain that he will be paid what he is owed yet it is hard for him on occasions, sitting in the publisher's attractive offices and listening to the reasons why a fifteen per cent. royalty or a bigger edition than 2,000 is quite impossible, sympathetically to follow an argument which is all too logical and clear. The weight of the evidence is against him but not the appearances. The publisher is so obviously rich and the author so obviously in need of £50.

Sir Stanley has some severe words for the borrowers of books and particularly for the institutions which seek to fill their shelves by appeals to the generosity or charity of the

publishers. He writes: "When a library is to be started, no one thinks of asking Maple's to give the furniture and Catesby's to give the linoleum, but it often seems to be considered quite in order to try to cadge the books from the publishers. This is all part of the average Englishman's idea that a book is a thing one begs, borrows, sometimes steals, but never buys except under compulsion." He attacks, too, those public libraries which are prepared to buy discarded review copies and remainders rather than new books and, although he praises the majority for their support of the "worth-while" book and their refusal to buy the "meretricious", he points out that this might have "an even more decisive influence upon the quality of books published if the majority of Library authorities did not spend such ridiculously inadequate amounts on new books—in fact, if they did not underrate the importance of the very commodity for which public libraries exist."

The two points which Sir Stanley makes here are in fact connected. Although I hasten to mention that the public library with which I have been closely associated in recent years has never stooped to buying review copies, there is a strong temptation not to pay the high (as far as the library is concerned) published price for less important works of non-fiction, if there is a reasonable chance of getting them more cheaply a little later on. This has nothing to do with wishing to buy meanly, it is only indicative of the library committee's and the librarian's desire to make the money granted for the year purchase as many good books as possible. It must be borne in mind that neither the librarian nor the library committee is the library authority. Aldermen and councillors, who are not on the library committee, and even some who are, are not all supporters of the public library. Certainly many of them—and especially in these days when there are ever increasing calls upon the public purse—are not enthusiastic about increasing the annual grant for book purchase, even up to a figure which will bridge the gap between pre-war prices and those of to-day.

But the stand of the public libraries against the "meretricious" and their support of the "worth-while" book is deserving of much praise. It is by no means easy to determine to what extent the public appetite for "detectives", "Westerns", and "romances" should be assuaged out of the rates. There is force in the argument which states that the money comes from the public and should be spent on what the public wants. But it is clear from the demand that if this were done, there would be very little money in many districts left for the buying of "worth-while" books. Most good libraries now make something of a compromise. They recognize the place of lighter fiction but severely limit the amount.

This, of course, is part of the problem of education. Time and again the child who has learnt to appreciate literature and perhaps to have a taste for subjects other than fiction, leaves school, and at the same time the junior section of the public library. When he rejoins, if he does rejoin, it is to demand technical aids to his work and the lightest entertainment the library can provide. It is obvious that the great need of to-day in library development is consideration of the adolescent. The child, when he leaves the junior library, is not as a rule ready to plunge into the senior library which is so obviously designed for adults. What he needs is the run of the senior library under guidance and perhaps, in the future, a visiting, qualified librarian to his youth club or county college.

The point is that it is useless to bewail the smallness of the demand for "worth-while" books without doing our utmost to create that demand. There is only one way to do this and that is through education, but it must be education which is continuous and not as at present, primary, secondary, hiatus and (possibly) further. The implementation of the Education Act, 1944 as a first step is a primary concern of good publishers, for the power of "worth-while" books can only be given full play when people have learned to read them.

* *The Truth about Publishing*, by Sir Stanley Unwin. George Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.

FRANCE BETWEEN THE RE-PUBLICS, by Dorothy M. Pickles. *Contact Publications*. 10s.

By this admirable commentary on the France that has emerged from the ordeal of 1940-45 Mrs. Pickles qualifies for a high place among the élite (the fit but few) of British interpreters of political conditions across the Channel. The book may be regarded as bringing up to date Professor Brogan's exhaustive study *The Development of Modern France*; and if the author writes with less verve and *coulant* than that literary torrent she has given us an equally fascinating and penetrating analysis.

As a Social Democrat herself, without the blinkers which that genus normally wears, she is able to see, and record with sympathy, the peculiar difficulties which French Socialism is up against, in view of its recent history, to be scrupulously fair to the French Communists and at the same time to appreciate the necessary, not to say providential, rôle of General de Gaulle in the whole process of development. Mrs. Pickles is too downy a bird to prophesy whether or not General de Gaulle has any political future: what is certain, as she says, is that his action in resigning when he did has had the effect of placing responsibility for the success of French democracy to-day squarely on the French people.

On the inglorious eclipse of the Third Republic, which is the theme of Chapter I, Mrs. Pickles has just the right perspective. She reminds us that, of the 569 votes cast for Marshal Pétain when on July 10, 1940, the two Chambers sitting as a National Assembly passed its death-sentence, no less than 171 or thirty per cent. were provided by left-wing Deputies, eighty-three of them Socialists and sixty-two Radicals (the Communist Party was then, of course, out of the picture). And this was the direct result of the pacifism which had stultified large sections of the French Left in the 'thirties: based as it was originally on a genuine internationalism, when the mirage of

collective security through the League of Nations faded, it degenerated very easily into "appeasement". Once the defences of democracy were down, however, all the lurking forces of reaction were conjugated in an endeavour to give substance to the new Pétainist régime, with its factitious triple *mot d'ordre* of *travail, famille, patrie*.

How shocking, in retrospect, over against those moral values for which French civilization essentially stands, is the picture of xenophobia—not merely the anti-Jewish regulations but an indiscriminate penalizing and persecution of all foreigners in the name of *la patrie*; the atrophy of all political life by Pétain's restriction of party groupings to his *Légion des Combattants*; the special anti-Communist and "anti-terrorist" courts which travestied French justice; the childish direction of the press; the near-fascist *étatisme* which indeed purported to be liberating economic activities from the trammels of the "trusts" and trade unions alike; the mockery of a Labour Charter which—in fact, never operated; and, in short, the paternalistic projects for governing France 'from above' in defiance of a century and a half of democratic traditions.

The author's account of Resistant France adds little to what others have described, but on the question of Socialist-Communist relations since the Liberation she is most illuminating: nothing hits off more aptly the difficulty of achieving organic unity than Léon Blum's *mot*: "the Socialists combine national with international patriotism, while the Communists combine French with Russian nationalism." The Socialists are doubtless right to distrust not the intentions of their Communist colleagues but certain habits of mind.

Most of all perhaps is the author to be congratulated on her description of the mental climate in which successive Governments since Liberation have had to operate. As she says, the Left were naturally unwilling to see *Gaullisme*, in

the early stages, being used by elements of the Right in order to whitewash Pétainism; the General, on the other hand, had every reason, when he was engaged in wrestling with immediate practical problems, to get impatient with the "tendency of French politicians to consider questions of principle without always taking sufficiently into account their practical consequences."

Mrs. Pickles, convinced that Labour in France is destined to be the ruling class for as far ahead as we can see, attaches considerable importance to the setting up, by an Ordinance of February 1945, of Joint Production Committees designed to give the workers an effective share in the management of industry. Even though, in the event this 'new deal' was instituted on a limited scale that is excluding agriculture and commerce and applying only to industrial establishments employing 100 or more workers, it should be, she thinks, really important as "a starting-point, a training-ground and an institutional framework."

WILLIAM CARTER.

ECONOMIC REBIRTH, by R. G. Hawtrey. *Longmans*. 5s.

INCOME, by A. C. Pigou. *Macmillan*. 5s.

Within ten years of the appearance, in 1936, of the "General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money", Keynesian economics have become orthodox. It is classical economics which appear at present unorthodox, nay revolutionary. In this paradoxical sense, Mr. Hawtrey's small volume is revolutionary.

Against the background of Keynesian ideas, it is indeed revolutionary to call for a deflationary economic and financial policy. But Mr. Hawtrey is intensely pre-occupied by the inflationary symptoms discernible in British post-war economy. It may be true that inflation is still at present more potential than real. Yet, its potential volume is considerable. As the efficacy of price control and rationing wears off with the gradual reassertion of peacetime psychology among consumers, the danger may at any time become actual. A large proportion of wartime savings is

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involuntary, hence ephemeral. It may at any moment lay claim to consumer goods and capital equipment to a degree which, even at the maximum level of production, could not be satisfied for a considerable time to come. If controls gave way to the flood of demand, prices would rise to be chased by wages and *vice versa*. It would be difficult to stop this movement.

Hence, Mr. Hawtrey's main proposal of a forced loan designed to mop up the present excess of floating purchasing power (whether held in currency or in bank money). The Czechoslovakian example of 1919 is invoked as a precedent. Clearly, this would mean an all-round restriction of credit, the end of the policy of "cheap money" hitherto pursued and the adoption of a policy of dearer, if not dear, money. The interest rate would be supposed to resume the function which it holds in Mr. Hawtrey's view, of balancing the supply of savings (out of current income) with investment demand. Apart from pressing this deflationary policy, Mr. Hawtrey resumes a proposal, first advanced by him in his book *Economic Destiny* (1944), for the introduction of a State monopoly of wholesale dealing. This, in his view, would permit the balancing of consumers' demands with producers' capacity at a level where controls would be easiest and most effective. Such a scheme, he feels, would also be a convenient half-way house in which to pause before making a final choice between an economy fully committed to the elimination of the profit motive and one still relying on it as its main-spring.

To the reviewer, the merit of Mr. Hawtrey's book lies less in his practical proposals than in its theoretical implications. Mr. Hawtrey brings out clearly the assumptions, not always remembered, on which Keynesian economics rest. Representing unemployment as a gap between excessive savings and inadequate investment demand, they apply to an economy afflicted by low blood pressure. Yet, in the present situation, the gap is between excessive investment demand and inadequate (real) savings. The post-war economy

suffers from high blood pressure. Hence the necessity of different remedies.

In its main outlines, Mr. Hawtrey's analysis is no doubt correct though one may disagree with the suggested cure. If the policy of cheap money has to be discarded and a higher interest rate to be offered, the necessity of a forced loan appears no longer so clearly. Its difficulties would in any case be considerable because much of the excessive purchasing power is held, in liquid or near-liquid form, by foreign owners of Sterling balances. And whether a wholesale monopoly would not present difficulties of application whose irksomeness might not be far removed from that of existing and tested controls, is a moot point. Whether shortages would be recorded at the wholesale or, as at present, at the retail or production levels, they would persist and physical controls could not therefore be dispensed with. Be that as it may, Mr. Hawtrey's volume is refreshingly non-conformist. And it may stimulate the search for other and perhaps more appropriate means to overcome the danger of inflation which cannot be denied.

Professor Pigou's volume *Income* is sub-titled an "introduction to economics". The simplicity of its language is, however, somewhat deceptive and it is by no means sure whether the beginner in economics will always realize the hidden implications of some of Professor Pigou's theoretical considerations. If it is at all possible adequately to discuss, in a mere 115 pages, such concepts as the national income, the factors of production, allocation of resources, distribution of income and the like, Professor Pigou, who writes with a nice touch of humour, has succeeded in doing so. The method of exposition which works its way down from the fundamental conception of national income, deserved to be given a try. The beginner should read this book with care, turn to the bigger text-books and then return to Professor Pigou's *précis*. It is in this fashion that he is likely to derive the maximum benefit from its study.

R. P. SCHWARZ.

SOCIETY AND NATURE, by Hans Kelsen. *Kegan Paul*. 21s.

An amazing and patient industry, an encyclopædic scholarship and a certain architectonic power to arrange his material in orderly and cumulative and, therefore, easily grasped forms have gone to the making of this book by Professor Kelsen. It occupies a worthy place in the "International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction" under the general editorship of Professor Karl Mannheim.

Part at least of its fascination is due to the crucial importance for modern thought of the issue with which he deals, and, than which, there is perhaps no issue of greater importance for science, for philosophy and therefore for sociology. Can we henceforth use the concept of "cause" in nature? Hitherto it has been the lynch-pin, the ganglion, the very

nerve centre of every rational attempt to explain the world in general, and society and nature in particular, in rational terms—can we continue so to employ it?

In as brief a space as possible, here is Dr. Kelsen's account of the history of the idea, illustrated, especially in the purely anthropological section of the book, with a wealth of quotation almost to the point of satiety from the mythology of "primitive" peoples. In the beginning, says the author, we have to deal with a "universe" of thought which views both society and nature as a Spencian "undifferentiated homogeneity". There is no gulf, nor any unlikeness between society and nature; both form one whole and are an unbreakable unity. And everything, man, society, nature and tools, is animated; there is life in them, and life which wills the continuance of the same order of the one nature-society.

Sampson Low

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continue throughout the Ruhr; the enormous Krupps works at Essen, its outer walls nearly a mile long, its chimneys towering into the air, looks from a little distance as though it should be throbbing with activity; it is only on a near approach that one sees that here again is a skeleton mockery, sans roofs, sans floors, the remaining machinery mostly twisted and all red with rust. The big towns look as though they had not been designed for human habitation, and as though no population could live in them.

But they are heavily populated, in most cases more heavily populated than in the days when they were human towns; for millions of *flüchtlinge*, exiles from the Polish zones, from Czechoslovakia, or fleeing from the Russian zone (in real or imaginary terror is unimportant) have swelled the population in the towns by a figure approaching twenty per cent. Bitterly resented by the original inhabitants, their misery swells that of their involuntary hosts; and all live together under conditions, for the most part, of the greatest squalor, often half a dozen to a single cellar room, without furniture other than beds, without light, heat, or ventilation, flooded with every rainstorm. Many families have built shacks in the courtyards and gardens of former houses, one or two small rooms patched together with material gathered from the debris. Those that I saw were spotlessly clean, with water and electricity taken from the mains, with flowers in the windows, and with little patches of cultivated ground, growing—if nothing else—tobacco. On most rubble heaps one sees men scrambling about for material to suit them; a primitive life is being reconstructed.

A few of the luckiest have rooms in a house still standing; or, greatest luck of all, a small house in the suburbs; even in these the ceilings are without plaster, the walls often cracked, and, besides the damage of war, there is also the more wanton damage of the occupying troops as they passed through. Despite these drawbacks, these fortunate ones still live the life of the self-respecting *bourgeois*, polishing their remaining glass, sitting straight on their carefully dusted *plushmöbel*.

The most unfortunate of all—the *flüchtlinge* and the dispossessed, those without even a cellar to call their own—sleep in the enormous and excellently constructed air-raid shelters, which were so amply provided in the Ruhr towns. (It is, incidentally, only when one has seen these shelters that one can understand how any of the inhabitants can have escaped the conflagrations which destroyed their cities. Deep dug, with complete ventilation and sanitation, they could resist even a direct hit with our heaviest bombs, and give complete protection to some five thousand people each. Had Germany relied on such flimsy constructions as our Andersons and Morrisons, or our surface shelters, the land would have been depopulated.) These cellars still have the wooden bunks in tiers, and the sanitary and medical arrangements instituted by the Nazis; they are now administered by the Red Cross, and perhaps a twentieth of the population sleeps in them each night; for some is provided a meal of

gruel. Much of this population is transient; many possess no more than the clothes on their backs.

In these ruined towns most of the municipal services are now restored; trams run, three or four cars hitched together; there is electricity and running water, in some towns gas. The sewerage works. Most of the streets are passable. Rubble is being cleared, dangerous buildings demolished, still habitable houses put into service. The magnitude of the task accomplished, starting from utter ruin and complete civil chaos, is noteworthy, a major achievement of the British Occupation Forces.

The British Zone, is, like Britain itself, misleading. It gives the impression of being chiefly rural, whereas in fact it is overwhelmingly urban. The prosperous appearance of the countryside suggests that the misery is local; it is practically endemic; the fortunate farmers and country dwellers represent only a tiny fraction of the whole.

* * * *

The most striking first impression of the Germans is that they are clean, neat and well-dressed. This impression persists; in the vast majority, the Germans are cleaner, neater and better-dressed than their English counterparts. This is undoubtedly due in major part to their character and training; but all but the most unfortunate also seem to have better stocks of clothes—or at least better clothes—than the English. I did not, for example, see a single middle-aged or elderly woman with bare legs—a common enough sight in England. Most of the younger women, particularly in Westphalia, wear the white, hand-knitted, knee-length stockings and much of their costume recalls traditional peasant dress. Apart from the *flüchtlinge*, the worst dressed are the growing children. Many of them, even in the cities, are bare-footed, without stockings, and, in the case of the boys, with excessively brief shorts. The Germans are obviously living on their stocks, taking great care of what they possess.

This neatness and cleanliness is misleading, suggesting by inference that they are relatively fortunately circumstanced. Moreover, the stigmata of obvious penury are lacking; though there are few or no fat people, apart from the farmer, one relatively seldom gets the impression of excessive thinness and such signs of starvation as oedema are not apparent. But closer observation throws emphasis on the thin and shrivelled necks of the older men and women and the often match-thin legs of the growing children. These groups are obviously those that are suffering most; the adolescents and young adults look better nourished, perhaps because they are getting the rations of heavy workers, perhaps because they have more energy for trips into the country to supplement their food.

A very considerable number of the children between four and six show all the signs of rickets, the bent bones and the over-big joints; but this is a result, not of current conditions, but of the excessive ration cuts imposed in 1942 and early 1943.

One of the problems besetting the Allied Government in Italy arose from the use of Italo-American officers on the grounds that they knew the language. "I wonder," writes the author, "whether it was really wise to select them for Military Government work . . . Of their faults I would list the following. In the first place they are upstarts. In several cases I could mention, they came from the lowest stratum of Sicilian society. The first thing they did on returning to the land of their fathers was to seek out their relatives—people living often in abject poverty, and many of them in the near criminal class. As a result they have become involved in the feuds of their kinsmen . . . Again, an American officer is fabulously wealthy by Sicilian standards, and with all the attributes of the *parvenu* such types have lorded it over the upper classes." Colonel Gayre records the widely told story of the Italo-American second lieutenant who comes into the mess mopping his brow and says in strongest Bowery: "Geez, these Wops burns me up."

Because it is a diary in substance, the book has the weakness that its comments are immediate rather than considered, but it has all the advantages of a fresh and lively eye-witness account by a man who did an important job with evident enthusiasm and skill.

GORDON WINTER.

QUEBEC, HISTORIC SEAPORT,
by Mazo de la Roche. *Macmillan*.
12s. 6d.

CROSS-CHANNEL, by Alan Houghton Brodrick. *Hutchinson*. 21s.

Those two eminent critics, Mr. Treacle and Mr. Gall, in *Headlong Hall*, dealt faithfully, or unfaithfully with many an aspiring writer. Neither of their methods is appropriate to the first of these two books. It suggests another theme, that of the novelist turned historian. Nevertheless the author's background, her series of Canadian novels and French descent, have already provided her with a large public; they do not in themselves

supply special qualifications. What we do find is an ardent love for Canada and especially French Canada; and this second aspect gives the book its attraction for the English reader. Canada was a French discovery and a French possession long before it became part of the British dominions. The city of Quebec inherits French history, not British, French traditions and ways of thought, the Catholic religion, French streets and buildings and the French language. Yet it is in Quebec that we can understand better than in most parts of the Dominion why Canada looks across the seas to Britain rather than to the United States just across her border. The political fact of partnership in the British Commonwealth (a bond so tenuous in the material sense that it could be broken tomorrow) counts for little in comparison with the intangible tie. England indeed burned Joan of Arc. A French judge, as the author reminds us, sentenced Jeanne d'Arc. Here we evoke the long historical memories of contact and conflict which give—or used to give—such piquancy to English travel in France. In fact Quebec belongs to Europe. Englishmen can find Europe there but they can also find their own past. They can travel back beyond 1789 into country once more familiar to them, and in some ways more congenial, than metropolitan France has ever been since.

It would be unjust to imply that this is merely a book about a picture-postcard city, looking wistfully across the centuries from its lofty rock. The author writes about modern industries, the life of to-day, and the importance of Quebec as one of the greatest ports in the world. At the same time the historical background, outlined or implied, is the best part of the book and its justification so near the centenary of the union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841. An older date is also relevant. In 1935 (the year of Hitler's first open aggression) the fourth centenary passed unnoticed in Europe of the landing of Jacques Cartier in Quebec. The publishers have properly kept Miss de la Roche's North American spelling, as in

'center,' 'color,' and the like; one accepts with less cordiality "the Honorable Winston Churchill." The narrative is not heightened by the repetition of such phrases as "Picture his coming!"

Cross-Channel sets out to describe "some few phases of the French tradition and scene" in 1939 and 1940, just before the German occupation. Mr. Brodrick saw them with eyes fresh from the Far East, of which he has left a record in *Beyond the Burma Road*. The contrast adds vividness to his impressions and appeals to similar feelings in ourselves. To us also France has been forbidden. What shall we find there of all we remember when we go back? The approach is unconventional; indeed the author's method seems loose and confused until we abandon ourselves to his company and follow him, as we are finally compelled to do, wherever he likes to take us. A picture emerges of a France little known to tourists but satisfying by its objective treatment wherever we are able to test it. There are no politics to speak of and hardly more than hints about coming invasion. Such hints, however—in a Cabinet Minister's conversation, or a peasant woman's remark near the Belgian frontier: "They haven't come through this year yet"—are all we need. War is possible, is probable, is near; but the life of France goes on. "England is 50 minutes, 20 miles and 500 years from France." The "French corrective" is essential for Englishmen as well as for the maintenance of civilization. The writing sometimes loses breath in its subject; but the book is one definitely to enjoy.

W. THOMSON HILL.

MAINLY ON THE AIR, by Max Beerbohm. *Heinemann*. 8s. 6d.

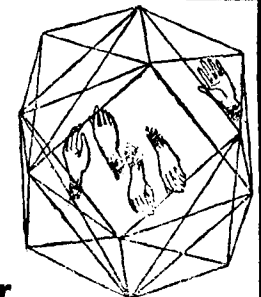
THE TROUBLE WITH YESTERDAY, by Maurice Levinson. *Peter Davies*. 8s. 6d.

In the Rede Lecture of 1943 on "Lytton Strachey" Sir Max Beerbohm deprecated the new religion thus: "We are told on high authority, from both

sides of the Atlantic, that the present century is to be the Century of the Common Man. We are all of us to go down on our knees and clasp our hands and raise our eyes and worship the Common Man." He excused his non-conversion on the ground of old age, but it was still the young "Max" talking of course, for regarding the crowd with indifference may be said to have been his permanent occupation. His few and perfect books were not written for general edification and the equally perfect cartoons, depicting almost without exception the brilliant and the famous, declare smilingly his alert preference for the individual. Yet, for the space of some seven hundred words and probably for the first time in his life, he is here bracketed with a very "common man" indeed, in the tentative hope that the experience may be good for both of them.

Anything short of listing the extremes of difference in the background and out-

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look of the two would be inadequate. The one, born distinguished as it were, with a brother in Herbert Beerbohm Tree already adding lustre to the family name—the other the son of starving Russian refugees. The one, product of Charterhouse and Oxford—the other leaving a London slum at the age of seven for an orphanage and returning to the East End (and a pitiful mother) as a fourteen-year-old apprentice. The one, reaching adult life, cultured, fastidious, in the 1890's, that wonderful late-flowering time of the Romantic Movement, with poets and painters for friends—the other with that particular orphanage-bred ignorance of the world and no standards by which to measure his vague yearnings for books and thought, and always with the poverty truly called grinding. The one, with leisure, and presumably cash enough, to winnow his works each to the scope of a masterpiece the other struggling out of furniture making, achieving marriage on the "dole" and eventually a London taxi-driver's licence, with an urge to write and draw.

So far the balance appears to be heavily on Sir Max's side. But one point at least in Mr. Levinson's favour is that he, being thirty-four years old, is going to see quite a bit of this Century of the Common Man. It may not produce a Sir Max (a man of his quality only appears about once in two hundred years anyway) but it *will* give the Maurice Levinsons a chance to show what they can do; and it is too early to predict that extended education will breed mediocrity inevitably. Already Mr. Levinson has been able to do something with that urge of his: the painting "England 1941" has its own quite special merits and its brand of satire is not less than, if totally unlike, Sir Max's own. And he has written a book in *The Trouble with Yesterday* which is a promise of still better work. Autobiography, if sincere enough, is bound to be worth reading but this one shows what in painting might be the same gift for portraiture, together with a power of dialogue, which should carry

him far beyond personal experience. And what better place to observe character and action has the novelist or the playwright than the driving seat of a London cab? The pity of it is that Mr. Levinson, very naturally, will want to get back at life quickly by writing a great deal of well-paid work and that probably he will stop driving a taxi as soon as may be. In the belief that he deserves, and can have, artistic no less than financial success it is suggested that he take a hint from Sir Max, who demonstrates what discrimination and restraint can do to keep the level high.

Mainly on the Air is a collection of twelve essays, six of which were broadcast in the decade ending in 1945. The distinction between the spoken and the written word, if subtle, is very real. To one who listened to "London Revisited", "Speed", "A Small Boy Seeing Giants", "Music Halls of my Youth", "Advertisements" and "Playgoing" the recapturing here of the beautiful voice, with its faultless enunciation and the delicately ironic overtones, is purest pleasure. Of the other pieces, "A Note on the Einstein Theory", "From Bloomsbury to Bayswater" and "Fenestralia" would seem to exemplify the perfection of *belles lettres*. Those who have suffered the excesses of modern verse can but envy the felicity of: "those tricky snippets of the dry prose in which the poetry of the West Central young is written." And how a fellow Cockney's heart warms to him when he drops satire (or does he?) and writes: "Trees are of course the best thing Nature has to show us; and in London one values them far more than one does elsewhere."

Naturally, the septuagenarian reared in comfort finds the twentieth century vulgar; naturally too the man who has lifted himself out of appalling squalor since 1912 sees it as the century of hope. If Max Beerbohm and Maurice Levinson could meet outside this page the one might learn how hard it is with an empty stomach and no intellectual stimulus to

grow up urbane, brilliant and exclusive, and the other could borrow from the riches of culture a broader and more profound conception on which to base his own development in prose and paint.

GRACE BANYARD.

WHILE FOLLOWING THE PLOUGH, by John Stewart Collis. Cape. 9s. 6d.

This is a record of an author's experiences as an agricultural labourer. Mr. Collis felt that he had hitherto regarded the world too much from the outside and wished to become more involved in it. The chance came with the war when he refused a home Army post for which he felt unfitted and was able to work on the land instead. He thus "gained the opportunity of becoming thoroughly implicated in the fields instead of being merely a spectator of them."

For nearly six years (the book describes only a part of them) Mr. Collis lived the full life of an agricultural labourer, cut off from his accustomed ways; the measure of his success—"how pleasant it was to be here and to be doing this *as my job*—no longer to be looking at a horse and cart jogging through a field, but to be part of it now, to be *on the field* instead of a spectator of it"—is the life-blood of the book which avoids the sentimentality and ignorance into which writers of this kind of book so often fall. There are plenty of common-sense observations on the life of the fields, its problems and their solutions, but the book's interest lies deeper. We see how quickly a man, who may fairly be described as "an intellectual", found himself reacting to situations very much as the agricultural labourer does and very differently from the way in which one who had merely been a spectator of this aspect of life might expect to react. Mr. Collis for instance soon finds himself as eager as his fellow-workers to know the time—speeding the clock for the great moment when they knock off, and then "a pleasure in just *sitting down*, and eating cheese, such as I have never known before."

This preoccupation with time is prevalent; revealing too is the sense of guilt when he stops for a drink while carting something to the station; that such an act, if known, would have been held thoroughly reprehensible gave him to understand how little the freedom of the more favoured professions is realized by their members. But the agricultural labourer has other freedoms; perhaps the greatest, though not emphasized by Mr. Collis, is freedom from worrying about his work when the working day is over.

The book is packed with thought, though the author was quick to detect the townsman's fallacy that on the land you have time to think. The author's reflections are of an original, sometimes philosophic and generally fascinating nature, and his experiences have made a delightful book from which it would be a pleasure to quote extensively.

J. F. BURNET.

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MURAL PAINTING, by Hans Feibusch. *A. & C. Black.* 21s.

The surfaces of walls have always been a temptation to artists. It is with mural paintings that the history of art begins. But the prehistoric men who made beautiful and vivid pictures of animals were not concerned with the design of their work in relation to the space and shape of their murky caves. They were not concerned with this problem because there was no such thing as architecture. Centuries later, however, when building became a complicated art, mural painting owed its development to the purpose and style of architecture and was closely conditioned by it. For instance, the medieval architects of Italy preferred the Romanesque style with its generous wall spaces to the Gothic innovation with its vast windows of stained glass and tracery. Consequently, the Italian mural painters enjoyed a long term of patronage from the twelfth to the eighteenth century. And it was during this period that the art came nearest to perfection.

In the early chapters of his book, Hans Feibusch makes an admiring survey of the Italians' glorious achievement from Cimabue to Tiepolo. He traces their gradual progress from a two-dimensional treatment which preserved the flatness of the wall to the culminating Baroque mastery which seemed to dissolve the architectural fabric into an illusion of boundless space. He shows how the finest examples of mural decoration, whether they were conceived in terms of pattern or depth, were always related harmoniously to their surroundings. He emphasizes that both arts were dependent on one another and complementary.

Hans Feibusch claims that present conditions are favourable to a revival of mural painting. Modern architecture, purged of the ornamental ineptitudes of the last century, has emerged with clear cut ideas of simplicity and fitness for purpose. Modern painting, no longer aiming at verisimilitude, is dominated by ideas of plastic design assisted by a new realization

of colour. The architect has borrowed some of the painters' forms and the painter some of the architects' concepts.

A characteristic defect of modern building is its absence of ornament. The severity of the style discourages that kind of exuberance out of which ornament grows naturally. Adornment without spontaneity has merely the appearance of a conscientious afterthought. It is best omitted. External and internal mural painting, provided it is in accord with the design and function of the building, might well supply the decorative features that the architect cannot provide with his own materials.

Similarly, one of the frailties of modern painting is an over-specialized individualism. Many artists, obsessed with the creation of their own idiom, are badly in need of an antidote to counteract self-consciousness. In the past, painting touched its greatest heights when it was harnessed to some ideal other than design for its own sake. An influential revival of mural painting, encouraged by architects and adequately supported by interested patrons would give purpose and vitality to contemporary painting. Hans Feibusch urges that painting be liberated from "the dangerous isolation of the studio and gathered into the purposefulness of the building." There is small doubt that mutual service to a common end would benefit art and architecture alike, to say nothing of the community.

Of fifty-eight large reproductions in the text, twenty-two illustrate the author's profound appreciation of past accomplishment, and the remainder his sensitive assessment of present and future possibilities. Hans Feibusch writes with the authority of knowledge and experience, and above all, with enthusiasm. And because his enthusiasm is balanced between the old and new aspects of his art, it has the old and new aspects of his art, it has real persuasiveness. In this treatise, architects, artists and students will find endless interest, much authentic information and it is to be hoped some will find a desire to respond to the author's promptings.

F. W. WENTWORTH-SHEILDS.

THE GARDEN, by V. Sackville-West. *Michael Joseph.* 8s. 6d.**ONE HOUR TOGETHER**, by E. Godfrey Hoare. *Frederick Muller.* 7s. 6d.

Miss Sackville-West's successor to *The Land* is, perhaps significantly, the third long poem covering the cycle of the four seasons that has come my way for review during the past half-year. Whether or not this presages a more general return to the modern long poem, (to say nothing of the chances for a revival of the narrative poem) *The Garden* possesses its own rich texture, which sets it apart from the more tenuous, lyrical intensity of Frank Kendon's *The Time Piece* or the honest freshness of J. H. B. Peel's *Mere England*. Constantly in reading *The Garden*—and I was reading slowly, savouring the colour for enjoyment—a line from Oscar Wilde's sonnet, "The Grave of Keats", came into my mind: "O poet-painter of our English Land!"

Autumn in felted slipper shuffles on,
Muted yet fiery,—Autumn's character.
Brown as a monk yet flaring as a whore,
And in the distance blue as Raphael's robe
Tender around the Virgin.

Blue the smoke
Drifting across brown woods; but in the
garden
Maples are garish, and surprising leaves
Make sudden fires with sudden crests of flame
Where the sun hits them . . .

Characteristic, too, is the number of references to painting in the poem. Certainly Miss Sackville-West has her right to her "descriptive line"; yet she skilfully avoids monotony by contrasting her English scene with exotic garden-landscapes from Persia, Spain and Italy.

There is, of course, much more than description in *The Garden*, for it records as well the author's wartime moods while immured in her country home, mourning for death in war, regret for the loss of youth and hope and will, a haunting awareness of the shortness of life and of inevitable natural death. A note of disillusionment is present:

They cannot break the heart, as friend
Or love may split our trust for ever.

And:

Virgil a living presence in the church;
Lambent mosaics, tarnished in their gold,
And all things heavy with their age, so old
They seemed as distant as my own lost
search.

There are occasional echoes of other poets, but how good it is to walk with a poet who writes with an instinctive sense of literary breeding, of noble grace and dignity. Over all there is Miss Sackville-West's sensitive and practical knowledge of gardening. Fortunately, England is full of garden-lovers who, with those who are prepared to examine the beauty before the message in poetry, will find much to reward and enthrall them in this fine poem.

Mr. Godfrey Hoare, in *One Hour Together*, gives us a sheaf of poems harvested over twenty-five years. He writes from the standpoint of a confident, triumphant faith and sees the world *sub specie aeternitatis*:

But the dim corridor that has no end,
Playground of all the futures, still reveals
Face upon face dissolving in a cloud
Of timeless players filling timeless lands
With transient rapture over things that die.

He is no less interesting philosophically:

Greatness is not of nature; only men
Demand remembrance. Do we leave the
earth
More lovely for our birth
Than willow, primrose, nightingale or wren?

A number of the poems reflect moods born of the 1914-1918 war, some like "You Will Not Fail" and "The Reservoir" moods of stoical courage. Others are written in folk-lore and ballad metres. But best of all I liked the beautiful and compassionate lyric, "Healing", of which I quote the middle verse:

When you've fought with fortune, faced the
shafts of age,
Finding life a fever and the world a flint,
These will make a bed for you, cinquefoil
and saxifrage,
Pimpernel and bedstraw, marjoram and mint.

It is a worth-while collection.

JOSEPH BRADDOCK.

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

LET no one assume that his bilious-yellow jacket covers a sourly "leftish" Mr. Victor Gollancz. His liberal-mindedness, what he calls his "prohumanity", shines all the way through *OUR THREATENED VALUES* (Gollancz. 5s.). Without forsaking his socialist principles he is critical of the present Labour Government which he sees as national socialist at a time which, above all, demands an international socialism. He finds in Britain a contempt for pity, a self-righteousness and a decay of intellectual integrity, which have their counterparts in Europe and in all the world. He urges a respect for personality even, or perhaps especially, if it be your enemy's and is particularly concerned for the sort of Germany that will arise as a result of the Allies' policy. This is not the book to reassure worried humanitarians, full though it is of valuable suggestions. How to get it into the hands, minds and hearts of the neo-fascists, whose propaganda is oozing through in various guises, is the problem.

Democratic blue-prints

From European strife we escape to the buffetings of nature on a group of islands between the Shetlands and Iceland. In *THE FAROES IN PICTURES* (Allen & Unwin. 10s.) Gordon Huson, with the drawings of Owen P. A. Evans and a brilliant photographic team, has supplied the ideal guide or souvenir book. His comprehensive statistics are where all good 'stats' should be, leaving him free to tell the story of the people, their farming, fishing, whale-hunting, trade and government. That political rumblings are not unheard in this bird watcher's paradise is evidenced by the nearly equal figures in the result of the September referendum. Nevertheless, the Danish administration seems to have been a model of generosity and enlightenment. — As all the world knows, enlightenment was the driving force behind Czechoslovak democracy in those years between the wars

and Commander E. P. Young, R.N., sets out afresh the worth of what Munich threw away. *CZECHOSLOVAKIA* (St. Botolph Publishing Co. 3s. 6d.) is the complete handbook for those who require exact past or present economic, political and social information, but it is more, because Czechoslovakia is an example and a warning not merely to other small States but to the Big Three as well.

An armament expert

When you read in the first chapter: "... I think fighting is a healthy inclination, and if it could be suppressed it would warp a man's outlook ..." you are not surprised to find the subsequent account of the preparation of Royal Air Force weapons presented with gusto. *I HOLD MY AIM*, by C. H. Keith (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.), gives a history that is well served with diagrams, photographs and a glossary, of air armament from after the 1914-1918 war. To those who would learn something of the extent, and the secrecy, of the preparations this book should cause astonishment. Its style will please the many who like their facts imparted breezily, with the letter 'I' scattered lavishly throughout.

Rupert Brooke noticed how Browning dragged God into the last line and Group-Captain Keith reserves a "sacred writing" for his. On the wall of his office at Air Ministry was "an apt quotation from the Gospel of St. Luke ... 'He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one'—St. Luke xvi, 36," which presumably was meant to hearten his visitors. Probably they were more heartened still when they discovered that chapter sixteen of Luke has no such injunction in its thirty-one verses. And, to be completely smug, it must be added that the specimen of Group-Captain Keith's verse shows him to be no poet either.

"Idle words"

And now for some *real fun*—with a book for which the very stones of Pater-

noster Row must have cried out, an up to date dictionary. This is *ODHAMS DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE* (Odhams Press. 12s. 6d.) and its 1,270 pages make a fat volume at a thin price. It is a relief to find words in the main columns that have long stood in the addenda queue of other dictionaries. Also, a whole new nomenclature has come in with the popularization of psychology; words which, if mentioned at all, were always veiled in meaning, are now explained with alluring horridness. Then there is the great family beginning with 'un' which in "standard" dictionaries is classified under a general heading of "pref. of vbs. w. neg. sense and usu. denoting action contrary to that of the simple vb." with exasperating columns of sub-sections in italic type. Here are some thirty-four pages of these words in upper-case, thus uniform with the rest.

The printer will get no help with the foreign words which, as they say of the American Negro, are "passing": *bourgeois* is near-English, *bouleversement* is surely still very much a Gaul, but both are printed in Roman with the italic French impartially given in brackets. Some words jar: 'Johnsonese' when 'Johnsonian' is available too, and 'Russophobia', which however should reassure Moscow by looking like the disease it is. Of the end sections "Famous Names in Literature" is adequate for ordinary tests, though Katherine Mansfield becomes 'Murray' in the married state, and "Characters in English Literature" revives some dimmed memories. "Famous Names in Art" comprises mostly, like those in Literature, the uncontroversial dead, but the Famous Musicians fare better. Unlike some "best-sellers" it is emphatically a book to keep on the table.

Two needs supplied

Penguin Books have issued a couple of reviews (1s. each) which are probably "best-sellers" too. They are *SCIENCE NEWS* edited by John Enogat and *FILM REVIEW* edited by R. K. Neilson Baxter.

Roger Manvell and H. H. Wollenberg. Each fills a gap by catering for those who are intelligent about science and the cinema without being technically entangled. The pictures reach up to the level of the text in both books. To the first a biologist, a physicist, a chemist, an anthropologist, a meteorologist are some of those who contribute recent findings without "talking down" too obviously to the general reader. The second should satisfy those people who are nauseated by the ordinary film magazine with its emphasis on the film star, her 'love life' and 'hair-do', and the story of her new picture lavishly illustrated thrown in. They will be glad that not a name appears in the titles of the seventeen articles, and that the list of authors contains such significant ones as Michael Balcon, Anthony Asquith and Michael Powell. Both reviews promise further numbers in the near future, which is pleasant news.

Poetry to-day

Mr. A. L. Rowse recently wrote two articles in *Time and Tide* which caused considerable agitation in its correspondence columns. The poets and critics of this generation were attacked or defended according to taste and it is not clear yet who won the battle. If Mr. Herbert Read's essay, "The Present State of English Poetry" included in his last collection of poems *A SWORD IN THE DESERT* (Harrap. 6s.), had been one of those letters the victory must surely have gone to the attackers. He makes a strong and persuasive plea against the literary clique (so abhorred by Mr. Rowse) who

start a fashion ... and then contrive to review one another ... cajole editors and university lecturers, and log-roll one another on every conceivable occasion. The result is a sort of hypnotic wave into which nearly all inexperienced and young poets are presently drawn. Then virtues suddenly appear in the acclaimed which they no more possess than an aeroplane wears feathers ... Little by little all doors of publicity close against those who walk independently and make expostulatory gestures, responsible critics finding themselves smothered or obliged to follow suit. Soon there is no creation; only imitation and fake. And no

criticism; only exaggeration, misrepresentation, boycott, and noise.

This is the sword flashing in Mr. Palmer's hand. He wields it too in his poems—against the other evils in recent thought and behaviour. The clash between God and Satan calls out his ridicule and his prophet-like power. He has none of the shapelessness in his verse-making that he deplores in others, and it is to be hoped his hint that he may not live to collect another volume of such poetry is "greatly exaggerated".—*POEMS FROM INDIA* by members of the Forces, chosen by R. N. Currey and R. V. Gibson (*Oxford University Press*, 8s. 6d.), should escape those strictures of A. L. Rowse and Herbert Read. The editors say: "Very little of the work we have seen has been extravagantly 'modernist', and very little anachronistically 'traditional'." On any showing, these hundred poems may not be dismissed as another Forces anthology. Their technical level is high and the sights and sounds of India are assimilated into rich and coloured verse; first-hand experience is no bad starting-point for the young poet, of course. Of the fifty-five authors' names the eye catches those of Clive Bransom, John Gawsworth, Alun Lewis and Lord Wavell. The two poems printed elsewhere in this number of *THE FORTNIGHTLY* were written by another *Poems from India* contributor.

Tableaux vivants

Of late the historical novel is too often a character study of people who cause the events, written in an idiom that is either raucous current or bogus antique, which makes one sigh for plain biography. It was therefore a pleasure to read two books which do not come under this condemnation. They are each good and lively accounts of happenings which begin with a little girl in the late eighteenth century in England and in France and shift during the revolutionary years respectively to Paris and to Sweden. The one is *THE*

PEVERILLS by Doris Leslie (*Hutchinson*, 10s. 6d.) and the other *THE BIRTH OF A DYNASTY* by H. Plunket Woodgate (*Cawston Caxton*, 10s. 6d.). Miss Leslie is garnering quite a sheaf of historical studies, and those who enjoyed *Folly's End* will be glad to meet the descendants of Prudence Folliott, who thread their way through the Gordon riots in London, fashionable Bath and the grim French Revolution.

The format and production of Mr. Woodgate's book are trying. His dynasty is the royal house of Sweden which came into being through Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, a sergeant in the French army who became Marshal of France and Prince of Ponte Corvo before he ascended Sweden's throne. Napoleon and his entourage figure largely of course, but it is Bernadotte, soldier, orator and administrator, who keeps the centre of the picture; and rightly so for, as Mr. Woodgate says: "He was in every respect a great man, whose life and character deserve far more study than they have hitherto received."

Charlotte, Emily and Anne

For most of us any consideration of the Brontë novels is bound up with the "legend". It is hard to judge the works, and particularly *WUTHERING HEIGHTS* (*Penguin*, 1s.), apart from the background against which they were created—three girls in three rooms scribbling away in a lonely house set in wild moorland. After seeing the recent Hollywood film, which shows two of the sisters in love with their father's curate and gives no reality to their creative powers, equanimity was restored by reading yet again the "Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell" and the "Editor's Preface" to the New Edition of *Wuthering Heights*. Both written by Charlotte they are examples of the kind of language unknown in Hollywood and but rarely throughout English literature.

GRACE BANYARD.

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THE FORTNIGHTLY

NOVEMBER, 1946

JAPAN UNDER THE OCCUPATION

BY JOHN MORRIS

69454

I LIVED in Japan for four years before the war. I left in July 1947, eight months after Pearl Harbour. At that time living conditions had become pretty dreary. Tokyo had been raided once, by General Doolittle, but the attack was little more than a demonstration; and when I rode through the city for the last time (it was in a prison bus on my way to the exchange ship) Tokyo, although shabby, still was a city, a place where some seven million people lived, worked and played.

I have just returned from a six months visit, and my outstanding impression is of the deterioration and damage that have taken place during the last four years. During the war I was closely concerned with Japanese affairs, and I had built up in my mind a fairly clear picture of what to expect. It bore no resemblance to the actual conditions.

To understand the present state of Japan it is useless to think in terms of destruction as we came to know it in Europe. In London, for instance, even after the worst raids something always remained; it may have been only the cellar or outer walls of a house, but at least the place was recognizable. In Japan it is quite different. You must realize that the average city has a small core of modern steel and concrete buildings, but that some ninety per cent. of the houses, shops, and even factories, are made of wood. In Tokyo (and with the one exception of Kyoto, which was never bombed, the same applies to every major town in Japan) the middle part of the city, which centres round the Imperial Palace, is battered but more or less as it was before the war. A building here and there has been gutted, but the general effect is rather like the less badly bombed parts of London. This district was occupied mostly by the banks and big business houses; to-day it is used almost entirely as offices and barracks for the army of occupation. Walking around its blocks discordant music from the non-stop Armed Forces Radio batters on the ear drums, and ruminating G.I.'s off-duty stand propped against the nearest convenient wall; one might be in Denver or any other of the smaller Middle-Western cities. You do also see a few Japanese, but they seem to have got in by mistake.

Outside this area the picture changes completely. The rest of Tokyo (the Japanese claimed that it was the third biggest city in the world) has practically disappeared; it was burnt to ashes in three big raids last year. The destruction in Tokyo is on almost a Carthaginian scale. The curious thing is that the

CLXVIII

JAPAN UNDER THE OCCUPATION

streets, although in a sad state of disrepair, still exist and the trams still run. There are a few old and worn-out buses but not a single taxi, and to get on to a tram you may have to wait in a queue for anything up to an hour. All the seats have been removed to make more room; even the running boards are filled with passengers. Breakdowns and accidents are frequent, and it is only with the greatest difficulty that the average tram can climb even the gentlest slope. Conditions are more or less the same on the Underground, which before the war was clean and efficient. The stations now are dirty and ill-lighted; the whole place smells like a drain, and all you do is to travel from one ash heap to another. The names of the various districts are of course still the same, but little remains by which to recognize them.

Before the war the population of Tokyo was somewhere around seven million. It has now been reduced to about three million, of whom the majority are at present living out in the more or less undamaged and distant suburbs. Those who work in the city (and the Occupation Army has naturally to employ a great many Japanese) have to spend anything up to five or six hours daily in travelling to and from their work. Small houses designed originally for one family are now occupied by anything up to a dozen persons; and while the Japanese do not attach the same importance as do we to privacy, the present conditions of living are not calculated to bring about those social and mental changes which are so necessary if the Japanese are ever to take their place in a peaceful and democratic world.

It would, of course, be possible greatly to enlarge upon this theme, but I am here only concerned with sketching in the background against which the Army of Occupation is carrying on its work.

II

Before attempting to assess the results of the first year of occupation it would be well to define its purpose. As I see it, the occupation army has two main tasks. First of all there is what one might describe as the immediate military problem of destroying Japan's *capacity*, both actual and potential, again to be a menace. The second, and long-term, objective is the destruction of Japan's *will* to disturb the peace of the world. These two objectives are, of course, in some sense complementary; but the second, out of which a number of other problems arise, is obviously now the essential task.

Japan's capacity to be a military menace has already been largely destroyed; the acres of ruined factories are in themselves almost sufficient evidence. Besides, Japan has now neither an army nor a navy, and the bulk of her merchant shipping had been sunk even before the end of the war. There would seem to be, however, a comparison here with the state of Germany after the first world war; in point of fact the situation is not comparable. Germany, a country with thousands of miles of land frontiers, had internal resources of

those raw materials without which the heavy industry essential to war-making cannot be carried on. Once the occupation was ended it became impossible to prevent the German nation from re-arming. Moreover, in the first world war the destruction (even the dislocation) of Germany's industrial resources was, by present standards, infinitesimal; that is to say, although the Allies were victorious, Germany's capacity again to make war never was destroyed.

Japan, on the other hand, has now been reduced to the four main islands which, adjacent to each other, are generally known as Japan proper. Since she now has neither any armed forces nor a merchant navy, it is an easy matter for the Allies, with their strategic bases all over the Pacific, to control what goes in and out of the country. It should also be noted that Japan's heavy industries were entirely dependent upon imports. Her internal supplies of iron, which in any case were small, were useless for the production of high-grade steel, and Japanese coal is useful only for domestic purposes. It can, then, be assumed that the first aim of the occupation—the destruction of Japan's military capacity—is, if not completed, well on the way towards attainment. It follows that Japan is in no position to acquire the materials or build the installations necessary for atomic research.

We come now to the second and, in the long run, far more important task of the occupation. There is a difficulty here in assessing progress because there are no effective standards by which to judge whether it is rapid or slow. I shall confine myself, therefore, to the bare facts, leaving the reader to form his own judgment.

In my conversations with Japanese (and during the six months I was there I talked with many hundreds of Japanese of all classes) I never once sensed the slightest feeling of guilt; the attitude of most people was exactly the same as it was before the war. Indeed, there were times when I found myself wondering whether the war had actually taken place, for in certain sections of society (particularly among the higher ranks of civil servants) any mention of it appeared to be regarded as an error of taste. Most Japanese have, however, a sense of failure and frustration, and with this is coupled a consciousness that their leaders were guilty of what one might describe as iniquitous ineptitude, rather than inept iniquity. Everybody talks in terms of the new-found democracy, but I never came across a single Japanese who could give a satisfactory definition of the term. There is at present a nation-wide willingness, indeed desire, to act in a democratic manner. At the same time it is very obvious that most of the people are only acting; I found few signs of a fundamental change in thought. Only among the intellectuals and the students is there a real desire for radical change.

The destruction of Japan's will to be a military menace is in my opinion primarily a long-term educational problem; but before discussing this in detail it is first necessary briefly to note the economic and political implications, since these have a direct bearing on the solution of the problem as a whole.

It would appear essential to restore Japan's economy to such an extent that the country will not be a liability to the Allies. The main difficulty is to decide how Japanese industry can be reorganized in such a way that it is useless for purposes of war. It must also be organized in the way best calculated to serve the interests of the Allied powers and the world in general. Some progress has already been made along these lines, but it is being hampered by the general world unrest and the very obvious conflicts of interest among the nations concerned. Outstanding examples of these conflicts in Japan are the food policy and the question of reparations; but nearly every meeting of the Allied Council in Tokyo brings new difficulties to light. Most of these would be capable of easy solution if it were not for what appear to be fundamental differences of ideology between the other three main Allies and the U.S.S.R.

Apart from the increasingly obvious conflict of ideologies, there is the less obvious competition for permanent political influence, in which all non-Americans are at present working with a handicap. The question of ideology is even more important when it comes to the matter of re-orientating Japan's political and social institutions. In this particular field there is the least real progress to chronicle. Social and political reorganization is inevitably developing on the American pattern, with the result that the influence of other nations is proportionately diminished.

III

So far I have concerned myself with describing affairs in Japan as they are. It is necessary now to suggest some changes and improvements.

I feel that our main objective can never be achieved unless the re-orientation of Japan's policy and economy is carried out *mainly* by the Japanese people themselves. For this three things are necessary. First of all, Japanese of all shades of political opinion should be associated with the work and, so far as is consistent with the Western tradition of liberty, even coerced into participation.

Secondly, it seems essential to make some pronouncement as to the length of the occupation or period of foreign control, and of the conditions necessary before it can be terminated. Until this is done the best and most useful elements in Japanese life will continue, as they do at present, to hold back and take no part in public life. The necessity of such a pronouncement is obvious in nearly every aspect of the occupation; it is particularly well brought out in the evidence now being given before the War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo, which, incidentally, is seldom mentioned in our press. We have brought forward a number of witnesses for the prosecution who know the most intimate details of the whole Japanese story. But no witness will tell everything he knows while there is the fear that he may be subsequently denounced as a quisling, which would be the case in the event of a short occupation.

Lastly, it would seem to be necessary to pay more attention to existing Japan-

ese "values", so that they may be used where possible for new purposes and serve, by their very familiarity, to popularize the new conceptions. In the present state of muddled thought, in which the one clear realization is a sense of failure, there is a tendency to feel that because any particular concept is of failure, there is a tendency to feel that because any particular concept is American it is *ipso facto* good; if Japanese, therefore bad. This feeling must be got rid of in the process of planting new thoughts and institutions, and use made of Japanese virtues (and let us not forget that the Japanese do have virtues) such as loyalty, self-abnegation, industry, social grace and manners, the family system (with suitable modifications), and the position of aesthetics as an influence on behaviour.

These suggestions for improvement are made only from the general point of view. It remains now to consider the actual conduct of the occupation, more particularly from a specifically British viewpoint.

General MacArthur's occupation policy has been subjected to very considerable criticism in this country (and indeed also in the United States), but it must be considered realistically and in the light of what we British are prepared to contribute. If it would not be impertinent, I should like first of all to say that my own opinion, for what it is worth, is that the Supreme Commander is, on the whole, carrying out a task of almost superhuman difficulty with great skill. He is, moreover, a somewhat dominating character and tends to dramatize himself, but no one who has talked with him could deny his passionate sincerity and absolute determination to carry through the task with which the Allies have entrusted him. Any suggestion that he is anti-British is nonsense. Some men of outstanding character are, however, inclined to be impatient of criticism, as a result of which they tend to acquire an unduly sycophantic staff. In Japan the unfortunate result of this has been seen in most of the meetings of the Allied Council, where perfectly reasonable requests for information have sometimes been construed by the departmental heads of G.H.Q. concerned as personal attacks upon the Supreme Commander. This sort of thing, although perfectly understandable, does not make for Allied

amity; nor does it tend to impress the Japanese. It is obviously not in the interests of world reorganization for any nation to attempt a serious reduction of American influence in Japan. On the other hand, it is sometimes forgotten (particularly by our American Allies) that the British did, in point of fact, play a considerable part in the Far Eastern war. It would, therefore, be reasonable for the Far Eastern Commission in Washington (in its instructions to the Allied Council in Tokyo) to insist that as Allies the British have a definite right to be kept in the Japanese picture. It is in the best interests of all the Allies, the world as a whole, and Japan itself, that the country is, as far as possible, re-made in the international face, and not solely in the face of the United States. Only thus do we free Japan from that very nationalistic bias against which we have been fighting.

General Eisenhower, that great American, has proved conclusively that it is

perfectly feasible for us to work together in the closest intimacy in war. It should surely be possible for the Americans and the British to continue this spirit of mutual understanding, and to make use of it in solving the no less important problems of the peace. This matter assumes some urgency when what one might call the pathological homesickness of the Americans is taken into consideration. There is no doubt whatever that the average American does not want to stay in Japan; coming, as he does, from a land of plenty, there is no particular reason why he should. He is horrified at the suggestion that he might be required to stay in Japan for some considerable period. I am not suggesting, however, that the British, as a whole, have any burning desire to be represented in the occupation. The fact is quite otherwise, since the ordinary citizen of this country is hardly even aware of what is happening in the Far East. I am suggesting only that it would in the long run be helpful to the Americans themselves if the British could be induced to take a more active part in the conduct of the occupation. Neither of us wants to stay indefinitely in Japan, but unless we are each prepared to do our rightful share of the work, there is a danger so obvious that it needs no mention.

British representation in Japan is confined at present to a small United Kingdom Liaison Mission in Tokyo, at the head of which is Lieutenant-General C. H. Gairdner, the personal representative of the Prime Minister. It is mainly occupied in salvaging the remains of British commercial interests and property left behind by the considerable number of British subjects who were unable to settle their affairs before they were evacuated at the beginning of the war. Besides this we have also a British Commonwealth Occupation Force, some 30,000 strong. The functions of this force are purely strategic; it is an integral part of General Eichelberger's United States 8th Army, which is responsible for the actual military occupation of Japan.

Supreme Headquarters in Tokyo is at present staffed (with the exception of a few junior British officers, employed on translation duties, and a small number of locally-recruited civilians who remained in Japan throughout the war) entirely by United States citizens. What would now seem desirable is the appointment to General MacArthur's headquarters of a limited number of British specialists at the executive level. I have no doubt that some such pooling of our combined talent would in every way greatly enhance the efficiency of the occupation.

IV

We come now to the very core of the whole occupation problem. General MacArthur, in his directives to the Japanese Government, has constantly stressed the necessity for the introduction of democratic methods into every branch of public and private life. I have already indicated the extent to which this has actually been done. The difficulty, as the Supreme Commander has

himself pointed out, lies in the very nature of democracy itself. It must arise gradually out of the heartfelt desire of the people themselves; any attempt to introduce democracy by purely arbitrary means is bound to end in failure. And yet the democratization of Japan is the only solution to the whole Far Eastern problem.

As I see it, this whole question resolves itself into a long-term educational project. I am extremely doubtful whether anything can be done to change the mentality of the adult population of Japan. True education is, after all, largely a matter of creating the conditions in which people can educate themselves. Nothing I saw in Japan led me to believe that there is among those who have already reached maturity any desire for a change of heart. In this connection, I had expected trouble from the eight million or so demobilized soldiers and sailors who have been so recently repatriated. These men have all been subjected to a long process of indoctrination, but, contrary to expectation, up to the time I left (in July 1946) they were behaving in an almost exemplary manner. That they have not so far given any trouble is probably due to the fact that the majority come from peasant families, the one class of Japanese society that has not so far been greatly affected by the otherwise general shortage of food. This does not mean, however, that they have ceased to be at least a potential source of danger.

If we wish to succeed in democratizing the Japanese, so that they shall not at some future date revive their aggressive desires, we should, I feel, concentrate not on any short-term plan of "re-education", but on the fundamental reorganization of the whole Japanese educational system. This is obviously an immense but not an impossible task. The necessity for such a reorganization is realized by the authorities, but so far very little has been done; and what has been achieved is of a purely negative kind. The teaching of certain subjects, such as history, geography and ethics, has been forbidden until new text books, purged of all nationalistic bias, have been prepared. It is also proposed to make an exhaustive enquiry into the credentials of every Japanese teacher in order to decide whether he or she, as the case may be, is a fit person to remain in the profession. This would seem a very right and proper course of action, but since it is proposed (also very rightly) that every teacher shall be personally interviewed, and there are some 414,000 school and university teachers in Japan, it is obviously going to take a very long time before even the ground can be cleared for the planting of new seeds. Meanwhile, neither teachers nor students are very regular in their attendance. This is partly due to the present difficulty of finding accommodation in the cities, but more, I think, to the general uncertainty and lack of any positive policy. In any case, these proposals deal only with half the question; no one has yet suggested how, when the undesirable teachers (and it is certain there are a great many) have been weeded out, new ones are to be obtained.

I myself feel that there is no permanent solution to this problem unless the

occupation is to be a long one. It should be continued during the education of at least two complete generations, and for a sufficient time afterwards to enable them to take their place in public life without interference from the reactionaries. This would necessitate an occupation lasting, say, fifteen to twenty years, but it should be possible to reduce very considerably the size of the actual army of occupation; indeed a fairly small but highly specialized control commission might suffice during the closing years.

Before the war the Japanese Government employed a number of foreign teachers, particularly in the high schools and universities. The majority of these teachers were American and British, and the influence the best of them were able to exert was out of all proportion to their numbers. This system should now be revived and considerably extended. What is required is large numbers of qualified men and women who believe so passionately in democracy that they are prepared to devote some portion of their lives to teaching its benefits.

During my visit to Japan I found among both the younger teachers and students a real yearning for just this kind of help. The more intelligent among them are beginning to realize that there has been something fundamentally wrong with the whole system of Japanese education. They are not yet quite certain what it is; but they want to see it put right before their own education is completed. If we now fail them, we and our successors will in due course have to pay the penalty.

POLITICS AND MORALS

BY JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

IN the title of a book which received a good deal of attention in the years before the war, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr pungently expressed the perplexity felt by many sensitive modern minds at the growing conflict between the realms of politics and ethics. Mr. Aldous Huxley's study of a Christian mystic turned politician, in *Grey Eminence*, was a more exhaustive probing of the same problem: from which he reached the conclusion that the God-inspired man who enters the field of politics necessarily becomes the victim of illusion and final despair. Good ends, Mr. Huxley maintains, are not attainable by evil means.

That clear-cut simplicity is tempting in these perplexed days. Yet it cuts the knot, rather than unties it. For politics, we know, must be carried on: even the withdrawn saint cannot maintain himself in the midst of social anarchy. The maintenance of ordered society is itself, manifestly, a good end, for an ordered society is the trunk of the tree which produces personal and moral life. The story goes that Cromwell stood, muffled in a cloak beside the dead body of King Charles, and muttered: "O hard necessity!" The death of the King was the price which had to be paid for the cessation of civil war, and the palpable overthrow of the extravagant doctrine of "the divine right of Kings."

Benedetto Croce would approve Cromwell's claim that, in forcing through the trial and execution of the King, he had acted as a moral man.

The truth is that if, at a time when the moral conscience was at its greatest clarity, the performance of these actions proved necessary (necessary, of course, not to satisfy one's own lust for power or other private ambitions or passions, and not because of the habit of brutality and evil-doing, but for the sacred protection, for the development, or for the rebirth of the fatherland) these actions can be neither a breach of promise, nor murder, nor any kind of roguery or wickedness; just as the 'magnanimous lie' of which Tasso speaks could not be a 'lie',—except as a poetic metaphor—precisely because it was 'magnanimous'.

His instances are not so clear as the case of Cromwell of the intense working of whose moral conscience at the moment of crucial decision there is no doubt. Benedetto Croce chooses Cavour and Frederick of Prussia. Cavour will pass the test. But what of Frederick? Can the aggrandisement of Prussia, by the first partition of Poland, be lightly amnestied as a necessary action for "the sacred protection of the fatherland"? If so, where do we end?

The question is in practice unavoidable; but it is not essential. The life of

* *Politics and Morals*, by Benedetto Croce. Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.

moral freedom and moral responsibility (which is the human life) mainly consists in discovering where "to draw the line". If Frederick the Great failed to draw it where it should have been drawn, Cromwell and Cavour did not fail—at least in the judgment of many serious and imaginative historians. Though they were statesmen, they were also men working with a sense of moral responsibility within the sphere of politics, dealing with its reluctant material—constrained, as any serious craftsman is, by the nature of the material.

But to assert that a Cromwell, or even a Frederick, were moral in their time and circumstances does not involve us in maintaining that behaviour of comparable ruthlessness should be condoned to-day. The deterrent of unlimited force was justified in past periods of human history, when it was necessary for the foundation of the state, without which the moral life is impossible. But we have now reached, and passed, a point in history at which the liberal conception of the state commends itself to those who have experienced it as the best because it is that which most fully promotes the moral life, of freedom and responsibility.

That is not to imply that the liberal state is historically final. It is liable to overthrow; and of late it has been frequently overthrown. If the idea and habit of tolerance has not sufficiently taken hold of men's minds and wills, then the liberal state will be an artificial construction imposed upon its citizens. They may or may not submit to it, but they will not exert their moral will in the co-operative effort to maintain it in being. They thereby prove themselves, for the time being, to be incapable of emancipating themselves from authoritarianism. They are not ready for the moral life of freedom and responsibility. Authoritarianism returns, more repressive than before. But it is—or the liberal believes it must be—a passing phase.

Is this belief wishful thinking? Certainly, there is now—particularly among intellectuals—a wave of pessimism which takes it, almost for granted, that it is. The old half-conscious faith of the nineteenth century in automatic and inevitable progress is justly discredited; but a sinister form of scientific materialism has occupied the philosophical and religious vacuum which the destruction of the old optimism has left behind. This scientific materialism would apply the methods of scientific experiment on inanimate nature to human society, which it regards as the corpus vile for the experiments of "statesmen". Many scientists are to-day dogmatically and extravagantly Russophile, because they believe that "Science" is the ruling power in Soviet Russia—in other words, that it is a form of society in which they, or their similars, are exalted to the position of a ruthless ruling class.

On the other hand, there are many who, dismayed at the apparent relapse of Europe into barbarism during the last thirty years, and the apparent decline of liberal democracy, turn for hope of social salvation to religious authoritarianism. That is better (they rightly feel) than a purely secular authoritarianism which recognizes no limits to the brutality of its treatment of human beings;

and they turn wistfully to the notion of a supernatural authority, superior to the secular state, which shall control its diabolical aberrations.

Between these two fires the faith of liberalism is riddled. But the chief reason for its apparent disrepute is that it was, in most intellectuals, no more than a half-conscious faith: a climate of social habit in which they participated. It had little philosophic or religious depth. The true answer to those who reject liberalism under the influence of the authoritarianism of scientific "socialism" or of supernatural religion is to reassert the faith of liberalism at the level of philosophy or religion.

Such an effort would be the complement in the realm of theory of what Great Britain is actually struggling—perhaps too blindly—to do in the realm of practical politics. He would be a very superficial observer who should conclude from the spectacular decline of the great English Liberal party that the idea of liberalism itself is in decline in Britain. The Conservatives, the Labour Party, and the Liberal remnant, are all liberal—and about equally liberal. And the idea of liberalism has never perhaps been more strikingly vindicated than it has been by the advent of a socialist party to effective power by peaceful and legal means, and attended by the genuine desire to give it a free field to prove what it is worth.

That is the liberal faith in action. Unfortunately it is largely unconscious that it is a faith, and partly for that reason is susceptible to contamination. But the majority of the British people do really and effectively believe that if the utmost free play to the various tendencies of opinion is allowed something good will emerge: a better form of human society which will have the solidity that comes of being based upon real consent.

In such a society politics are moralized. The conflict between morals and politics becomes a creative tension. Not that all the actions of the liberal state conform to the moral convictions of the individual. That is Utopian and impossible; indeed, in the last analysis, a demand which, if it could be satisfied, would impoverish the richness of the social reality. The life of the moralized political society and the life of the moral individual belong to two different orders. They cannot be identified; but neither can they be separated. The moralized political society supplies the conditions in which the individual can lead the moral life most fully, because he knows that his effort that the actions of the state shall conform more closely to the dictates of his individual morality is not nullified. He is free to influence the ethos and the actions of the state.

The antithesis of "moral man and immoral society" is therefore specious and untenable. And it gives countenance to the pernicious idea that the statesman is, by nature of his function, immune from moral restraints. Even in an authoritarian society such an idea is perverse and detestable. For authoritarianism is, in itself, a respectable political doctrine, and in certain stages of the historical development of mankind it can be amply justified. But as the ethical

consciousness of man developed so did the moral demand on the authoritarian ruler; until the conception was reached of authoritarian legitimacy. The legitimate authoritarian ruler is, by hypothesis, above the laws: but he is above them not in the sense that he may break them at his caprice, but that he may mitigate their harshness by clemency where it can be done without prejudice to the commonweal.

But once the conception of the liberal state has been realized in history, by a process of slow growth, it is difficult not to believe that it will re-establish itself in spite of all temporary defeats by authoritarianism, because it embodies a superior religious and philosophical idea of society. Not that a superior idea has some occult power by which it must realize itself in concrete societies; but because it has arisen out of the behaviour of concrete societies, and is the form taken by the self-consciousness of those societies. The most liberal constitution in the world will become totally impracticable and therefore worthless if the habit of tolerance has not become firmly established among the people who adopt it. Tolerance may appear a very modest, humdrum and *bourgeois* virtue in these apocalyptic days; but it is, in fact, a tremendous moral and social achievement, far more impressive than a whole series of Five Year Plans. And, unlike Five Year Plans, it is a slow and gradual achievement: a steady spiritual enrichment of itself by a society which is aware of its own strength and stability, and can afford continually to enlarge the sources of its own self-criticism.

But is not the liberal society merely the product of peculiar historical circumstances, such as expanding industrialism, relative geographical isolation, and peace? The "merely" is the Marxist fallacy. The liberal society undoubtedly is largely the product of particular historical circumstances; but that does not mean that it cannot survive them and flourish. A new creation (which the liberal society is) is more than the sum of its causal factors. The moral habit of tolerance, the political practice of alternative government, may perfectly well outlive the economic and religious passions which gave them birth; they may become the means by which those economic and religious passions are themselves transformed. But if this transformation is to be encouraged, we must no longer permit the confusion between liberalism and "free enterprise"—a confusion deliberately fostered both by Communism and Capitalism.

To extricate the idea of the liberal society from this confusion is still an urgent need. Liberalism is a spirit, not an economic system. It is a spirit, operative in men, which can exorcise the demon of political-religious fanaticism, under whose influence men behave worse than beasts. The totalitarian society exalts their fiendishness to a necessity of state, and agents of the totalitarian society are constantly at work to disrupt the liberal societies, and to use their tolerance to enthrone intolerance. But it may reasonably be believed that the citizen engendered and formed in the liberal society is altogether more adaptable and flexible than the subject of the totalitarian society, and that the totalitarian society will always therefore be intellectually parasitic on the free society and

dependent on it for the scientific advances on which it sets supreme value. No doubt the average citizen of a liberal society is as an individual far from the great human ideal propounded by Keats: "to make one's mind a thoroughfare for all thoughts, not a select party," but he is a participating member of a society which, as a society, does precisely that, and recognizes this to be the law of its own being.

Indeed, where the liberal society is concerned, it would not be inept, though it might be extravagant, to reverse the paradox and make it read "Immoral Man and Moral Society." It is certainly just as true, in that form, as it is in the original one. But, in reality, both paradoxes are extravagant. The liberal society is not possible unless the habit of tolerance is widespread and deeply rooted; and, although the implications of tolerance are not widely understood, it may fairly be claimed that the common or garden member of a free society is an *anima naturaliter liberalis*. His faith is known by his works.

But what is this faith? It is certainly not easy to define. Elements of it have been declared magnificently by great Englishmen on great occasions: for example by Milton in his *Plea for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*, and by Burke in certain passages of his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Among these were the artificers of the liberal society rather than its philosophers. Among the philosophers, Benedetto Croce deserves a place of honour. He writes, in

Politics and Morals:

In reality, in it (the liberal doctrine) is reflected all the religion and philosophy of modern times, centred in the idea of dialectics, that is, of development which, by means of the variety and conflict of the spiritual forces, continuously enriches and ennobles life and imprints upon it its unique and complete meaning. This is the theoretical basis for the attitude of trust and favour which the liberal doctrine shows in practice to all manner of tendencies. Rather than set limits and checks on these tendencies and rather than subject them to restrictions and repression, the liberal doctrine offers an open field so that they may compete among themselves and co-operate in harmonious discord. This idea of development from within, of immanence, springs from the criticism of the opposite doctrine, which, by separating God from the world, heaven from earth, spirit from matter, and ideas from facts, comes to the conclusion that human life must be moulded and controlled by a wisdom which transcends it and for purposes which transcend it.

The Marxist might think he agreed with this. Dialectics (he thinks) is his monopoly: so much so indeed that he proposes to suspend the dialectical process by ukase, in the name of dialectics. He imposes an interpretation of history on the developing historical process itself. But the home of the true dialectics is the actual, freely evolving political society of this country, and all other societies in which the doctrine of tolerance has become a national habit.

Indeed, as far as a society can be compared to an individual, the liberal society can be said to have that "experiencing nature" which Walter Bagehot said was the most fortunate endowment of the poet. Such a society can afford to recognize the tension between morality and politics, and very often does so explicitly by inserting a conscience clause into its legislation, when that directly affects

the known moral convictions of even a tiny minority. That is about as far as any conceivable state could go in the way of moralizing itself, if it is not to moralize itself out of existence. That might not be a bad conclusion, theoretically considered; but it is a divine far-off event—a point at which morality and politics would be identical, and the Kingdom of Heaven be realized on earth.

Meantime, the major clashes between morality and politics in the liberal society occur not in the field of domestic politics, but in that of international relations. For the relations between the nations vary from a dependable friendliness such as exists between the U.S.A. and Britain, or between both and Canada, to a guarded hostility, of which one need offer no examples. The range of relationships is singularly wide. But during the last few years the picture has been drastically simplified. The latent, but fairly well-controlled, international anarchy of the last thirty years of the nineteenth century has resolved itself into two huge and profoundly mistrustful power-groups. Within each of these two groups relations to one another are such that war between their components is hardly conceivable. War between the groups themselves most unfortunately is.

This tension is primarily due to two facts. In one of the groups the form of the liberal society predominates, while the form of the authoritarian society predominates in the other. In the former group, private ownership of the means of production predominates, in the latter state-ownership. Political and economic systems are thus in conflict. Yet on the exposed fringe of both groups are societies in which an attempt is being made to find viable combinations either of both economic systems, or of both political systems, or of the liberal political system and the socialist economic system. Why cannot these experiments be allowed to proceed in peace?

It is implicit in the ethos of the liberal society that they should be allowed; but unfortunately it is implicit in the ethos of the totalitarian society that they should not. The fundamental tolerance of the liberal society does constantly seek to extend itself to the field of international relations: so equally does the fundamental intolerance of the totalitarian society. And this is a conflict which, in theory, is capable of being resolved only by the monstrous intolerance of war. Hence the terrible dilemma with which the liberal society is faced to-day: the choice between carrying its tolerance to the point of non-resistance, or practically repudiating it in the course of waging war.

Now the question is: Can the liberal society survive in fact, and not merely in idea? It can hardly be defended by the atomic bomb. That postulates such a degradation of the liberal ethos that, quite apart from the prospect of material destruction after which no ordered society could establish itself, it is certain that no liberal society could. At that point politics would have annihilated morality. Yet, if there is war, it will certainly be waged with all the powers of destruction man possesses. The idea of "outlawing" the atomic bomb is a self-deception that could be indulged in only by a civilization whose uncon-

scious will was to die.

Yet is there any way of avoiding war when a power-group dominated by a totalitarian society and a power-group influenced by liberal societies stand over against each other? Each seeks not victory over, but revolution in, the other. A Communist revolution in the U.S.A., a liberal revolution in Russia—either would give the chance of peace. The chance of peace would be far more secure if both together underwent a revolution to a common form of society—what we may call "liberal socialism". Though it may be Utopian to dream of a simultaneous advance to the condition, the condition itself is not Utopian. As Benedetto Croce says: "Serious opposition in principle to socialism only arises when it is a question of upholding liberal ethics and politics against the authoritarian ethics and politics which lurk at the basis of socialism." The free society is not the society of free economic enterprise; still less, however, is it the society where free enterprise—economic, intellectual, political—is wholly repressed.

It would be tragic indeed if universal devastation were the consequence of a failure on either side to modify a false philosophy. The false philosophy which still vitiates the liberal societies is that which exalts free economic enterprise to the status of a moral law. The false philosophy in the Communist society is that which in the name of absolute truth denies the individual the exercise of responsible freedom. By the one falsity the state is sacrificed to the individual, by the other the individual to the state. They are both forms of the same heresy: exalting economic principles to the status of laws of life. To their conflict, if it is not (to use Blake's phraseology) redeemed from the condition of a Negation to the condition of a Contrary, by an act of Imagination, the individual and the State, and all the human and moral life that depends on both, will be sacrificed in a senseless holocaust. The liberal society can correct its errors and remain itself. Can the authoritarian?

THE 'CLOSED SHOP' AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

BY ALFRED FELLOWS

VARIOUS important commercial and public bodies, including the London Passenger Transport Board, have lately made a rule that their employees shall belong to a particular trade union. Such businesses are now popularly known as 'closed shops'—closed, because unable to offer employment to other than a special class of workman. It is fairly obvious that, if employers have a free choice amongst the unemployed, they can pick out those who will work for the least wages, and thus reduce this item (often much the largest) of overheads, for the benefit of themselves and their shareholders. In a 'closed shop' not only are they prevented from doing this, but the class with which alone they can deal is banded together to obtain the maximum wage and best conditions for its members, thus of course increasing overheads and reducing dividends. Therefore, as a matter of business, no body of directors would willingly submit to the condition of a closed shop if they could help it. In America, the heads of great enterprises have fought fiercely for their right to conduct their business on the principle of the 'open shop', and, in the main, successfully.

Although nominally the issue of the closed or open shop is one between employer and employee, it is actually one between workman and workman. In effect, powerful trade union officials say to the unemployed workman: "To obtain the employment you want, you will have to join our union. If a particular employer dares to take you on without you having done so, we will call out all our men, and he will suffer such loss that he will be glad to send you packing. In fact we have made a rule that employers must not take on non-union men on pain of all ours being withdrawn until such as you are dismissed."

This is of course the use of the tremendous weapon of the boycott, the man seeking employment finding himself unable to obtain it, and boycotted unless he conforms to the will of the majority and joins a particular union.

Let the matter be considered on principle, and a simple illustration be given. A lady has a domestic staff of three women, parlour-maid, housemaid and cook. She is satisfied with all of them, and does not wish to change. One day Mary, the parlour-maid, comes to her and tells her that she cannot bear that cook, and that if the cook is to stay on, she will give notice. Presently Jane, the housemaid, comes up and says she agrees with Mary. In the end, the mistress, thinking it is easier to replace one servant than two, gives notice to the cook and thus retains the others. She tells the cook that she has no fault to find

with her and would like to keep her, but cannot do so without losing the rest of her staff.

There is no mistresses' union. Possibly there may be a domestic servants' union. However, postulating both unions, let it be supposed that the mistress and cook lay complaint to the former union of the behaviour of Mary and Jane in coercing the mistress to get rid of the cook. Legal advice is sought. It is pointed out that the mistress and cook are desirous of prolonging their lawful contract of employment, but are being coerced against doing so by an illegal conspiracy between Jane and Mary, wilfully interfering with freedom of contract and maliciously making a dead set against the cook to drive her out of employment. The mistresses' union is advised to finance a test action against Jane and Mary for damages for illegal intimidation and interference with the mistress's and the cook's freedom of contract. A writ is issued, and Jane and Mary place the matter before the Domestic Servants' Union. The latter's lawyers advise unhesitatingly that, in choosing with whom they will be associated in their work, the two girls are exercising an entirely lawful right, and that they are not obliged to work in association with a '*persona ingrata*'. They are at perfect liberty to give notice either by agreement between themselves or otherwise, and also to tell the mistress the condition of service which is unacceptable to them. They have, moreover, the right to inform her that, if that condition is removed, they will stay on.

Multiply Jane and Mary by ten thousand, and cook by perhaps a few hundreds, and the problem of the closed shop begins to appear. The employer and the non-union men are coerced into denial of contract with each other, and the union men choose the conditions of their employment.

In fact there is an entire clash of two quite reasonable liberties. In the last sixty or seventy years both American and English judges have been starkly required to say which liberty shall prevail. In the result, there has been an almost unequalled conflict of judicial opinion. Moreover, the trumpet of the legislature has given forth almost as uncertain a sound. At the end of the last century and the beginning of this, the trend of English judges was to allow the powerful weapon of the boycott to be used by the employing classes against both each other and workmen, as an exercise of lawful right, while forbidding it to trade unions as an act of malicious coercion against employers and non-union workmen. There was a very strong feeling about this amongst workmen, and Parliament passed the Trade Disputes Act of 1906. After the abortive general strike of 1926 the then Parliament passed the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act of 1927, which tore several holes in the Act of 1906. Recently this Act of 1927 has simply been repealed, lock, stock, and barrel, without replacement of any of its provisions. This *volte-face* may or may not be unique, but it is certainly remarkable. The law is thus left as it was before 1926, but may have been clarified to a certain extent by judicial decision.

In 1898, the House of Lords decided that a trade union, by threat to em-

ployers of their members, might lawfully boycott two men, to deprive them of their employment. The first Lord Halsbury, then Lord Chancellor, very strongly dissented. Two other law lords agreed with him, but they were in the minority. In a case some three years later Lord Halsbury led the House to declare that, in a very similar case, the members of the trade union who had boycotted a particular man were guilty of a malicious conspiracy to injure him, and so liable to him in damages. English lawyers must not say that two cases in the House of Lords are inconsistent, but American lawyers have that liberty and have freely exercised it in such an instance.

The modern judicial tendency has been against Lord Halsbury's views, and to legalize the use of the boycott both by trade unions and business men if the object is "enlightened self interest", but not if it is "malicious conspiracy to injure". As a practical matter, the House has since virtually nullified Lord Halsbury's triumph in the second case by the finding in each one subsequent on the same lines that the object of the boycotting parties has been their enlightened self-interest. Indeed, in the above example of Mary and Jane, it would certainly be open to them to plead that in declining to be associated all day in the kitchen with a person entirely uncongenial to them, and probably claiming a certain amount of discipline over them, they were truly acting in their own interest. Spite would no doubt be alleged on the cook's behalf, and if the inferior court found the existence of it but that self-interest were also a motive, the House of Lords would be faced with a difficult problem.

This dilemma is, however, not likely to come about. In the case of coercion by trade unions there would normally be no question of spite or malice, for the union officials would hardly know the non-union men. It is not easy to prophesy the result of a test action on conflicting liberties, where judges have so greatly differed, but the opinion may be ventured here that a union demanding the boycott of non-union men, and calling their own members out if their *ukase* was disregarded, would be held legally justified. Indeed, if the result were otherwise, the trade unions could probably move Parliament to nullify it by legislation.

Assuming then that the 'closed shop' can be enforced on employers and non-union men by strike or threat of strike, the situation must be faced. The unions may amalgamate and the resultant body be too powerful for employers and non-union men to resist. Even if they do not amalgamate, the 'sympathetic strike', that is on an issue not directly concerning the strikers, but in aid of another union, forbidden by the Act of 1927, is again allowed. For example, dock workers might lawfully decline to handle cargo consigned to an employer defying a friendly union and, if threatened with dismissal by their own employers, might strike in unison. Such action might be called the secondary boycott.

Following the matter up, it might be possible for a big trade union, or amalgamated body of unions, to organize such a strike, that if resisted, the whole

public would be put to inconvenience or even suffering by the deadlock.

It appears that something of the sort happened in Canada in 1919, but public resentment prevailed to stop the strike. The general strike here in 1926, very badly organized, was a failure, and was called off in a few days. The forces of law and order were not much better equipped for the occasion, but the improvisation for the distribution of food and the conveyance of business men to their offices prevailed. The strikers were perhaps unlucky in that many young men of the independent classes had learnt to drive lorries and even railway engines in the war, and so could keep services going.

The Government reaction, as stated, was the passing of the Act of 1927. That Act, *inter alia*, forbade a strike 'designed or calculated to coerce the Government, either directly or by inflicting hardship on the community.'

If there is any statesmanship in this and successive governments, therefore, they should at least be prepared for such a contingency, assuming that Parliamentary law is to prevail, and not that dictated by trade unions. The moral therefore seems to be that a government should have some weapon rather than none to counter such a strike.

The problem therefore is to allow trade unions liberty without license. According to the present law, any government faced with a nation-wide strike may have a remedy under the Emergency Powers Act of 1920, passed by Mr. Lloyd George's government in that year. This Act provides that: 'If at any time it appears to His Majesty that any action has been taken or immediately threatened by any person or body of persons of such a nature and on so extensive a scale as to be calculated, by interfering with the supply and distribution of food, water, fuel or light, or with the means of locomotion, to deprive the community, or any substantial portion of the community, of food, water, fuel or light or with the essentials of life, His Majesty may by proclamation, declare that a state of emergency exists.' After such a proclamation, Orders in Council may be made for securing the essentials of life to the community, etc., with ancillary provisions. It was provided that such orders should not be in force for more than a month, without prejudice to the making of further orders if the state of emergency still existed.

This Act was put into force for the 1926 strike, and the orders then made under it authorized various Government departments to take possession of necessary foodstuffs, etc., and to enter buildings for the purpose. There was, however, no punishment for those who deliberately endangered vital supplies for the whole populace.

Such a crisis may be deemed unlikely, but it is by no means impossible, and, with skilful staff work on the part of the trade union leaders, especially in directing those controlling the transport of foodstuffs to distribute food to strikers and their families, and to hospitals, etc., but not otherwise, might bring about a crisis compared to which that of 1926 was trifling. Action of that kind would be a challenge to Parliamentary government. The Act of 1927 made

it unlawful, but plainly it would be impossible to fine or imprison perhaps hundreds of thousands of workers obeying their trade union leaders and disobeying the law.

In such case it may be suggested that even the Act of 1927—much less our present law—does not exhaust the resources of civilization. The proper remedy against a boycott on the grand scale, as such a move would be in withholding food and services from all except those within the unions, or those given indulgence (as probably hospitals and such institutions would be) would properly take the form of a major counter-boycott. In effect, some form of civil outlawing for the offenders might be suggested. The Emergency Act might be strengthened by giving the Government power to declare the responsible trade unions incapable of holding property, and confiscating their assets, much as those of bankrupts are taken from them. This would at once freeze their bank balances. If such a law were passed, no doubt the trade unions could counter by keeping their money and being their own bankers, but on such outlawry they would be at the mercy of their employees, who could not be charged with embezzlement, and they would have to spend vast sums in strong-rooms to hold cash, for securities in their names would be subject to the confiscation order. Such an order could hardly be enforced against the ready money of the unions, but it would render their securities waste paper in their hands, because the Courts would not recognize their rights to them.

The simplest action against the members of a rebellious union would be to deprive them of their rights under the Rent Restriction Acts after the rebellion had been quelled, and the prospective loss of old age pensions, etc. The resources of the Government would, of course, meanwhile have to be utilized to see that the people had their proper food and necessities until the crisis had been passed, and for this purpose to use all the forces available to them. Thus strikers against the public welfare, as defined in the Act of 1927, would know that, if their strike failed—and no general strike against the community appears to have been successful, however much temporary loss and inconvenience it may have caused—they would later on suffer such civic disabilities as to make them think twice before holding up the whole country.

The possibility of the general strike then should not be disregarded, and the proper time to obviate it is before it is threatened, when responsible trade union leaders can co-operate with the Government against excesses which in future might be threatened by 'wild men' who might seize power in the larger trade unions.

In that way the abuse of the system of the closed shop on the grand scale might be averted. The question whether the system is fair in everyday working should also be considered. Under that working, large unions can dictate to small ones: "Amalgamate with us or dissolve, because we will ensure that, if you fail to do so, your members shall not be able to obtain employment." Still more effectively, of course, can they use this threat against solitary men who,

from conscientious objections or otherwise, will not join any union.

This is stark coercion, by the strong of the weak, but trade union leaders can fairly point out that it is both lawful and extensively used in all branches of commerce and finance. A big combine of traders or manufacturers can lawfully say to a small trader: "Sell your business to us or close it or take the consequences." If the combine is defied it can ruin the rebel.

It is of course a most reasonable thing for traders to combine in their own interests and if this liberty is allowed to traders, it can hardly be withheld from workmen. In each case, however, a wise Government should be alert to prevent abuse. The abuse of the workmen's liberty would be the general strike. The abuse of combinations of traders leads to great monopolies.

Large trade unions may claim a monopoly in the supply of labour in certain industries, and their members, perhaps not unnaturally, resent outsiders sharing in the benefits of higher wages, and better conditions brought about by their unions, which in fact have been enabled to do so by the subscriptions paid by the union men, but not by the others.

Another consequence of the power of the unions is beginning to manifest itself, and should not be neglected. Union A, mainly by means of the 'closed shop' practice, obtains higher wages and better terms for its workers, throwing more overheads on its employers, who are usually enabled to pass on the burden to the public. This stimulates Union B to agitate for higher wages for its members, claiming that they deserve them equally with those of Union A. So with other unions, with the result that the price of necessities rises (coal is a striking instance), and the unions, complaining that the rise in wages is more than offset by the rise in prices, claim a further rise. This of course is the "vicious spiral" of the economists, leading to such utter collapse of a currency as that in Germany after the 1914-18 war, and, more recently in Hungary, ruining all with fixed incomes and pensions.

This possible competition among unions is certainly dangerous and the Government should take measures to avert it. Perhaps the best plan would be a working arrangement between the Government, the employers, and the unions to regulate wages and conditions by classification of workers as a whole—a colossal task, but worth it in the end. Miners, furnace men, and certain navvies would no doubt have a high classification and young apprentices and learners would be at the lowest. The committee dealing with the matter would watch results. If particular workers were too greatly favoured others would seek to join them, or if the terms of other work were made too unattractive, there would be a dearth of candidates. The obvious remedies would be to lessen the privileges of the one class and increase those of the other, until as far as possible, wages and conditions were equalized all round so as to make the pay and conditions of all workmen commensurate with the value of their labours, with a minimum of a living wage for the least skilled and labourers' work. That would be justice all round, but so far this suggestion is merely the writer's own blue print.

ABSENTEEISM

BY HERMANN LEVY

TO the layman it may not appear very disquieting when he reads of a voluntary absenteeism in coal mines amounting to over six per cent. of possible manshifts. But as a matter of fact this rate of absenteeism among coalface workers has been computed to represent a loss of output at the rate of 13,000,000 tons of coal a year. At the present time such a figure means a serious loss to the country; it should be remembered that the coal output fell from 230,000,000 in 1939 to 182,000,000 tons in 1945 and that Mr. Shinwell estimated home consumption in the period May 1, 1946, to May 1, 1947, at 188,000,000. Recently the general secretary of the National Union of Mine Workers stated a deficit in coal of 10,000,000 tons may result in loss of employment to 2,000,000 workers in industries dependent on coal. It has become imperative to reduce as far as humanly possible the still increasing progress of absenteeism among miners.

We have to distinguish between voluntary absenteeism and absenteeism due to sickness and injury. The latter is the result of circumstances mostly outside the free will of workers; it can only be reduced by measures promoting better health and greater safety from accidents and industrial disease. Of voluntary absenteeism, which is due to the will of the worker not to work on a certain day or a number of days or to come late to work and to leave too early, it has been generally recognized that it is definitely avoidable. It may be assumed that such voluntary absenteeism is highly responsible for the steep rise of total absenteeism from 6.44 per cent. in 1938 to as much as 16.31 per cent. in 1945. But, on the other hand, it should be taken into account that voluntary absenteeism is sometimes closely related to the involuntary type and that the line in some cases may run very fine. A miner may prefer after a slight illness to stay away from work longer than it would be necessary from a medical point of view; our present food shortages may have affected his ordinary incentives to work and created fatigue and psycho-physical apathy. It cannot exactly be called malingering. The worker may himself not be fully aware of his condition. But it is, viewed objectively, surely nearer to voluntary than to involuntary absenteeism. On the other hand, absenteeism due to sickness may sometimes be registered as voluntary absenteeism; a miner may catch a cold and feel too ill to work for two or three days, but as he is not entitled to claim sickness benefit for the first three days of illness under the present National Health Insurance scheme, it is useless for him to obtain a doctor's certificate

and at collieries where such a certificate is demanded as a proof of sickness, his absenteeism may count as "voluntary". All such circumstances are likely to obscure the exact picture of voluntary absenteeism. But they do not obscure the grave significance of the problem as a whole.

Voluntary absenteeism is mostly regarded as due to a lack of discipline on the part of the miner. In wartime it has been very definitely viewed from that angle. In 1942 the Government proposed for the first time that voluntary absenteeism and persistent lateness should be made offences for which a man could be prosecuted without the prior issue of "directions". It was decided to appoint Regional Investigation Officers, to whom all cases of absenteeism and persistent lateness had to be referred. The Officer would interview the man, within twenty-four hours of receiving a report about his absenteeism, and he might then warn the miner against a repetition of the offence or recommend that he should be prosecuted. The National Service Officer was to be responsible for instituting actual proceedings in the courts. The Regional Investigation Officer was entitled to impose a fine on the spot and such a fine was to be refunded if the offender worked regularly for six weeks without losing a shift; indeed, in 1943 *The Economist* was able to report that in the Durham Coal Field in half the cases the fines had been refunded; the system was hailed as a "success"; but the high and increasing incidence of voluntary absenteeism does not suggest in 1946 that the system was able to cure the evil. Though it comes from a colliery manager, who may have some bias against officialdom, the observation may be quite true that "under the Essential Work Order, disciplinary action lies mainly in the hands of the authorities remote from the pits, employing machinery too cumbersome to be effective, and not infrequently unfamiliar with the actual conditions underground in which the coal must be won—if it is to be won at all." (See the interesting pamphlet "Coal" by a Colliery Manager, Chapman & Hall, 2s. 6d., 1945.)

It would be a mistaken policy if we should consider voluntary absenteeism as merely due to the lack of "discipline" and believe that it is for stricter discipline to restore it. We might easily fall into the error once made regarding industrial accidents due to carelessness of workers. It has been long recognized that accidents due to the worker's negligence happen with a surprising regularity and that they are subject to certain ever-recurring fundamental conditions which make it quite useless just to blame the worker for it and then do nothing for their prevention. A member of a big Canadian manufacturing company recently stated that in his firm eighty per cent. of the accidents were due to forgetfulness and carelessness. Yet, in a notable spirit of fairness he asked: "But why do people forget? Why are people careless? If we had the answer to that, we would have the answer to the prevention of industrial accidents as well as the reason for a lot of troubles and miseries of the world." The same logic should be applied to voluntary absenteeism in coal mines. Why, we should ask, do miners lack that required discipline if absenteeism is to be

reduced? As *The Economist* pointed out lately, voluntary absenteeism in mines is probably not excessively greater than in other industries; but it is certainly at the present moment of graver national significance than anywhere else. What, then, in this particular occupation is behind that "lack of discipline"?

Human beings are in general not prone to laziness when the necessary incentives to work are in action. We do not want to go back on the economic and social ideologies of the eighteenth century and pretend that these incentives are at best when wages are so low that workers are driven to full use of their working power by dire necessity and hunger. It has been proved that after the depression following the first world war absenteeism in the mines became less. Yet, no person of social conscience would like to improve "discipline" by such evil conditions. It is abhorrent to British ideals of liberty to employ measures against absenteeism as have been decreed in Soviet Russia where, inter alia, workers guilty of one day's voluntary absence from work may be dismissed and deprived of housing accommodation allocated to them, or may forgo rights and benefits acquired during previous employment.* What is wanted is a reduction of absenteeism simultaneously with an improvement of the living conditions of the mining population. But apart from that consideration, there are certain factors which are always and these that attention should be primarily focused. They are the circumstances which can explain to us why voluntary absenteeism is more pronounced in one set of conditions than in another and it is from them that we may learn how to create conditions least liable to lead to absence from work. It is most welcome that the Industrial Health Research Board, to whom we owe so much enlightenment as regards the deeper causes which influence the efficiency of work, has given consideration to the problem of absenteeism by making some years ago special investigations as to its prevalence in particular mines. The authors of these investigations, Mr. H. M. Vernon and Mr. T. Bedford emphasized as one of the results of their study that the entire problem was one of great complexity as it involved many, and sometimes changing, "social factors", the degree of settlement for instance of the working population, and almost all conditions of the life and work of miners, both above and below ground.

But certain fundamentals should by now be considered as having been scientifically proven. They are partly apt to correct the simple assumption that it is just lack of discipline which is causing absenteeism. It has, for instance, been shown that atmospheric conditions influence absenteeism of underground workers. A rise of ten degrees in temperature was in one test case associated with nearly a doubling of voluntary absenteeism. Another factor may be the distance of workings from pit bottom. A long time spent in transit means a

* See for this Alexander Baykov's study on *The Development of the Soviet Economic System*, Cambridge Press, 1946, (30s.) pages 229 and 351.

reduced time in which to get coal and a diminution of earnings; it was proved to increase absenteeism, probably by causing discontent. In a group of collieries investigated where the distance walked was 1,333 yards the percentage of time lost was 7.3 per cent.; in a group where the distance was 2,815 it was 11.5. "There is a direct relationship between voluntary absenteeism and distance walked underground," reported Messrs. Vernon and Bedford. Then there is the distance from home.* In a sample test it was revealed that where the distance of homes from the pits was 1.56 miles the percentage time lost voluntarily by coal surface workers and others underground was 5.3 per cent.; when the distance was as much as 2.55 miles the loss was 9.5. There are wide differences in absenteeism apparently related to the type of work performed: the coal hewers are more prone to absenteeism of a voluntary kind than the haulage men, who depend on them, whilst the surface workers show the least absenteeism of all. There can be no doubt that voluntary absenteeism is less where conditions of the pits are satisfactory; it has been found that men at pits with a large labour turnover—that is, a great number of men leaving and of new men taken on—show more absenteeism than in pits with a low labour turnover, which is probably to be explained by the fact that the latter have more satisfactory working conditions and less discontent.

All these facts relate to the working conditions of the miner. Another set of factors influencing voluntary absenteeism is represented by conditions in no way related to occupational conditions, but to personal circumstances which at any time may induce the miner to stay away from work or work less. There is the proximity of towns and the distractions of sporting events, excursions and other amusements. The effect of these is clearly indicated by the way holidays and week-ends affect voluntary absenteeism. The "Colliery Manager", whose study we mentioned before, has carefully extracted official figures relating to voluntary absenteeism amongst workers at the coalface with the following result:

Voluntary Absenteeism expressed as percentage of possible manshifts.							Average Week.
	Sun. and Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	
Normal working week (mid Dec.)	8.46	5.83	5.53	5.55	4.98	8.69	6.26
Pre-holiday week (before Christmas and for Scotland before the New Year)	5.82	3.99	3.94	3.81	3.53	6.71	4.53
Post-holiday week	20.43	24.15	10.29	5.41	5.81	13.78	11.72

Mondays and Saturdays are the black days in the table. The reason is not far to seek. Week-end idleness is an undisputed fact.

* See K. Liepmann, *The Journey to Work*. Kegan Paul. 15s. 1944.

The two sets of facts revealed as the main roots of voluntary absenteeism must lead to very different conclusions when the prospects of remedial measures of voluntary absenteeism are scrutinized. Factors closely related to working conditions may be reduced in their effects by technical reforms. Better light, better air, more efficient dust suppression, greater mechanization are main points. Mechanization has made great progress, no doubt. Yet, while certain mining districts may have pretty well reached saturation point, others are lagging very much behind. There are unfortunately some seams highly suitable and others quite unsuitable for machine-cutting. Moreover it has to be remembered that voluntary absenteeism increased—for other reasons probably than occupational ones—in a period when there was a great number of coal cutters and conveyors at work. But mining still remains the dirtiest, hardest and most risky job in the country and everything which alleviates these conditions must reduce discontent of the workers concerned and make them less prone to absenteeism. In that respect it should not be forgotten that the Royal Commission on Safety in Coal Mines immediately before the war revealed the fact that the death rate in mining per 1,000 persons employed was fifty per cent. higher than in docks and nine times as high as in factories. More than 150,000 miners below ground are injured and disabled annually for more than three days. The occupational treatment of nystagmic miners, the lack of providing suitable work for those partially handicapped by that disease or by silicosis was distressing before the war and led to many tragedies. It is hoped that the legislation dealing with rehabilitation and employment of the partially disabled will in future remedy the evil. All occupational improvements must immediately react on the willingness to work. Mr. L. A. Morgan in a recent pamphlet on the Dutch coal mines recorded their high standard regarding health and safety of the miners and emphasized that "the Dutch mining industry has not experienced a single important strike in the whole course of its existence."*

Here are goals in possible reach of a really energetic social effort. The other set of facts is certainly far more difficult to deal with. In order to raise the ambition of the mine-worker to use his working capacity to the fullest possible extent and to avoid any of the many temptations of voluntary absence from work the problem of incentives has to be probed in all its many variations. As a possibility in that direction the five-day week has been suggested. This would mean that the much criticized week-end idleness would become a "legitimate" period of relaxation. In view of the regularity exhibited by the figures of week-end absenteeism there is not much hope of reducing it either by means of persuasion or by harshness. The introduction of the five-day week with an increase of the working time from seven and a half to eight hours might reduce absenteeism from Monday to Friday; the Medical Research Council and the Industrial Health Research Board have left no doubt that they believe in a

* Fabian Publications. 1s. Preface by Jim Griffiths, M.P.

short working day as having a good effect on the willingness and capacity to work, but they rightly urge that we must carefully assess "the best length of the working day or week." In that event the five-day week may lead to an actual increase of output, and that is what matters. The rise in output would not only result possibly from the greater efficiency of more contented miners, but also from a substantial reduction of absenteeism in the five working days. Technically and economically the five-day week should be welcomed by the mining administration. The official report of the Technical Advisory Committee on "Coal Mining" (1945) pointed out that "there is a strong case on technical grounds alone for the adoption of the five-day working week of eight hours per shift for underground workers." It would be desirable under modern conditions of technique to have available a comparatively long undisturbed period at week-ends. Recently *Industrial Welfare*, the organ of the Industrial Welfare Society, published an illuminating article on the five-day week which showed its beneficial effect on production and absenteeism in a medium-sized firm. The management of the firm, it was stated, was fully satisfied, after three years' experience, that the move was justified in every way.

Incentives of work depend in general even more on wages than on the hours of work. It is here that another big problem arises in regard to the social conditions which so much influence the rate of voluntary absenteeism. The level of money wages is at present no particular cause for grievance among miners. But the purchasing power of wages is still restricted through rationing and the scarcity of a good many commodities; high wages do not represent an efficient incentive when they are not coupled with the possibility of satisfying more wants. It is the possibility of purchasing more which makes high wages attractive and increases the desire to earn more by greater efficiency and a full week's work. To the restriction laid upon the purchasing power of wages by rationing is added the income tax calamity. In a thoughtful article on absenteeism Mr. J. C. Johnstone* pointed out that a single man working five shifts a week at 24s. a shift would earn, after deduction of tax, £240 a year, or £48 per shift annually. On a sixth shift he would pay out about 11s. in tax, and thus only add £34 to his income in a full year. To put it another way, he paid an average of £14 in tax on each of the first five shifts, but £28—or exactly double—on the sixth. That is hardly an incentive to work a full week.

But what can be done to increase the purchasing power of the miner's wages in order to obtain the most important and effective means to enhance incentive for and to reduce absence from work? It seems that the only way would be to subsidize as long as rationing lasts not his wages but their value expressed in purchasable goods. Such policy is not quite without precedent in the international sphere, when a gap developed between wages and prices affecting low-paid workers. The Government in Belgium by a recent decree provides for the financing of clothing and household equipment for workers whose wages do

* *Daily Telegraph*. August 6, 1943.

not reach a certain level. The allowances consist of coupons, which will enable eligible workers to obtain free of charge certain commodities (textiles, shoes and household articles) that will be listed from time to time for that purpose. The same principle might possibly be applied to the case of mine workers, with the difference that the incentive to work would be financed by the State not through giving goods away free of charge but in greater quantities and at cheaper prices as a remuneration for workers' special efforts. The miner with a good record of regular attendance at work—due account being paid to absence through sickness—would get a benefit in points and coupons; he would receive monthly an additional page to his ration book entitling him to buy certain foods at lower points and clothing with fewer coupons. It would probably represent no small temptation to do full work if at the end of a month shoes or some garments for himself or his family could be bought at half coupons and, say, at a rebate of ten per cent. in price. The technical procedure would be quite simple. The retailer would sell the commodity at a reduction of ten per cent. in price to the miner and present the special coupon given to him—which may be at the value of 5s., 10s. and £1—to the Treasury for payment. The cost of the "subsidy" would be no matter of great significance to the State as not more than 700,000 men would be affected. The result, if consisting in a reduction of absenteeism, would well pay the financial outlay. The greater supplies needed would hardly represent a difficulty if limited to miners only. No objection to the proposal should arise by pointing to the possibility that the goods purchased would land in the black-market or not be consumed by the miner himself or his family. If this should really happen the purpose of the measure to honour good attendance at the mines would still have been attained. Nor should workers in other fields of the national economy be aggrieved by the preference accorded to miners. By getting more coal the whole of the national economy would benefit and every single worker would benefit by an increase of production of the commodity which next to bread is most needed during the present state of post-war emergency. We are quite willing to concede higher incomes to employees of a higher skill and grade. Why not apply the same principle to workers who undoubtedly have to cope with more unpleasantness of conditions, greater risk of life and limb and more strain through work than any other class of the community? Are they not entitled to a higher reward? And would not a public acknowledgment of the value of the miner's work to the nation by bestowing on him special privileges in hard times provide an impulse to the younger generation of the mining areas to retain the profession of their fathers and forefathers and thereby keep intact one of the most important assets of Britain's wealth?

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THE TOLL OF THE ROADS

By LEO PAGE

RECENTLY there has been an intensification of the campaign to make the roads safe. The Ministry and public authorities, with the aid of the Press, by instruction in the schools, by posters, and by propaganda have striven hard to reduce the mortality of road accidents. Yet the monthly returns disclose the grim fact that the problem is still unsolved, and as cars and petrol become more easily available the figures are likely to rise. Nor have I any hope that the present police methods or legal sanctions as now applied will give the community the protection it so sorely needs. New measures are wanted.

The majority of motorists are decent drivers, reasonably skilled, and ready to respect the rights of other road users. The minority is divisible into two categories. There are those who, largely through ignorance, drive sometimes stupidly or carelessly and, far more rarely, are guilty of such serious offences as driving under the influence of drink. Fundamentally, however, they are good citizens responsive to discipline and do not constitute a grave difficulty. Finally, there are those few motorists who, selfish and oblivious of the rights of others, drive habitually in such a fashion as to be not only a nuisance but a danger on the roads.

As I shall hope to show, it is of importance that there should be a new spirit and better co-operation between the great majority of decent motorists and the police. The attitude of the average motorist towards the police is one of suspicion and often of dislike. It is certainly not, as it should be, one of friendship and readiness to help. He regards the law as biased and unfair. He believes that it discriminates against him. Nor is this belief unreasonable. Road accidents are attributable to the faults not of motorists alone but, as the most obstinate anti-motorist must agree, frequently to those of cyclists and pedestrians. The motorist legitimately complains that against him alone are criminal proceedings ever instituted. Pious rules for the guidance of cyclists and pedestrians are laid down in the Highway Code but they are rarely, if indeed ever, enforced. Only the other day I saw a pedestrian under the eyes of a policeman and against the traffic lights walk off a pavement immediately in front of a car which was thus forced to stop abruptly. The result was that a car following ran into it, but the pedestrian who was the sole cause of the damage walked off smiling and unrebuked. What motorist has not seen cyclists who dart dangerously into main roads from side streets, or ride four

knows the methods of pickpockets and who mingles in the crowds where they are most likely to be found.

Surely in view of the failure of existing practice it is but commonsense that those methods which experience has shown to be at once necessary and effective for the protection of property in the streets should be tried for the protection of life on the roads. This is not the place for the *minutiae* of detail. In outline my suggestion is that there should be systematic patrol of roads by plain clothes officers who are themselves skilled and experienced drivers in private cars. It might well be thought desirable that there should be never less than two and sometimes three officers in each car and possibly one of them of the rank of sergeant or inspector. Such a campaign against the small proportion of drivers who by their callous disregard of the safety of others constitute the real danger of the roads would bring before the courts a number of offenders who under the present system or lack of system have escaped prosecution not because they have driven carefully but because so far they have been lucky enough not to have been involved in an accident. If it were thought well, at least for an experimental period, to suspend the irritating and valueless prosecution of motorists for the trivial offences to which I have already referred, the co-operation of the great majority of motorists in the police effort to stamp out the vicious minority would, I imagine, be even the more readily available.

The problem of motor traffic is not an easy one and no country has found a solution completely effective and satisfactory. Suggestions such as the provision of special tracks for cyclists and for slow moving vehicles, the insistence upon tail lights for slow traffic, for improvement in the construction of roads are no doubt all of value. In the present shortage of labour and material some of these are long term policies. There is however one other proposal which might perhaps profitably be enforced now. Statistics have shown that drivers from seventeen to nineteen years of age have an accident record nearly thirty per cent. higher than later ages. To-day youth is clamant as never before for a place in the sun but if these figures as to proneness to accident are confirmed it may well be wise in the interest of general safety to raise the age limit at which a driving licence can be obtained to nineteen or twenty years.

In every discussion on road accidents there are those who argue as if the matter could be settled quite simply by the imposition of speed limits. All would be well, say such enthusiasts, if only limits were fixed on all roads where at present there are no speed limits and even lower limits imposed where limits already exist. It is beyond argument that the actual enforcement of a very low limit of speed would enormously decrease accidents. So would the actual enforcement of the law as to Prohibition have solved the problem of drunkenness in the United States. But, in practice, without an impossibly large police force a speed limit can be enforced only locally and capriciously. So long as human nature remains as it is motor cars, if they are permitted on the roads at all, will be driven at speeds which will make them potentially

dangerous.

There is much room for improvement in the legal machinery which commonly deals with motoring cases—improvement on the part not only of the police but of the justices. My own experience, confirmed by that of others, has been that the police are oddly uninterested in the report to them by private persons of motoring offences, certainly far less interested than they are in the report of such an offence as theft which they are prepared to investigate readily enough. I may have been unfortunate but I have on two occasions reported gross cases of dangerous driving to the police, and on neither have I met with the slightest interest or help. In one case I myself prosecuted after the police had refused to do so and the defendant was duly convicted. But private prosecutions are expensive nuisances and in the second case, even more flagrant than the first, I abandoned the proceedings which would have entailed a long journey for me and my witnesses. The remedy here is obvious enough. The police should welcome and encourage the help and co-operation of the careful driver in obtaining convictions of the dangerous minority.

With regard to justices the remedy is not so easy to see. The powers given them by the legislature are amply sufficient, notably the power to suspend a licence for a long period of years, but it would be difficult to claim that they are always used with wisdom and determination. This however is a large subject with which it is not possible to deal here in any detail. It is enough to say that the standard of efficiency in magistrates' courts has of recent years been definitely raised and that there is evidence that the improvement is continuing at the present time. The suggestion has been made that there should be panels of justices with motoring experience who alone should be entitled to hear cases under the Road Traffic Acts. The objections to this proposal are, however, in my opinion almost insuperable.

There will doubtless be objections to one or other of my suggestions. I can see myself initial difficulties. But on balance I believe them to be practical and useful. I shall indeed have no complaint if they are rejected provided only that they provoke discussion and bring about the introduction of other methods still more wise and valuable. All that matters is to end the present tragedy on the roads.

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done? If our analysis of the situation so far is a true one, and if it be the fact that the public need of to-day has completely changed, and that, therefore, the Church is not speaking to the real situation, then never was hope vainer. Pretty much the same thing can be said of proposals which are freely bruited about amongst the Free Churches. The utmost that these attempts can accomplish is to keep the religious issue alive, but Christianity will never again, if it runs true to historic forms of development, become a public force unless in its theology, its message and its forms of ecclesiastical organization, it proclaims and embodies a Christianity in which the reconciliation of order and freedom is genuinely effected. What this amounts to saying is that Christianity needs not so much to be restated in its dogmatic terms as re-set in a new perspective, and we shall expect that, since the public problem combines both the Catholic problem and the Protestant, it will link together the truest insights of both. Neither a sacramental theology centring upon the Church nor a theology of faith with the individual as its focus will serve our turn.

The present reversion in all the Churches to traditionalism, whether the traditionalism be of Augustine, Aquinas, Luther or Calvin, cannot therefore be regarded as pointing the true way forward for the Church. So far from being that is it indeed, that it can only be regarded as withdrawing the Church still more completely from the actual situation. Tradition is excellent ballast but mighty poor cargo, and the really crucial issue before the Church is whether it has the courage to seek the indispensable new setting for the faith. We are not contemplating an over-bold modernism which too often empties out the baby with the bath water, but we are asserting the need of intellectual and ethical courage to accept the fact that God is leading the Church beyond its historical partial insights to a fuller insight into the total meaning of Christian faith.

"Fuller insight" we have written, but we might have added "and truer". For the curious paradox of the history of the Church is that in no confession yet that it has ever made has it given expression to its belief in the reality of which the Founder of Christianity himself was most certain. In half a century of parables and more the one theme is "the Kingdom of God" and the burden of them is to elucidate and illustrate the reality of a Realm, a Kingdom in which, by the mercy and grace of God, the frustrations of moral impotence, of emotional malaise and death itself are ended and mastered, and that in both the individual and society. Just as in the ascending order of human existence we are presented with a hierarchical series of realms, in every higher realm of which greater powers are at command than are possible in the lower, even so, transcending the highest realm of all natural realms, the realm of man, is the realm of God wherein the very power of the Divine Life itself is made available to men. Such was the central and unswerving conviction of Jesus of Nazareth. In the reality of that realm He most surely believed; of that realm His deeds as well as His words are demonstrations and He offered the

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unanswerable argument for its existence in the two facets of the one fact of the Cross and the Resurrection. That one reality of the Kingdom was the setting in which everything else in His life took place and to it everything else from Incarnation to Atonement and Ascension were related. Such would seem to be the inevitable logic of modern New Testament scholarship and it involves an almost complete re-setting of the traditional faith of Christendom. Such a faith clearly speaks to the individual problem of modern man, for if it be true that life in that realm is possible then, since it is a life not only of faith but of love, the individual problem of the reconciliation of freedom and discipline is truly and, in a sense, most naturally and most enduringly achieved.

It is, however, in the realm of Church life itself that the challenge to ethical courage and ethical sincerity is to be found at its sharpest, for it means nothing less than the end of that glib and easy talk about the World Church, all too prevalent in many quarters—a World Church which is primarily envisaged in terms of a common faith. The time has come to say that on any reading of the Gospels the Church is not merely the Church of faith; it is no less the Church of love. It has a horizontal dimension as well as a vertical, and it is not truly the Church of Christ if either be absent. It is a Church which in both its local forms and in the official relationships of the various Churches one to another, is a fellowship which matches up to the hardest test of all, our Lord's demand for forgiveness unto seventy times seven. Such a conception of the Church, lived out in the local organizations of parish and congregation, and in the larger settings of denominational and Church organization, would ensure the accomplishment of the first big step towards providing the world with what, historically has always been an inescapable necessity. For God's way in times of great crisis has never been to organize huge masses of men over vast geographical areas; it has always been, on the contrary, to set down in the midst of a given world feeling a given public need, a community in which the public need has been met and the public problem solved. So in a world of disorder He set the great Roman Church with its order; so in a world crying for freedom He set the Puritan Churches with their emphasis upon liberty, and from the politicians of their times drew their inspiration. And a Church which knew itself to be primarily the Church of the Kingdom would not only end the ethical unrealities which still often hide behind the confession of a common faith; it would give this world, which must either find the true reconciliation of order and freedom or perish, the spiritual inspiration from which both our political and economic life would draw not only purgation but ethical power. Before the Church can transform the world, it must itself be transformed. Will the Church have the courage to endure the pangs of re-birth and pioneer in its own organization that way of corporate life without which there will be no revival of religion nor any abiding security for the world?

RUMANIA AND BULGARIA: PROMISE AND FULFILMENT

BY HAL LEHRMAN

GEORGI DIMITROV is the unelected, unofficial but all-powerful "Prime Minister" of Bulgaria. Formally, he holds no title higher than secretary-general of the Bulgarian Workers' (Communist) Party. In practice, the ex-chief of the Communist International is the mainspring of the Moscow-inspired régime. As *de facto* chief of state, Dimitrov recognizes only one higher authority. A statue of himself, intended for display in Sofia, has been hidden away in the provinces because too many people suggested that the stone book he holds in his hand is not a book at all but a sheaf of telegraph blanks on which he writes his daily reports to Joseph Stalin.

Northward across the Danube lies Rumania, another ex-Nazi satellite deflected by the Red Army and political legerdemain into the Soviet orbit. Rumania too has an unofficial "Prime Minister", less renowned than the hero of the Reichstag trial but equally strong—and equally intimate with the Kremlin. Emil Bodnaras, an ex-lieutenant in the Rumanian Army, is a native of Bukovina, now incorporated into the U.S.S.R. Wearing Rumanian uniform, he skated across the frozen Dniester River one night between the two World Wars, joined Dimitrov's Comintern, returning eventually to Rumania with a beard and a revolutionary mission. Recognized and denounced by a fellow-officer, he brooded in jail for eight years until liberated by the advancing Soviet Army in 1944. Technically, he is not a member of the Rumanian Government; he is, however, a pillar in the Communist Party. He is also director of the Secret Police—which makes him, after the Russian *Kommandatura*, the real master of Rumania.

As correspondent for liberal British and American newspapers, I went to Rumania and Bulgaria this summer to learn now democracy was really faring under Soviet benevolence.

Rumania's Bodnaras assured me in person that police terrorism, regimented newspapers, suppression of free speech and the like are necessary in the Soviet Balkans because these States are still abundantly afflicted with fascists. The fascists, so the argument runs, have banded themselves into sinister Oppositions scheming to overthrow the "People's Democracy." Therefore the fascists must be exterminated before democratic rights and freedoms can be safely allowed. This has been the refrain in Moscow too, echoed by British friends of the Soviet Union trying to explain away the peculiar brand of democracy cur-

rently on exhibit in Russia's Balkan backyard.

Now liberal-minded British who argue this way are sincere, in the main. Their conviction is based on neat logic supported by a vigorous ignorance of what really goes on in the Russian zone. But the Russians and their Balkan assistants know better. They know that fascism—which exists, but as a much milder menace than advertised—is a very satisfactory bugaboo. The alarms and excursions against fascists help conceal the prime Soviet purpose: total conquest of eastern Europe. The withholding of civil liberties is much more than a righteous defence against counter-revolution. It is a blanket for smothering the legitimate anti-Communist opposition in each country. There are many proofs of this in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland—everywhere in the Russian "security belt". But the simplest and perhaps most convincing proof emerges from the evidence in Rumania and Bulgaria, because these two countries are so divergent in merit and yet have sustained so identical a mauling.

The record of Rumania for fascism is about as black as anybody trying to justify Soviet repression could desire. Even the Opposition in Rumania is dismally compromised by its past; but the Opposition in Bulgaria took a leading and dangerous part in the democratic anti-German resistance during the war. Nevertheless, the Russian boot, with its Communist heel, has been bearing down on Bulgaria no less crushingly than on Rumania. In fact, the liquidation of freedom in Bulgaria has been more ruthless.

How does this square with the Soviet alibi that the survival of fascism is responsible for the delay in introducing democracy? If this were true, Bulgaria would be much further advanced than Rumania by now toward freedom under supervision of the Kremlin. The Bulgarian democrats would be enjoying better treatment than their Rumanian counterparts. But the contrary is true. Which suggests that what Russia intends to give the small States in her sphere of influence is not eventual liberty but eventual subjugation.

Consider first the unchallengeable facts about Rumanian and Bulgarian behaviour in the war. The Rumanians, being Latins, condemn the Russians for being Slavs, hence "inferior". Czarist Russia was bad enough, but the U.S.S.R. emerging from its ashes seemed a veritable ogre of godlessness and violence. In 1940 the Soviets made things worse by snatching the Rumanian provinces of Bukovina and Bessarabia. So when Hitler blew the invasion whistle a year later, the Rumanians were charmed. They carved a whole new Rumanian province of Transnistria for themselves out of the rich Russian soil around Odessa. Their army looted, raped and burned. It kept faith with the Nazis until late 1944, when young King Michael went over to the Allies. This was a great conversion for the Rumanian masses, which had given the Iron Guard a majority as long ago as the 1937 elections. The Guardists were the green-shirted, gun-toting equivalent of the Storm-troopers. Before the war's end, a quarter-million of Rumania's Jews had been liquidated.

The Bulgarians, on the other hand, are as Slavic as the Russians, speak almost

the same language, and have never ceased being grateful to them for wresting Bulgaria from the Turks in 1878 and establishing her independence. The main boulevard of the red-cobblestoned Bulgarian capital is called "Avenue of the Liberator Czar"; it leads into Sofia's main square, which is called "Square of the Liberator Czar"; the square is dominated by Bulgaria's most imposing cathedral, which is called "Alexander Nevsky"—all this in gratitude to Mother Russia, no matter what her politics.

In World War II the Bulgarians lined up with the Germans. They declared war on Britain and the United States. They helped the Nazis occupy Yugoslavia and Greece, and none too gently. But one thing they declined to do. They would not invade Russia. They were the only State in Axis Europe unwilling to produce volunteers to serve in German uniform against the Russians. Bulgarian King Boris (of the German Coburg dynasty) and his pro-Nazi *camarilla* did not even dare go through the motions of a declaration of war, because that would have sparked a revolution.

It was Russia, in the end, who attacked Bulgaria. And this was after the collaborationist cabinet had fallen and a legally-formed anti-Nazi Bulgarian government had declared war on Germany! The Soviet "war" was exclusively political in purpose, to make the Soviet military occupation seem plausible. There was no resistance. The invasion was a flower-strewn procession. After three days the new government, which had already begun fighting the Germans and was imploring the Russians for an armistice, saw itself ejected in a *coup d'état* backed by Moscow.

Bulgaria, alone of all Germany's satellites, also had courage to challenge Hitler's programme for annihilation of the Jews. Attempts to deport Bulgarian Jews to extermination camps had to be abandoned after country-wide protest and indignation mass meetings. Bulgaria gave hospitable transit to foreign Jews fleeing toward neutral Turkey. While Jewry elsewhere was being decimated, the Jewish community of Bulgaria remained unharmed, even increasing four per cent. in population.

So much for the Rumanian and Bulgarian war records. Now what about their present-day anti-Communist Oppositions?

In Rumania the Opposition consists of the National Peasant and Liberal Parties. Their major achievement during the war was their realization, at an early date, that the Axis was doomed. Consequently, they began undercover armistice parleys with the Big Three, but not until they had attempted to negotiate only with the democracies and freeze the Russians out. Later they joined half-heartedly with the Communists and Social Democrats in King Michael's pro-Allied government after he had deposed Dictator Ion Antonescu and turned against the Germans.

Otherwise the history of the present Rumanian Opposition is negative. When the Liberals were in power—which means most of the time during over a half-century before the war—their régime was not noted for its democratic

approach. Twice the National Peasants triumphed in dubious elections, but their contributions to the reform of an oligarchic state were negligible. They tolerated and even encouraged the fascist Iron Guard. Their chief, Julius Maniu, was always a belligerent nationalist. For the sake of recovering Bessarabia, he applauded the invasion of Russia. His followers remain incurably chauvinistic, as do the Liberals, who are the Big-Money party of the bankers and industrialists. In both parties to-day there are many genuine democrats, but the lowest common denominator is reaction.

Bulgaria is altogether different. Without the support of the present Bulgarian Opposition, no underground resistance against the Nazis would have been possible there during the war. The Social Democrats and Agrarians, now in opposition, helped organize a secret Fatherland Front of all anti-Nazi parties. Agrarian leader Nikola Petkov told me with a "the joke's-on-me" smile that on the night before the coup which put the Fatherland Front into power he slept in the same bed with the chief conspirator, who is now Premier in the Government hand-picked by Moscow. Nikola Mushanov, head of the Democratic Party, was shouted down in the pro-Nazi Parliament when he denounced the signing of the Anti-Comintern pact and the war against the Allies. His protests against the anti-Jewish policy inspired the Communist Central Committee and Moscow Radio to hail him as "the conscience of Bulgaria."

Such are the men whom the Communist press now gratefully describes as "monsters". On the pretext that he had joined the Government against which Russia declared war (but which had previously declared war on Germany), Mushanov was condemned by a "War Crimes" People's Court to a year in jail, long enough to remove him as a political obstacle. Petkov and Social-Democrat leader Kosta Lulchev, a white-bearded patriarch who looks like a double for Michelangelo's Moses, couldn't be disposed of so easily. As prime plotters of the *coup d'état* they had to be included in the first Fatherland Front government. But the Communists, with Red Army conniving, soon forced their retirement from the cabinet by the artful procedure of arresting their followers, gagging their protests and wrecking their party rallies. The Communists even demanded and obtained the resignation from his own party of G. M. Dimitrov, Agrarian secretary-general. Dimitrov (no relation to the Communist boss of the same name) had become disturbingly popular through his wartime broadcasts from Cairo. The Communists therefore accused him of being anti-Russian. Rather than expose his friends to further persecution Dimitrov quit—and then had to flee for his life to refuge in the American Political Mission, where armed G.I.'s guarded him until the Russians allowed him to leave the country. The other Dimitrov piously announced in a public speech that in the fight against "the infernal schemings of the reaction, there can be no generosity, no self-control."

The same programme was meanwhile unfolding in Rumania. Communist

intrigue, sharpened by Communist-incited street riots, forced the coalition Government to dissolve. Foreign Vice-Commissar Andrei Vishinsky rushed down to Bucharest and bullied King Michael into endorsing a new cabinet from which all but the Communists and fellow-travellers were purged. Splinter groups masquerading as independent and headed by renegades from the ousted parties filled the gaps. There were some very strange characters in the new "democratic" Government. The Minister of Religions had been an Iron Guard commander. The Premier was a rich landowner whose party consisted mostly of the peasants on his own estates. The Vice-Premier was a former premier who had made King Carol's pre-war dictatorship possible by outlawing all political parties. These and others suddenly became confederates of the Communists—the fascists in order to save their skins, the Communists because they needed some mass support.

The new Bulgarian Government was cut from the identical pattern. Genuinely democratic leaders were replaced by deserters hungry for the lime-light. Stooges flocked in from all quarters. A writer of pro-German tracts became Information Minister. A reformed Macedonian terrorist took the Foreign Affairs portfolio. War Minister Damian Velchev and Premier Kimon Georgiev were responsible for all three of Bulgaria's *coups d'état*—in 1923, overthrowing a democratic Agrarian government; in 1934, abolishing Parliament; in 1944, toppling the cabinet which had gone to war against the Germans.

Thus the Communists face-lifted the two governments in their own image. For a time, Rumania and Bulgaria were nearly twins as caricatures of democracy. Then the Bulgarian comrades and their Red Army advisers began moving ahead in the race to carve up the patient; they decided to stage elections last August, to make the operation legitimate. The Opposition tried to campaign, but was systematically obstructed. Anglo-American intervention postponed the elections until November, and compelled the Russians to compel the Government at least to permit Opposition newspapers. But when strong-arm tactics continued, the Opposition simply gave up. The Government parties, having the election entirely to themselves, ran on a single ticket in a meaningless plebiscite. Nation-wide visitations to private homes were made on election eve, to serve notice that the citizens had better vote or else. Naturally the Government tabulated an astronomical turnout. The sum total result was the manufacture of a farcical Parliament dedicated to unanimity for all Russian-approved projects.

American and British doubts concerning this "democracy" finally forced an agreement in Moscow last December that Rumania and Bulgaria should admit Opposition representatives into their Government and assure freedom of press and opinion. A Three-Power commission journeyed to Bucharest. It obtained agreement on two Opposition ministers, the licensing of a few Opposition newspapers, and a promise that elections would be held by last May—but

Rumania has not yet seen any elections.

In Bulgaria, however, there was not even a visiting Three-Power commission. The Soviets somehow persuaded us it wasn't necessary, since "elections" had already been held there. All that was required was getting the Opposition into the cabinet—and the Bulgarians could settle that themselves, with Comrade Vishinsky's help. So the doughty Vice-Commissar went to Sofia alone. He found a stalemate. The Opposition wanted new elections. It also wanted the Communists to get out of the Interior and Justice ministries, which would have terminated the amiable arrangement whereby Communist police arrest political opponents and then Communist judges pronounce them guilty. Vishinsky dismissed the Opposition as unreasonable. Executing a trick play, the cabinet resigned—and then reorganized itself with a few names but the same old party line-up. The Bulgarian Government in this way kept itself pure of "fascists". Its chastity remains unsullied down to the present writing. A recent "referendum" has further insulated Communist power by driving little King Simeon from his throne.

Each of the Opposition parties is ostensibly permitted its own newspaper. But the régime touchingly shields public opinion from corruption. *Strela*, the agency which distributes all Bulgarian publications, is managed by the Communists. I tried to buy the Democratic Party's *Zname* at Plovdiv, a few hours' drive from Sofia. The *Strela* man said sorry, all sold out. Later I observed him handing a big bundle of the current *Zname* to a junk-dealer. All the Opposition papers suffered from periodic strikes. The printers belong to ORPS, the government's labour federation, and can be called out at will. The Printers' union has passed a resolution that, because Communist leader Dimitrov was originally a pressman, they will never set any type which criticizes him. The Agrarian newspaper once inquired why two Vice-Ministers at the War Office are Communists, also the Chief of Staff, the head of the Intelligence Section, five leading generals and forty-two instructors at the Military Academy. The War Office ordered the paper's composing-room to knock off work. During the war the pro-Nazi Government shut newspapers down for publishing false rumours. The present régime has simply erased the word "false". Article 8A of the current press law empowers the Information Minister to suspend, or recommend for permanent closure, any paper printing "views tending to harm State interests." It doesn't matter whether or not the "views" are true.

Meanwhile the Government maintains an unimpeded barrage of its own propaganda. Every evening in my room at the Hotel Bulgaria near the Royal Palace in Sofia I was regaled by an oration thundering out of a loud speaker in the street. Each Government department has its own propaganda section. All the needy daubers and plasterers are kept busy fabricating portraits and busts of the bearded Marxists saints and their bemoustached Soviet disciples. These gaze at you heroically from every shop-window and wall. For this

year's May Day parade, the Government uprooted the lovely royal gardens and laid down a barren road through them so that the procession could pass a long line of statues built in sections and briskly assembled on the spot like a motorcar. Cheering crowds are guaranteed for the incessant parades, because attendance from each factory and government office is registered by its union. One doesn't absolutely have to belong to the union—but there is no other way to get ration cards for shoes and clothing.

Where gentler persuasion fails, physical enlightenment may prevail. Bulgaria is as gripped by terror as Nazi Germany ever was. In the early days of the Russian Occupation, American and British officers touring the provinces were besieged by complaints of political persecution, but this stopped when the Russians began noting the complainants. Sofia is the centre for Soviet counter-espionage and intelligence in the Balkans. These agencies keep offices in the same building with the Communist Party's Secret Service and the Bulgarian Police Militia, all of which have direct telephone lines with one another. The Militia, 34,000 strong, therefore gets adequate expert advice.

A "Law for the Defence of the People's Power" is the writ on which the militia, recruited entirely under Communist supervision, operates. This law is cribbed largely from a decree of the fascist period, with "democratic" improvements. In effect, it equates criticism of the régime with treason. To enforce it, the militia has power to arrest without warrant, imprison without trial, and pursue persons who have been exonerated by the courts. If a suspect gets away, a relative may be taken as hostage. Even the Government has lost count of its prisoners. It is habitual for people simply to disappear. The known concentration camps are at Boshulia, Pernik, Sveti Vrach, Dupnitsa and Rositsa—genially known in official circles as "labour re-education camps." Despite the Potsdam Agreement on free access to foreign correspondents, I was not permitted to inspect any of these academies. "Graduates", if and when released, are patched up and then persuaded to sign affidavits that they have been well-treated. Nevertheless I interviewed enough survivors to know that Gestapo methods of inquisition are still in vogue.

Vigilantes no longer need to raid Opposition rallies to keep the "fascists" down. The Opposition has desisted from holding public meetings. By squeezing small shopkeepers and large industrialists alike, the Party has collected billions of *elvas* for its private treasury. It has amassed houses, factories and country estates. Its agents participate—without invitation—in company management. The telephone operator at the *Granitoita* Cement Works is now on the board of directors. "I don't know anything about building," an ex-chauffeur directing a construction firm confessed to me with a grin, "but I'm learning." These people receive windfall salaries, from which the Party gets its tribute. The Communists, who were nobly poor at the outset of the "Revolution", now own swank headquarters, printshops, bookstores and whatnot. Their salaried employees get paid at least twice as much as comparable civil servants.

Money, however, is only incidental to power in the Communist textbook. This is a primer lesson absorbed from the Russians. Georgi Dimitrov spent the entire war in the U.S.S.R. Many of the chief aides were enrolled in special Soviet schools. There Interior Minister Anton Yugo learned how to transform the police into a party weapon; ORPS chief Raiko Damianov how to be "political adviser" to the Bulgarian Army. The War Office resisted this advice. When the Fatherland Front was still young, the Communists had tried to pack the officer cadres with "commanders' aides"—political commissars on the Kremlin model. These were whittled from 3,000 to 500 after the professional soldiers objected that anybody who lectures on politics to troops ought to have at least a secondary schooling. But the purge has now gone the other way. Ranking generals are vanishing, and the commissars are coming back. The man who resisted them—War Minister Veltchev—has reportedly been "persuaded" to resign and become Minister to Switzerland! A new decree also has empowered the Government to waive minimum educational requirements for civil servants. This master-stroke was proposed by the Finance Minister, a Communist. His department, which deals with arithmetic and other esoteric techniques, was the only one not yet overrun by the comrades. The country at large has already been taped down by a net of Fatherland Front committees. They were initially intended for local governments, without benefit of election. Their members, picked by a Communist secretary-general in Sofia, distribute rations and do various administrative jobs in town and country. The freshest growth of their authority is over education; henceforth all school-teachers must show a certificate from the local and very learned Fatherland Front committee.

I have not said anything about Rumania for a few paragraphs, which does not mean that Rumania is an uproariously happy land. When I returned there this summer after three months away, the two Opposition ministers who had entered the cabinet as per the Big Three agreement had just been separately and individually held up on the highway by Communist stalwarts in different parts of the country and prevented from speaking at party mass meetings. A full-rank cabinet Minister pulled me into a distant corner of his office to get away from the secret microphone. Communist leaders were blossoming in mighty motorcars and \$200 linen suits. The Russians were sending compulsory articles to the "free press". The Government, still working on plans for the chronically postponed elections, was proposing that the election boards consist of three Government appointees—and no Oppositionists. A wave of arrests, aimed at smashing the Opposition in advance of the still-unannounced election date, was flooding the prisons.

The point is that this Rumanian phase of Russian "democracy in action" was already antiquated in Bulgaria. Why? Because the Bulgarian Communist Party had been more deeply entrenched at the start, and therefore could move more vigorously against the only solid threat to its absolute power—

the real democrats. During the war the Party had been illegal in both countries. But the underground strength of the Rumanian Communist was literally not more than 100 members. Without the Red Army, which brought most of the top Communists back from hiding in Russia or dug them out of local jails, the Party would have been very small potatoes in the New Rumania. Consequently it had to go slow compared with Bulgaria, where the Communists were so strong—thanks to the greater sympathy of the Bulgarians for Russia—that they would have obtained as much as thirty-five to forty per cent. of the vote if a free election had been held in the first rapture of Russian arrival. Bulgaria was repaid for her pro-Russian sentiments by an extra kick and shove toward the Soviet version of Utopia.

In one category only did Bulgaria receive preferential treatment consistent with her better record. Unlike Rumania, she was not handed a reparations bill by the U.S.S.R. But the fact is there was no reason why Bulgaria should pay. It was Russia who attacked Bulgaria, and not the other way around. And Rumania and Bulgaria alike were saddled with the costs of huge and hungry Occupation armies. This obligation, written into both Armistice treaties, was much more onerous than reparations. Worded with deliberate looseness, the Armistice permitted the Russians to take just about everything they wanted—and they did. They even demanded that wives of Soviet officers in the Occupation Army get the same maintenance pay from the Bulgarian treasury as their husbands. Added to the "war booty" which Soviet troops took officially and privately, and the ex-German properties in Bulgaria formally handed over by the Potsdam Agreement, the drain of the Occupation in food, fodder, equipment and goods has set Bulgaria well on the steep slide to becoming an economic colony of the U.S.S.R.

This process has been loyally abetted by the Bulgarian régime. All of Bulgaria's foreign trade (and Rumania's) is now monopolized by Russia and her other satellites. If this were likely to restore Balkan economy, nobody could complain. But one needs no economic crystal ball to see that Russia is incapable of rebuilding the Balkans by herself, that she is working a good thing for all it is worth, and that the end will be a reduction of Balkan living standards to the depressed levels of the still vastly primitive Soviet Union.

Bulgaria and Rumania are strange and distant to us—cloaked in Prisoner-of-Zenda raiment, perhaps. But they are vitally close nevertheless, because in them we see the Russian plan fulfilling itself. And Russia is no faraway place but a world power. Her utterances and professions must be severely studied and their implementation noted if we are to know how to make peace solid and lasting.

CANADA FACES SOME PROBLEMS

BY W. E. GREENING

FEW of the democratic countries have been more profoundly affected by wartime economic and social changes than the Dominion of Canada.

With almost startling suddenness she had reached economic maturity. During the war years, between 1939 and 1945, she has been transformed from a producer of raw materials and agricultural and natural products into one of the great industrial nations of the world. Her economic war effort was a remarkable one for a country of her small population and limited wealth. She has emerged from the conflict with a machine tool industry, a chemical industry, a synthetic rubber industry, a shipbuilding industry, all of which were negligible or non-existent in 1939. Her magnificent industrial plants now far exceed the possible needs of her scattered and scanty population.

At the same time, her stature in the field of international relations has vastly increased. At long last, after decades of indifference to world affairs due to the colonial tradition and to her geographical remoteness from centres of world conflict, she is beginning to play a rôle of her own on the international stage. Her voice is listened to with respect at diplomatic conferences, and she has become one of the leaders among the secondary nations in the United Nations Organization. She is rapidly building up her own diplomatic service—and during the war years established independent diplomatic relations with many nations, including China, Russia, Czechoslovakia and some of the republics of South America.

She has had an important part in the distribution of food and supplies to the starving peoples of Europe and Asia. Her possession of extensive deposits of radium and uranium in her Northwest Territories gives her a decisive voice in the determination of the form of international control of atomic energy.

With the advent of economic maturity has come a whole host of new domestic, social and economic problems which were unimportant in the pioneer and colonial stages of her development. The frontier, with its abundant economic opportunities, has almost disappeared save in some remote sections of the North and Far West. With the growth of large scale industrialism, economic control has become concentrated in the hands of a small group of industrialists and banks in the Eastern Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Economic inequality in some parts of Canada has become almost as marked as in the countries of Europe. The principal problem in post-war Canada, as in all capitalist democracies, is to preserve liberty and democratic institutions

and at the same time give the under-privileged groups of the population economic security, and the prospect of a fuller and more abundant life.

Here Canadian trends are closely influenced by the two countries nearest to her in language, race and culture—Great Britain and the United States. On the one hand, she is linked by political and sentimental ties to a Great Britain which is advancing slowly but surely towards the goals of full employment and economic security through the socialization of industry and the abolition of class privilege and inequality. On the other side, the war has riveted her in a thousand ways to a United States which is headed in a completely opposite direction; where the idealism of the Roosevelt era is fast disappearing and where the main desire of the dominant business groups seems to be the casting off of all New Deal and wartime economic controls as fast as possible in a return to the "normalcy" and "free enterprise" of the Coolidge era of the nineteen-twenties.

Political and economic groups in Canada are reacting to these trends in very different ways. The industrial and financial interests of Eastern Canada, although not as openly rebellious against Government economic controls as their brethren in the United States, are eager to get back to pre-1939 conditions as soon as possible. Although they are not very vocal on the subject, it is easy to see that many of them are deeply disturbed by the programme of the Labour Party in Great Britain and fear the spread of similar doctrines and policies to Canada.

The Liberal administration of William Lyon Mackenzie King which was elected to office for the third time in succession in the summer of 1945 by a fairly large majority, seems to be sympathetic with this outlook in planning its programme of post-war domestic reconstruction. The Minister of National Reconstruction, C. D. Howe, and other important members of the Federal Cabinet are firm believers in private enterprise and have many times stated that wartime controls shall be abolished as soon as it is compatible with economic stability, and that the Federal Government shall not engage in any form of industrial production for the provision of employment which will in any way compete with private industry. They are apparently counting on the pent up civilian demand for consumer goods which have been scarce during the war, together with an increase in Canadian export trade to care for the workers laid off by the closing of numerous munitions plants. They are adhering faithfully to this policy in the disposal of the numerous Government-owned and operated war production plants which are being completely scrapped or sold to private corporations at bargain prices. The latest budget brought into the House of Commons in June 1946, shows further proof of these tendencies. There is hardly any sign in it of any Government planning to take care of the gap between expenditures of private enterprise on new construction and equipment and the amount of public spending necessary to provide full employment in Canada.

The only positive moves made by the Government in the direction of social reconstruction have been in the field of social security. During the war years the Liberal Government, by agreement with the provinces, put through a National Unemployment Insurance Act and set up a Family Allowance System. In the fall of 1945, it summoned a conference of the Provincial Governments to Ottawa to discuss a recasting of the Canadian Constitution by which the Federal Government would be given greater power over income and corporation taxation, and social legislation in general. The Federal authorities brought forth at the conference proposals for the institution of a system of national health insurance and public health services along British lines. The conference broke down because of the failure of the parties involved to agree upon the exact allocation of taxing powers between the Central and the Provincial Governments and for the moment the prospects of further social security legislation do not look bright.

There is abundant evidence that the failure of the Government to devise a satisfactory positive policy of full employment is causing dissatisfaction among groups in many parts of the country. The Liberal Government is weakest in the agrarian prairie Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, where the whole atmosphere is much more friendly to new and radical ideas than in tradition-bound Eastern Canada. The Western farmers and wheat growers who suffered severely in the world depression of the nineteen-thirties are inclined to regard both the old line national parties—the Liberals and the Progressive Conservatives—as tools of the Montreal and Toronto bankers. Here the principal opposition to the King administration is centred in the Canadian Co-operative Federation. This group is in many respects the Canadian counterpart of the British Labour Party, with an infusion of North American agrarian radicalism. In the summer of 1944 it succeeded in capturing the control of the Government of the Province of Saskatchewan, where it is putting into effect a programme of social security and state control and development of industry which is exceedingly radical by North American standards. The CCF, as it is called, has ambitions on the national scale and at the present time is attempting to combine the support of the Western Canadian agriculturalists and the Eastern Canadian industrial workers behind a national programme of social reconstruction along British Labour lines. Although it has as yet attained little support in Eastern Canada, the victory of the Labour Party members in Great Britain has given its members a great feeling of hope and confidence and its influence is growing.

Meanwhile the fortunes of the CCF are becoming closely bound up with those of the newer labour unions in the industrialized sections of Southern Ontario and Quebec. Canadian trade unionism vastly increased in numbers and strength during the war years and has become much more conscious of its potential strength. Many of the unions are affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organization and the American Federation of Labour in the United

States and they have been considerably affected by the drive of the American Unions for wage increases. Wage rates are, on the whole, lower in Canada than in the United States and have been held rigidly down by Government anti-inflation legislation during the past few years. Now the Canadian unions are attempting to raise their rates of pay to American levels and strengthen their general position against the employers before the latter can take advantage of post-war unemployment and the surplus of labour to start an anti-union drive. A wave of strikes has started in the steel, electrical, rubber, chemical and other mass production industries with which the Government seems to be totally unable to cope.

The strike problem in both Canada and the United States is tied up with the course of inflation in the latter country. The American Unions are striking in large numbers at the present time for high wages because their living costs have been markedly affected by the rise of prices since the end of the war. In Canada, the Government has been much more successful in keeping prices down than in the United States, because of more efficient administration of the price control machinery. But now that the whole price control mechanism of the United States appears dangerously near the point of complete breakdown, and runaway inflation is imminent, it will become very difficult for Canada to keep her prices from soaring in the face of the pressure from the United States.

It will therefore be impossible for Canada to escape the effects of a large-scale American crash. If this crisis arises, the Liberal Government has no measures up its sleeve to insulate the country against its dire effects.

Canada and the United States are also having difficulties in the sphere of external relations and hemisphere defence. Recent developments in the field of international aviation and the recent Russian spy scare have abruptly awakened Canadians to the fact that their country is right in the centre of the area of world power conflicts instead of on its remote outer fringes. The shortest air routes from the United States to Siberia and northern Europe lie over Canadian territory. The Canadian Government investigations of Russian espionage activities in Canada showed that the Soviet agents and their Canadian accomplices displayed a keen interest in the geography and resources of the Canadian Arctic and the Northwest Territories. During the winter months of 1945-46, the Canadian Army sent an expedition to investigate the climatic, defence and general geographical conditions of the Arctic coast. There is no doubt that the purpose of this expedition was military as much as scientific and seems to have been regarded as such by the Russians, judging by the tone of some recent Russian editorials and articles on the subject. Many Canadians are becoming considerably disturbed at the thought that the Northwest region of their country might become a battleground for the forces of the U.S.S.R. and of the U.S.A. in the event of another world conflict.

This new situation in the Arctic is causing some embarrassment in Canadian

official circles. Canada and the United States have become drawn closely together in defence of the Western Hemisphere against external aggression. During the war years a joint Canadian-American Defence Board was set up, which is still actively functioning. The Americans have come to feel that they have a very direct interest in the defences of their Northern neighbour. According to reliable authorities, the American military authorities are anxious that the Arctic region shall be as well-protected against attack as the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of North America. They have planned large landing fields, modern air squadrons, and a network of communications along the Canadian Arctic Coast, from Alaska to Baffinland. These projects would be far beyond the present financial resources of the Canadian Government. Yet their entire construction by the United States would put Canada in a humiliating position of subservience and dependence, and would smack of the worst type of imperialism. A straw in the wind is the cool attitude of the Canadian Government towards the plan of American military authorities to set up a weather observation station on Marshall Island. This move shows that the Canadian Government is just as anxious to protect its sovereignty in military matters from violation by the United States as by Great Britain. Yet it is quite apparent that the Canadian Government will have to devote much more attention and money to the question of Arctic defence and development than it has ever done in the past.

The course of political development in Canada during the next few months, to a large extent, hangs on the question of the leadership of the Liberal Party. William Lyon Mackenzie King, the great Liberal leader who has guided the fortunes of the party for over two decades and steered Canada through the most critical period in her history, is seventy-two years old and reported to be on the point of retirement. During his long period of office he has shown himself an unsurpassed master in the art of harmonizing the interests of exceedingly racial, sectional and economic groups and uniting them in support of a common national policy. It is very unlikely that any of his possible successors will display the same aptitude. If the Liberal Party starts dissolving into sectional and economic groups, and shows itself powerless to deal with a serious post-war depression, the CCF may at last be given the opportunity for which it has long been waiting to put some of its programme into effect on a national scale.

(Mr. Greening is a journalist who during the war years was employed in the Department of National War Service and the Department of Labour of the Canadian Government. He has done considerable work for the International Short Wave Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.)

SPAIN REVISITED

BY E. ALLISON PEERS

WHEN, for nearly twenty years, one has spent from three to four months yearly in a country, and is then prevented from making such visits for nearly ten, one naturally returns to it with more than usual expectation. Save for a short period in August 1939, my last visit to Spain had ended a few weeks before the Civil War began in July 1936. What conditions could I hope to meet in this country which I used to know, in many respects, better than my own? Week in, week out, I had been finding each Monday on my office table anti-Franco and pro-Franco propaganda sheets which informed me that life in Spain approximated respectively to life in purgatory and life in paradise. Food was scarce and bad; food was good and plentiful. Visitors were spied upon and checked at every step; visitors were free to do exactly what they liked. Spain was on the brink of a revolution which would usher in a new republic; Spain was the happiest and most peaceful country in Europe and the possibility of another revolution was only an academic one.

In the late summer of this year, I made a somewhat extensive tour of northern and central Spain, upon which, for the benefit of those who may be intending to do the same or who for other reasons are interested in the subject, this article will attempt to report with all possible objectivity. Besides numerous country districts, ten cities were visited—Madrid, Toledo, Alcalá de Henares, Avila, Salamanca, Valladolid, Burgos, Santander, Bilbao, San Sebastián. Though the visit was a professional one, and I was in close touch with educational authorities, I brought with me no letters of introduction and received no kind of special privileges: my experiences might therefore be those of any person closely acquainted with the Spanish people and language.

The political situation, with which I was already in fairly close touch before leaving home, can be summarized very briefly. There are two well-developed underground currents of activity, bubbles from which appear every now and then on Spain's placid surface: one of these aims at restoring the Monarchy; the other, at bringing in a Third Republic. Neither appears to have the support of any large proportion of the people, though, for psychological reasons, a majority would no doubt rapidly attach itself to either could it stage a successful *pronunciamiento*. While political matters were openly discussed, the general reaction of the man in the street to such discussion was sluggish, and, as at home, every conversation soon came round to food problems. Deeply

divided in their political opinions though Spaniards are, all but an insignificant minority appear to be agreed that no risk must be run of another Civil War. Changes within the next year or two are certain, but they are likely to be evolutionary rather than revolutionary—and that means they will be slow. For my own part, I should doubt if less than a decade will suffice to complete them.

If this article is to be honest as well as practical it must begin by advising would-be travellers to visit Spain at present only in the company of someone who speaks the language and is familiar with the country. This is chiefly because of difficulties the existence of which no one denies—difficulties of transport. Conditions of travel are much worse than they were in Britain even at the height of the war. It is not merely that trains, trams and buses are incredibly full—I have seen main-line trains packed to the lavatories and outside platforms, and Madrid trams with passengers riding on the rear rails and on the steps. It is not even the fantastic queues which form an hour or more before the train is due in, and dissolve almost imperceptibly, though these are disconcerting enough when they are the prelude to nearly every journey. The chief trouble is that Spain is short of rolling-stock; that for that reason many trains run only three times weekly, and that, very properly, tickets are issued only to as many people as can be packed on the trains. This means, in practice, that just as you have edged your way to within a yard of the ticket-office it may suddenly be announced that there are no more tickets, or that, as happened two or three times to me, you may have gone to the railway office in the town to book your seat in advance and there learned that there are no tickets available on your particular train for the next ten or twelve days. In such cases, there would seem to be nothing that you can do about it, though actually, since you are in Spain, there is often a good deal. Just as you are feeling most shattered, for example, a somewhat disreputable-looking individual may come up to you, with a beaming face, to say that, by the merest chance, he purchased a ticket for your train some weeks ago, and you are welcome to have it—for half as much again as he paid for it. Or you may encounter less expensive solutions of your problems if you have any idea where to look for them. There are more ways of getting into a booking-office, you may be sure, than through the window.

The food situation, for residents in Spain, ranges from unsatisfactory to serious. Nobody speaks well of it, though there is little evidence of anything approaching starvation, and the position varies widely in town and country, and from one region to another—a fact which precludes generalization and greatly assists propagandists. High prices and profiteering are discussed in almost every newspaper one reads and everyone in authority admits that a "campaign" for cheaper living is long overdue. Hotels and pensions, however, show few signs of a food shortage.

Nearly all those I stayed in were modest in type, yet I never had a luncheon or a dinner of less than four courses, nor (let this be added for the benefit of

and cafés. There are no posters (as under certain earlier régimes) warning one to guard one's tongue. There is no censorship of letters. No doubt things were very different both after the Spanish war and during the world war, but I am speaking of the position to-day.

Taken all round, and with the proviso laid down at the beginning of this article, Spain is as ideal a country for the holiday-maker who appreciates good food, magnificent scenery and an unrivalled culture as at any time in the past. The material wounds made by the Civil War have nearly all disappeared: only here and there do the mutilated windows of Toledo Cathedral and the shattered buildings at Alcalá remind us that a few things have been lost which are irreplaceable. The new towns, garden cities and model villages which stand where once was desert or slum, the new University City at Madrid which has risen from the ruins of the old, are reminders, in brick and stone, of a fact, too little realized, which alone makes present-day Spain so well worth visiting—the energy, vitality and forward-looking spirit of its people.

THE VICTORIAN THEATRE

BY ST. JOHN ERVINE

THE habit of sneering at the Victorian era, as if it were a sink of all obliquity, is waning fast, and even undergraduates in their second year refrain from deriding it. It is still possible to meet an aged and decrepit Bloomsburyite who mumbles stale catchwords about the Victorians which, a decade or more ago, would have been thought very diverting in Gordon Square; but few are found to listen to him with attention or patience, though now and then he may receive the offer of a lift to Kensal Green. The reluctance of these people to admit that there was any merit in any Victorian was proved to me some years ago in Paris when, discussing Corot with a prominent Bloomsburyite, I remarked that the Queen had been among the first people to buy his pictures. "I expect she bought the bad ones," he said with a mixture of smirk and sneer. Of such were the intelligentsia! . . .

But reason is beginning to break in, and admission is now made, even if it be made grudgingly, that Victoria's subjects included some men and women of genius and that the whole of her reign was remarkable for vast changes of every kind. The Queen herself is acknowledged to have been a woman of unusual character, and far shrewder than some of her political servants. Her life stretched from the time of Keats, who died when she was a year and nine months old, and Shelley, who was drowned in her fourth year, to the time of Noel Coward, who was a year and a month on the day she died. Charlotte and Emily Brontë were about the same age in 1837 that Lytton Strachey and Virginia Woolf were in 1901. England was lit by candles and oil-lamps and even farthing dips when the Queen ascended the throne. It was ceasing to be lit by gas and beginning to be lit by electricity when she died. How rich and diverse was the quality of her people is easily demonstrable. Little trouble is required in the compilation of a list of at least 150 Victorians who were highly distinguished in a remarkable variety of ways. Consider the following short list of men and women of genius who lived in her reign, and remember that it is a very arbitrarily selected and brief list:

William Booth, Robert Browning, Thomas Carlyle, Lewis Carroll, Sir William Crookes, Charles Darwin, Charles Dickens, Benjamin Disraeli, Sir Edward Elgar, J. A. Froude, S. R. Gardner, W. S. Gilbert, W. E. Gladstone, Henry Hallam, Sir W. Rowan Hamilton, Thomas Hardy, Sir William Huggins, T. H. Huxley, Henry Irving and Rudyard Kipling.
Cardinal Manning, Madame Melba, George Meredith, John Stuart Mill, Cardinal Newman, Florence Nightingale, Sir William Ramsay, Lord Rayleigh, Cecil Rhodes,

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Avila Camacho, with perhaps a juster appreciation of human nature and actual conditions, laid more stress on creating a feeling of security in the *ejidatarios* by beginning to hand them title deeds to individual plots not to be sold or mortgaged, but neither to be taken from them or their sons as long as they prove that they are cultivating them. This process will be a long one since it requires much legal work and surveying, but it is steadily being pushed ahead. Also the Government is wherever possible increasing the unit of land from eight and twelve acres to sixteen and twenty-four, thereby easing the rope around the peasant's ankle.

That all this is not enough, the Government would be the first to admit. Rarely have I found more outspoken officials and less desire to hide the facts from an interested observer. Without the slightest difficulty, I obtained permission to visit as many *ejidos* as I pleased during my recent five-month stay. In many parts of the country, I accompanied the "delegates for the promotion of *ejidos*" on their tours of inspection. They are among the best informed about the actual situation since their task is to organize, supervise, advise and criticize the activities of the *ejidos* in the agricultural, financial and educational field. Intended to be the Government spokesmen before the peasants, they are expected to proceed in a way that allows them to become their trusted friends. Only supermen could carry out such a task to perfection, yet within their possibilities most of them perform their duties in quite an admirable way.

"I haven't been out here for over six months," one of them told me as we were riding across a bare, wind-swept plateau, some 200 miles to the north-west of Mexico City. Our horses belonged to the *ejido* we were about to visit, and had been sent to the nearest railway station to meet us. "I told them last time to graft their fruit trees; I showed them how to do it and left them several hundred shoots to finish the job by themselves. Whether they have done it, and correctly, I don't know." "Couldn't you write to them?" "Of course, though letters may take a long time to reach them, and not too many of the *ejidatarios* can read and write. Yet could I ever be sure that they understood me correctly? In the beginning, all the *ejidos* used to send representatives to see me, but that only made things worse. They left their land unattended, and made me spend all my time at the office instead of out in the field. It all degenerated into squabbles and paperwork, and I had to tell them to stop it."

He was a man of about thirty-five, a typical Mexican half-breed, cocksure and full of vitality. If he was not talking, he was whistling or singing; his most characteristic gesture was to pull his wide-brimmed straw hat forward only to push it to the back of his head a minute afterwards. He was a graduate of the biggest National Agricultural School and a Socialist, rather contemptuous of the Government Party and its omnipotent machine. He had taken the job as *delegado* because he wanted to help the people, and he was disappointed that he could do comparatively little in the circumstances.

"The Government offered steel plough-shares," he said, "to replace the in-

SPAIN REVISITED

efficient wooden ones still everywhere in use. Half the ordinary price was to be paid by the peasants, the rest by the Ministry of Agriculture. It was hard work to convince the *ejidatarios* that the whole thing was meant to benefit them, harder still to collect the money in advance. Nowhere on earth will peasants part with their money without first receiving the goods. Well, I persuaded them, but when I sent in the cheque, the available plough-shares were sold out, and I had to return the money and was made to look an utter fool. Eight months later I had to start all over again on the same business, and what that meant, you can well imagine."

When we reached the *ejido*, we found all the men assembled in the school, where they had been waiting for hours. They grinned affectionately, and there was a lot of backslapping and polite twiddling of hats. They were all wearing their best clothes, collarless cotton shirts and blue jeans (now produced in Mexican factories cheaply and in great quantities), leather sandals, and black *sarapes*—with the lively white pattern typical of this region—neatly folded and hanging over their left shoulder.

The purpose of the delegate's visit this time was the control of their book-keeping. The 125 members of this particular *ejido* had spent, from September 1943 till May 1946, some 16,000 pesos, more than half of it for the running of their maize mill that served the whole community. This expenditure was amply offset by the villagers' payments for this most important service. One hundred and fifteen plough-shares had been bought at twenty pesos each, also a lot of barbed wire. Then there had been the expense of sending the produce—maize and wheat—to the market, that is, the transport of the five per cent. of the crop each farmer was obliged by law to contribute to the communal funds. Almost 500 pesos had been spent by the various representatives sent on special missions to the state or national capital. A large amount (6,000 pesos) was held to their credit by the National Bank of Mexico. Thus, at 22,469 pesos and seventeen cents, their budget was nicely balanced. Since all expenses were strictly accounted for and those above 100 pesos had furthermore only been effected after consulting the delegate, his signature was now easily obtained.

"This is quite a victory," he explained. "In the beginning they wanted to distribute among themselves any money left over at the end of the year. They held a big assembly where the majority went nearly mad with joy at the great news. What a lot of *aguardiente* they would get! Only two of the more reasonable ones reminded them that by law they were obliged to set aside twenty-five per cent. of the communal income as a reserve, but nobody heeded them. So they fetched me. What a meeting! Worse than a boiling cauldron. I let them all shout themselves hoarse, and then I told them that it was not convenient for them to go on borrowing money every year at high interest; that it was only reasonable to build up a reserve; and that anyhow the law required it of them. Grudgingly they gave in. Meanwhile they have long admitted that I was right. The result is that their conditions begin to improve.

distention of cities by inrushing country people, compelled the more substantial citizens to remove themselves from the centre of the city to its outskirts, and even beyond them. They were, therefore, practically prevented from play-going unless they were prepared to incur the expense of a night in a hotel. The building of railways altered this situation; and by the time the Queen's favour to the playhouses was generally observed and was about to be copied, transport was available from the remotest suburbs to take people to and from the theatre on the same evening. The theatre, as a building, developed rapidly. "In 1800, the playhouses were lighted precisely as playhouses had been lit since the sixteenth century; in 1870, gas illumination, with all its accompanying flexibility on manipulation, was well-nigh universal." Henry Irving, it may here be said, preferred gas light to electricity, and carried his own gas-pipes on tour at a time when those had almost disappeared from theatres.

The entire business of production changed with extraordinary speed. The Bancrofts were the great revolutionaries in this respect, turning the theatre into a pleasant place in which to sit, and improving the setting of the play beyond all expectations at the time. The part performed by Tom Robertson, the dramatist, in this change has not been sufficiently recognized. His plays, of which *Caste* is now the best known, seem simple pieces to-day, and though their excellence cannot be denied, were almost intolerably "advanced" when they were first produced. He was not, Professor Nicoll rightly insists, the end of an era: he was the beginning of ours. Reality displaced mindless romance: and poets became ambitious to revive poetic drama. Browning and, more successfully Tennyson wrote plays, but, having little or no sense of the theatre, failed to make as much impression as was desirable. Shakespeare returned to his place. In 1856, a little girl of eight, called Ellen Terry, made her first appearance on the stage in one of his plays, *A Winter's Tale*. Four years earlier, another little girl, aged four, called Madge Robertson, who was to become famous as Mrs. Kendal, made her first appearance. Her brother Tom, the dramatist, was a grown man when she was born, for she came of a very long family.

By the year 1869, the audience was far from being what it had formerly unfortunately been; and it was assisted in changing itself by the habit the educated classes had now acquired, of eating their dinner late in the evening. Marie Wilton (Lady Bancroft) put down a carpet in the stalls, and playgoers began to wear evening dress. The rowdy days were over and done. The programme no longer consisted of bits and pieces that were performed from 6.30 p.m. until midnight. There was a long play, preceded, usually, by a one-act piece, called a curtain-raiser. Attention to settings, therefore, became closer. Although these had been improved, and were improving, they were still substantially crude; with wings and "flats" and roughly painted curtains which were whisked up to the roof in full view of the audience when a change of scene had to be made. Furniture was jerked on to the stage by strings! . . . The idea of dropping a front curtain so that changes of scene might be made

unobserved by the audience had scarcely occurred to anybody; and the dramatist, encumbered by this clumsy apparatus, was almost restricted to the devices used by Shakespeare for getting characters off the stage. He *had* to make Hamlet drag the dead Polonius away in a pretence of concealing his body, and was obliged to make Orlando change his mind about leaving Adam in a state of exhaustion while he went in search of aid, since to leave him there would make the actor ridiculous by, first, protesting that he was about to expire, and, second, getting up and walking off the stage so that the next scene could be performed without the embarrassment of his unnecessary corpse. Even Irving, an audacious innovator, failed to use the front curtain as often as he ought to have done, and was content to lower the lights between the scenes to veil the shifters at their work, though this upset old-fashioned playgoers with hardening dramatic arteries.

Two changes, one of them still in a crude state, immensely improved the mechanics of production: the first being the use of what is called the "box" set by means of which it was possible to imitate indoor scenes more realistically; and the second, the revolving stage, which has still to be perfected and more generally used.

* * * *

All these alterations and improvements, though they were important, were mechanical and subordinate to the main need of the theatre; which was for far finer plays than *The Robber's Bride* and clumsily-carpentered adaptations of Scott's and Dickens's novels. The pioneer was Tom Robertson. Browning and Tennyson were industrious, but unsuccessful, followers. Then came Arthur Pinero and Henry Arthur Jones, the first superior to the second, and the stage was set for a more serious drama than it had seen for a century. Both these authors had their faults, as Shakespeare and Sheridan had, but it is indisputable that they were men of mind and quality, and they rendered our theatre great service by their work. Their range was limited, no doubt, as, indeed, it could scarcely fail to be in the conditions of their time and in view of the fact that they were not men of genius, but only men of talent; and they kept their interest in too small an area, too close a class, too remote from ideas that were not little and local. But they had an extraordinary sense of the theatre, Pinero particularly, and they displayed some wit, some sense of speech, and a larger sense of people than was usually shown on the stage. Pinero's farces, such as *The Magistrate* and *The Rocket*, and Jones's melodramas, such as *The Silver King*, were vast improvements on all of a similar sort that had gone before.

It was, however, an influence outside England which had the profoundest effect on our drama: the influence of Henrik Ibsen who, though he never became a "popular" author and never enjoyed a long "run", profoundly shook the thought of Europe and altered the mind of the play. The very violence

with which his work was assailed on its first performance in England is an indication not only of the need for it, but of the shattering effect it had on routine plays and routine writers. The impact of his mind on Pinero was obvious and prompt: without Ibsen *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* and *The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith* and *His House in Order* and many other remarkable plays would not have been written or produced. These two men, Jones and Pinero, prepared the way for other and better men. Ideas, even if they were small ideas, had entered the playhouse and could not be expelled. Bernard Shaw had, indeed, to fight for his life in the theatre, but he won it. Pinero made the breach in the citadel which allowed finer soldiers to pass through. The citadel was taken, and a stronghold of intelligent drama was established. In a decade the English theatre was entirely transformed.

How thoroughly it was transformed will appear from the following passage taken from a work of my own:

Oscar Wilde appeared in 1892, and, in three years, produced *Lady Windermere's Fan*, *A Woman of No Importance*, *An Ideal Husband*, and *The Importance of Being Earnest*. Then he was arrested and sent to prison. Pinero, who had pierced the fortress, scattered the enemy in 1893 with *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*. In 1891, Henry Arthur Jones, an equally valiant warrior, had produced *The Dancing Girl* and *The Crusaders*. In 1892, Grein, unabashed by the noise he had evoked by the production of Ibsen's *Ghosts*, added to the uproar by producing Bernard Shaw's *Widowers' Houses*, a piece which he had incited Shaw to finish. Authors leapt up from every corner of the kingdom. The pioneers, Pinero and Henry Arthur Jones, were immensely active and prolific, and so were the recruits who joined them. In six years, 1902-8, J. M. Barrie produced *Quality Street*, *The Admirable Crichton*, *Little Mary*, *Peter Pan*, *Alice-Sit-By-the-Fire*, and *What Every Woman Knows*. The Stage Society was founded in 1900. In 1904, the Vedrenne-Barker seasons started at the Court Theatre in Sloane Square, and in three years, 1904-7, the following plays were performed either for the first time or in revival:

The Hippolytus of Euripides, translated by Gilbert Murray.
Aglavaine and Sélysette by Maeterlinck.
John Bull's Other Island by Bernard Shaw.
Prunella by Laurence Housman and H. Granville-Barker.
You Never Can Tell by Bernard Shaw.
The Trojan Women of Euripides, translated by Gilbert Murray.
The Thieves' Comedy by Gerhardt Hauptmann, translated by C. F. Moles.
Man and Superman by Bernard Shaw.
The Electra of Euripides, translated by Gilbert Murray.
The Return of the Prodigal by St. John Hankin.
Major Barbara by Bernard Shaw.
The Voysey Inheritance by H. Granville-Barker.
The Silver Box by John Galsworthy.
The Charity That Began at Home by St. John Hankin.
The Doctor's Dilemma by Bernard Shaw.
The Campden Wonder by John Masefield.
Votes for Women by Elizabeth Robins.
Candida by Bernard Shaw.

Captain Brassbound's Conversion by Bernard Shaw.
The Wild Duck by Henrik Ibsen.
The Philanderer by Bernard Shaw.
Hedda Gabler by Henrik Ibsen.

The revolution had been complete. The theatre, whose return to intellectual integrity and artistic worth had been begun by Queen Victoria fifty years earlier, was transfigured before she died. In every respect, it had been enormously improved: in acting, in production, in the quality of the play, and, above all, in the quality of the audience. The theatre in the provinces had felt the change no less than the theatre in London. In 1904, the famous Abbey Theatre in Dublin, was founded, and in 1907, Miss A. E. F. Horniman, who had subsidized the Abbey, founded the Gaiety in Manchester. A producer of plays of indubitable genius appeared simultaneously with authors of equal genius. Harley Granville-Barker, whose production of *Twelfth Night* at the Savoy in 1912, was the most beautiful production I have ever seen, enriched our stage as it has been enriched by no other man. There was beauty now where there had been ashes. The English theatre has since suffered the miseries of two World Wars, and is less vital in 1946 than it was in 1904. But no one who knows it well can doubt that it is still vigorous, and that the quality it displayed from 1890 onwards, will not disappear.

CULTURAL SWITZERLAND TO-DAY

By René Elvin

THE big, shiny Douglas of the Swissair company that takes you in a three hours' hop from London to Zurich or Geneva is no mere aircraft: it is really H. G. Wells's Time Machine, and it leaves nowhere the young woman of the limerick:

There was a young lady named Bright
Who travelled far faster than light:
She started one day
In the relative way,
And returned on the previous night.

In fact, it lands you plump seven years back, in a country where, at first sight, time has stood still since 1939. For the lover of art or music especially, renewing contact with Switzerland this summer was something of an hallucinatory experience: he had left it, his eyes dazzled by the splendour of the Prado exhibition at Geneva, his ears still full of that unforgettable concert at which Toscanini conducted *Siegfried Idyll* in the garden of the house at Tribschen on the Lake of Lucerne, where Wagner himself had written and first directed it. And now, Lucerne had another memorable exhibition, that of the Milan Ambrosiana Gallery, and another music festival, where the same Toscanini with his Scala orchestra gave the concert he had refused Paris and London, and where some of the best conductors in Europe, including our Malcolm Sargent, the brilliant Pole Paul Kletzki, the mercurial Italian Vittorio de Sabata, the Frenchman Paul Paray, the Swiss Ernest Ansermet, Robert F. Denzler and Paul Sacher, with such soloists as Yehudi Menuhin, Robert Casadesu and Edwin Fischer, worked together harmoniously to produce the first big musical event on an international scale to be heard since the war.

And that was not all. As if caught by a beneficent contagion, all the big cities, and even the small resorts, in Switzerland, vied with each other to organize festivals with celebrities from all countries. Basle and Zurich presented Benjamin Britten's *Peter Grimes*, seasons of Italian opera, and brilliant series of concerts; Geneva had "International Encounters", where the musical and operatic offerings were the framework of a spiritual symposium in which leading European thinkers and poets publicly exchanged their views on the reconstruction of our stricken continent. Musical courses of studies were held in Alpine villages such as Braunwald and Les Haudères, festivals in the Grisons,

in Gstaad, in Vevey, in Montreux. There was hardly a valley that did not resound with the concord of sweet sounds.

This intensive musical activity was by no means merely an added attraction for the tourist. In fact, much of it had been started during the war, when Switzerland was almost hermetically sealed off from the outside world. It was the expression of an inner necessity for a people which, with a population of hardly more than 4,000,000, has presented the world with some of the most significant among contemporary composers, including such famous figures as Arthur Honegger and Ernest Bloch, and also lesser known, but every whit as important musicians such as Willy Burkhard, Frank Martin and above all Othmar Schoeck, the Schubert of our time. Schoeck, whose sixtieth birthday was celebrated this year all over Switzerland, pays the ransom of being a prophet in his own country by being practically ignored abroad, though his operas and particularly his songs are among the most beautiful musical creations of this century.

This is not an article on music, but I offer no apology for starting off with it. Nearly all the 80,000 British tourists who visited Switzerland so far this year appear to have been most impressed by, and to have lengthily reported on, such awesome miracles as shops where the most attractive goods can be had, if not for the asking, at least for a reasonable amount of francs, where the customer is a patron to be received in a courteous, friendly way, and not a supplicant to be dismissed with condescension or sneers, and where even automatic machines on railway platforms actually deliver chocolate, sweets and cigarettes for a few centimes. All this is true, and it would be hypocritical to deny the fascination of the glittering shop windows in Zurich's Bahnhofstrasse, under Berne's arcades, or in Geneva's rue du Rhône: they offer not only long-missed articles to a goods-hungry world, but also, in their pleasing, tasteful displays, colour and beauty to the passer-by. My only objection to them is that their spell tends to distract from what in less austerity-stricken days, before even the overpowering magnificence of the Alpine world was appreciated, was considered one of the main attractions of the country, her age-old tradition of culture and tolerance.

Switzerland, as was too often forgotten in the days when millions visited "the playground of Europe", is one of the oldest centres of civilization of our continent—and one with a more consistent and continuous record than most. From the Dark Ages (when, a contemporary wrote, more books were found in St. Gall and other Swiss monasteries than in the rest of Europe put together), to the brilliant flowering of the Renaissance, the scientific discoveries of the sixteenth century, the useful interpretative work of the "period of enlightenment" and the multifarious activities of the nineteenth century, that small country has played at all times a part out of all proportion to its size or population.

This tradition found its most obvious and most easily discernible expression

in its architecture. That modern shibboleth, functionalism, found one of its earliest realizations in the Swiss chalet, so perfect in its neat simplicity and in its suitability to climate and environment that its shape, with its broad eaves surmounting a structure of robust compactness, has hardly varied for centuries. The spirit of the craftsmen who first conceived it lives in the long line of builders and architects who erected such early models of town-planning as Berne, and in their modern successors who have adapted it with masterly skill to contemporary needs. It lives in the big cities such as Zurich no less than in the quaint mountain villages of the Valais or the Bernese Oberland, in the daring lightness of Robert Maillart's bridges as well as in the well-proportioned massiveness of their latest hospitals, schools and office buildings. Swiss builders retained throughout the ages that natural good taste, that innate sense of harmonious design which were almost universal in Europe until the nineteenth century, but then subsided into a welter of cheap imitations and spurious revivals.

They were fortunate also in another respect: the economic structure of the country, with fewer differences in wealth and mode of life between the richest and the poorest, prevented both flashy ostentatiousness in the houses of the rich and squalor in those of the poor: there are no slums in Switzerland. Working class dwellings, even when strictly utilitarian, are redeemed from deadly monotony by touches of colour, by balconies lovingly decorated with red geraniums, by simple but telling details in porches or roofs. On the other hand, the hardly less ugly garishness of parvenu architecture of the Victorian and Edwardian eras is practically unknown there. The strength of tradition was such as to impose on newly-rich industrialists, at the worst epoch of building, the respect of that elegant restraint which distinguishes the homes of eighteenth century patricians, even when it was no longer vigorous enough to produce designs of similar quality. And now, for the past generation, the Swiss have been in the van of modern architecture, combining the boldness they learned from the chasm-spanning feats of their engineers with a sense of the practical characteristic of a frugal race, and with a feeling for proportion directly derived from the experience of countless generations.

If architecture is perhaps the most patent sign of the Swiss cultural tradition, it is by no means the only one. Closely allied to it is a school of plastic art which, without producing astonishing masterpieces, has helped to decorate their cities with sculptures akin in spirit to the surrounding buildings, particularly with the numerous and charming fountains which are among the most attractive features of Swiss towns.

What about painting? Here again, the Swiss have a healthy and not undistinguished tradition which, starting with the stark realism of Conrad Witz, Nicholas Manuel, Urs Graf and Hans Holbein, had its last great representatives in the monumentality of Ferdinand Hodler and of his disciple, Cuno Amiet. The crabbed style of René Auberjonois, the subtle infantilism of Paul Klee,

heralded a confusion of influences which has perhaps been partly responsible for the absence of any outstanding talent among the younger generation of Swiss painters. If in this respect the quadrennial Salon, held this year at Geneva, was something of a disappointment, there is one domain in which the Swiss can boast a marked superiority over rival craftsmen of other countries: in their posters, they have created a truly popular art in which young artists like Alois Carigiet and Herbert Leupin display an exuberant fantasy and a colourful freshness worthy of the mural paintings of which their works are the modern descendants.

Nowhere is love and respect for plastic arts more developed than in Switzerland. Even ephemeral posters are displayed to best advantage, not haphazard on any handy hoarding, but surrounded by suitable frames and placed on sites where, far from being blots on the landscape, they add to the general gaiety of the scene. City councils devote a sizable part of their annual budget (in Zurich, 30,000 francs) to the purchase of paintings by young and yet unrecognized artists to decorate their offices. Scholarships and stipends are more numerous, and granted on more liberal terms, than anywhere else. And there can hardly be any country with more art galleries per head of population than the Helvetic Confederation, in which most of the twenty-two cantons each have one or more public art galleries, generally housed in noble, ancient edifices or in modern buildings of excellent design.

It is one of these, the new Lucerne *Kunstmuseum*, that presented the great artistic attraction of the summer and autumn: the exhibition of the Milan Ambrosiana Library and Collection, enriched with choice treasures from the most celebrated galleries of northern Italy, most of them never shown previously outside their own country. Not perhaps as dazzling as the memorable Prado exhibition of 1939, which contained only the quintessence of that museum and where masterpieces of worldwide reputation were juxtaposed in an almost dizzy-making array, it offers more variety—and something of the pleasure of discovery. Many of the exhibits had previously hung in out-of-the-way, small-town galleries, ill-lit churches or inaccessible private collections, and now stand revealed in all their glory, in a beautifully designed gallery. Pride of place belongs here to Raphael's fascinating cartoons for his monumental Vatican fresco *The School of Athens*, drawings of a strength and grace which dispel once and for all the belittling strictures proffered by twentieth century critics as a reaction against the indiscriminate adoration of nineteenth century aesthetes. Their grandiose pictorial construction, the mighty sweep of their composition, the perfection of their details, would repay hours of study. But there are endless riches to be enjoyed: Leonardo's bizarre and unique sketch-book, the celebrated *Codex Atlanticus*, and his Saint Jerome, beloved of all guides for its romantic history; the many masterpieces of the Lombard and Venetian schools, notably the five canvases of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, which in their freshness and realism are far above the stagy murals and roof paintings

for which he is best known, and the incomparable collection of illuminated books founded by Cardinal Federico Borromeo as first purpose of the Ambrosiana.

But the quadrilingual Swiss are nothing if not eclectic, and even the glories of the Ambrosiana could not entirely satisfy their appetite for art. French painting was worthily represented in Zurich this summer by the exhibition of the Grenoble Museum, whose wealth in modern pictures came as a surprise to whoever expected to find in a minor provincial gallery mainly works of local celebrities (such as, in this case, the dreamy Henri Fantin-Latour). Nor was England forgotten: in fact, no less than three shows gave testimony of the achievements of contemporary British artists and craftsmen. For this country's first exhibition abroad, the Tate Gallery gave in Berne an impressive display of "English Painting since 1900", in which Stanley Spencer and Graham Sutherland appear to have made the deepest impression on Swiss visitors. It was followed by an exhibition of British Books, forming a pleasantly effective response to the similar display of Swiss Books shown in London earlier this year, while the Zurich *Kunstgewerbemuseum* offered a good selection of English graphic art during the war.

Swiss interest in things British is not limited to paintings and books, though it would almost seem that translations from English writers at present form one of the staple industries of the country which gave the German-speaking world the first translation of Shakespeare. This may be due partly to the fact that no outstanding Swiss writers have filled the gap left by the death of Carl Spitteler in 1924: French Switzerland has its most characteristic author in the epic talent of the *Vaudois* C. F. Ramuz, but the German Swiss generally admit that their greatest living poet is one born in the Reich, though not far from the Swiss frontier: he is the Swabian Hermann Hesse, who has lived over half of his seventy years in Switzerland, has long been a Swiss citizen, and has proved, by the wisdom and tolerance inspiring his writings and public utterances to be a true representative of the humanistic culture of Switzerland.

In reality, the old and close relations between that country and Britain are due to a spiritual affinity that was reaffirmed in every generation, and that found its best-known expression in English literature in Wordsworth's sonnet:

Two voices are there; one is of the sea,
One of the mountains; each a mighty voice,

written at a time when England was fighting alone against a mighty foe and mourning the subjugation of the "Alpine holds" as one of the last bulwarks of liberty. Nearly a century and a half later, it was echoed in the deep concern felt by the Swiss people for the lone struggle of Britain against overwhelming odds, and in the passionate ovations that greeted Winston Churchill, of whom one Swiss paper, neatly adapting his own phrase, said that never in the history of human conflicts had so much been owed by so many to a single man.

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

THE DESTRUCTION OF PERSONALITY

BY SIR HENRY SLESSER

CRIMINAL *Justice and Social Reconstruction*, by Hermann Mannheim (Kegan Paul, 15s.) is one of a series in the Library of Social Reconstruction edited by Dr. Karl Mannheim. The author is Lecturer in the University of London in Criminology and is very well equipped to discuss the future of criminal legislation. The treatise assumes that certain developments in the relation of persons and society are desirable or, it may be, inevitable and proceeds to discuss what adaptations of the Criminal Law are necessitated by such a change in social outlook. This is an approach which demands an acceptance of the outlook which dominates Dr. Mannheim's work; without his collectivist sympathies much of what he writes may be otiose. His criticisms are directed mostly to the fact that our present law of crime is based upon what he calls the "individualistic aspect". So seen he is unsparing in his censures: "any new ideas that have made their appearance in the field of criminal law during the past fifty years have been largely confined to questions of treatment." We have failed to make up our mind what we regard as the most important values in a reconstructed world and consequently ignored the problem how such values should be "protected by the means at the disposal of the criminal law." The law is "petrified", kept alive by "tradition, habit and inertia".

Thus in the matter of the protection of life: "The Criminal Law, particularly in England, is still labouring under the delusion that danger to human life usually comes from overt individualistic acts directed against a specific individual—Criminal law has not yet become sufficiently aware of the fact that we are living not in an individualistic but in a mass age, where everything has to be adapted to mass methods." Apparently the Law has also failed to take account of "Freudian Psychology". The author, who has considerable knowledge of contemporary foreign legislation, discusses on the collectivist assumption the laws of various countries with regard to the "collectivist analogue to Euthanasia"; he particularizes this social murder, as I should prefer to call it, under the heads of Sterilization, Castration, Birth Control and Abortion. "Eugenic" sterilization, as he calls it, which includes not only persons suffering from deficiencies but also "persons usually incapable of taking adequate care of their children," is a fit matter, apparently, for legalization with safeguards. An Oklahoma Statute of 1931 permits sterilization after felonies exceeding two "involving moral turpitude". Several states permit castration. It appears that the Nazis were not the pioneers in this invasion of personality. Sweden permits sterilization with consent. In Germany, as we know, under the Nazis a person suffering from hereditary disease might be sterilized—the list extends to "physical abnormality". As for the author, he hopes that sterilization on the lines of the Brock Report will become part of the English Law—that Departmental Committee of thought that sterilization might be legalized if necessary for the patient's health. As to abortion, he favours legalization when the permission of an official body is obtained.

The family needs protection, for it is a "primary social group" but "a consistent policy has yet to be evolved."

Next, Dr. Mannheim discusses what he calls "economic crime". The traditional

approach of Law with regard to the protection of property is criticized as being too individualistic; the Larceny Act contains "absurd relics of the past". Property to-day is largely left in the hands of employees of large corporations, management has become separated from ownership—in England only one per cent. of property is in household goods, over three-quarters in securities, stocks and shares, while but six per cent. is in land and another six per cent. in house property, but the law according to the author has failed to realize this fact. Thus fraud and false pretences have become crimes more destructive to society than mere theft, though society is far less adequately protected against them. Economic crimes against the State are severely dealt with in Russia, such as "speculation, undermining of State industry or credit, maladministration resulting in waste, and even negligence." The insistence on the guilty mind, so important a feature of the old fashioned law of Christian tradition, is largely absent in that country. Profit-eering is of course condemned under the Soviet as it was under medieval jurisdiction. On the question of evasion of taxation the legal view in England has always been that it is open for the subject to evade income tax if he can do so legally, though the author apparently would make the act of tax avoidance criminal as an anti-social activity. Here as a lawyer, admittedly "individualistic and old-fashioned", I cannot follow him. If no law imposes a liability to tax, how can it be wrong to refuse to part with money which the State cannot legally demand? Nor do I see why monopolistic activities should be made punishable "if against the interests of the community at large" while men should be free to withhold their labour even if the strike injures the community. The older law of freedom of contract would allow each party to make their own bargain, but once it is conceded that the new "social order" has made contractual liberty obsolete, it is difficult to resist the argument that compulsion, if necessary, should be applied as much to one side as to the other.

In my view this book is disquieting, it threatens the foundations upon which the tradition of English Law have been built up; what Dr. Mannheim regards as absurd and obsolete, I am inclined to cherish as the last remnants of individual right. Many of his proposed reforms are doubtless very necessary, but the underlying assumption that "the community" has a right to override individual rights of personality is one which many of us who still regard man as spiritually autonomous cannot accept. As was stated at the outset, if Dr. Mannheim's view of the inviolable collectivist society be accepted, his conclusions as to penal reform may follow, but to the individualist many of them are distasteful or even dangerous.

DEMOCRACY IN FRANCE: The Third Republic, by David Thomson. Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

This book, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is an inquiry into the working of democratic ideals and institutions in France under the Third Republic. It is a comprehensive and well documented account, which comes opportunely at a time when the new Constitution of France is in the making. Mr. Thomson is concerned to explain rather than to vindicate or condemn, and he maintains an even

balance in his judgments; he does not overlook the really positive achievements of the Third Republic because of its weaknesses and the unhappy manner of its ending, as some writers have been inclined to do.

In his first chapters, Mr. Thomson examines in some detail the historical background of the Republic, the paradoxical circumstances of its formation, and the various traditions and institutions which it inherited. This method permits him to make some interesting parallels and comparisons between the events of the past and those of recent times. Perhaps

history does not repeat itself quite so neatly as he suggests, but it certainly appears to do so more convincingly in the case of France than almost anywhere else. The Third Republic, as he aptly says, was "haunted by history", and "Frenchmen thought incorrigibly in historical terms"—a habit which unfortunately led to old controversies being perpetuated long after their immediate causes had disappeared.

Mr. Thomson renders good service in showing how these factors were to influence the fortunes of the Republic after the period of establishment and consolidation, which he takes as extending up to 1905. From then onwards, increasingly complicated problems were to arise both at home and abroad, which were seldom resolved with complete success. If France failed in these respects, the responsibility lies mainly, in Mr. Thomson's view, with the political antagonisms and social conflicts which were inherent in the régime, frustrating any sustained and constructive national endeavour.

The survival of the Third Republic through so many vicissitudes was itself remarkable, since it never enjoyed unanimous support. The anti-democratic forces of the community would readily have secured its downfall, so great was their bitterness towards everything implied by the 'revolutionary tradition'. Apart from this fundamental cleavage, there were weaknesses of structure in the constitutional framework which made it ill-adapted to meet modern needs. Proposals for revision and reform were frequently made, and constantly postponed. The chief defects lay in the gap between democracy and government, and the gradual whittling down of executive authority which resulted from apprehensions of possible dictatorship. The fragmentation of political life, and the formation of small groups existing mainly on each other's sufferance, led to the shelving of awkward problems for the sake of compromise, and the sacrifice of essential principles for the benefit of sectional interests. The growing power of capitalist

and labour organizations in the twentieth century, with their constant use of 'direct action' and various forms of extra-parliamentary pressure, proved a further hindrance to effective government.

In these circumstances, it was not surprising that the 'national vision' was marked by confusion of purpose, and by widely divergent theories of the functions of the State. Mr. Thomson gives a clear description of the programmes of the main political parties, and of the contributions made by the great leaders of opinion. His assessments of Gambetta and of Péguy are particularly revealing. Some of his opinions, it is true, will not command universal assent, for instance his inclusion of Daladier among "the greatest names in the list of Prime Ministers of the Third Republic," especially as elsewhere he shows the inability of the Daladier government to deal with the 1934 disturbances. Mr. Thomson appears to overestimate the degree of harmony which prevailed between the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, and he does not refer explicitly enough to the opposition of the Senate to the social reforms of the Popular Front Government and its consequent overthrow. It is misleading therefore to speak of "the almost total lack of any vigorous movement to reform or abolish the Senate in modern times."

Mr. Thomson's final chapter is concerned with the capitulation in 1940, the nature of the Vichy régime, and the development of the Resistance Movement, with its promise of greater integrity in public life, and of a more complete reconciliation of political and social issues for the better organization of national life.

CHARLES GOULD.

THE USE OF HISTORY, by A. L. Rowse. Hodder & Stoughton. 4s. 6d.

This volume is the first of a series which its author is to edit. The intention is "by way of a biography of a great man to open up a significant historical theme." Except for an impending volume on *Pushkin and Russian Literature*,

the series, as outlined would seem to fulfil this promise; and behind the editor there looms an impressive team, to which the names of Norman Sykes, Basil Williams and J. A. Williamson lend weight. As an effort to popularize knowledge without debasing its currency, this series deserves every success. To judge from this key volume with its 250 pages, well printed and well bound, readers will have excellent value for their money. And one book to which all will look forward is that on *Queen Elizabeth and her Age*, a forthcoming contribution from the editor himself.

In *The Use of History* Mr. A. L. Rowse begins with a chapter in which the usefulness of historical knowledge is discussed. He has no difficulty in showing its practical value but he tends, perhaps, to overstate his case when he claims for the historically educated an ability to foresee the future. Historians have seldom succeeded in politics; nor are we sure that Mr. Rowse himself foresaw—for example—the result of the last General Election. And Mr. Winston Churchill, whom he cites, is not a historian in politics so much as a statesman whose experience throws light on the past. Nevertheless, the case, if pressed too eagerly, is presented with skill.

More able still is the chapter on the Pleasures of History. On surer ground, Mr. Rowse is here at his best, at his most persuasive.

On the other side of the lime-walk from the church is the Ship Inn—the old house of the Rashleighs, not far from the quay . . . Upstairs you may still see the black oak-panelled best room of John Rashleigh and his wife Alice . . . They both of them lie quiet enough now in the church across the way; Alice under her chaste brass beneath the pulpit, her husband in full Elizabethan black gown and white ruff upon his painted tomb . . .

Admirable, here and elsewhere, is Mr. Rowse's insistence that history is to be found in things, in places, and not merely in print.

As the book progresses, however, a doubt must arise as to the type of reader

for whom its middle chapters are intended. The author is attempting, he warns us, "to bring the university into the homes of the people." He very nearly succeeds. "I do not wish to say that history has any one terminus *ad quem*," he assures us at one point, "that would be to suffer from the finality-mindedness of people like Hegel . . ." Fortified against this error, we are urged to consider Benedetto Croce's contention that: "Since every affirmation is a judgment, and judgment implies category, the constitutive element of historiography is the system of judgment-categories." Just so! The very remark we were ourselves about to make.

If Mr. Rowse loses touch with us on occasion, it may be because he would have us all at Oxford; and this sensation, for some, is akin to that of a conducted tour. The day-trip culminates in a glimpse, by favour, of the Common Room at All Souls. After a dazzling instant the door is quietly closed and Mr. Rowse is heard to explain that even other people may (on a lower plane) aspire to culture. Awestruck, we shuffle back to our char-a-banc. But should we, left to ourselves, worry so much whether History is an Art or a Science? And must we read a whole chapter of argument before being allowed to conclude that it is both?

Down to earth again, Mr. Rowse writes interestingly about education and about the books to read. Where books are concerned—except that he ignores the historical novels to which half his readers owe their initial interest—he is a reliable guide. But in matters educational we are given, at last, the chance to disagree with him. The expense, he claims, of teaching history is inconsiderable. Yes, but will it always be so? The landmark in education of 1944 was obviously the film of *Henry V*. Such a production shows us the medium in which the future historian will work. It is a medium of great possibilities, but it is not, it can never be, cheap.

C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON.

CHINA MOULDED BY CONFUCIUS, by F. T. Cheng. *Stevens*. 18s.

It is an interesting question whether Confucianism made China, or China made Confucianism. The Sage himself always insisted that he was not an originator but only a transmitter of the wisdom of the past. Some of the *Odes*, on which he set special store, date from at least 1,000 years before him. And in the parallel doctrine of Taoism, some critics hold that Lao Tzu was a myth and that the *Tao Teh Ching* was compiled by a number of scholars from teachings current almost since primeval days. Unquestionably Confucius's writings on the Five Relationships of human society, his exact prescriptions of *li* (propriety), *ching* (which comes very near to St. Paul's "charity") and the ideal he held up of the true gentleman (the *jun-tze*, more commonly romanized *chün-tze*) do express qualities instinctive in the Chinese and principles which, as Dr. Cheng says, are not merely preached in a pulpit once a week but are the fibre of every-day life—not always practised, one need hardly say, but never forgotten. It is the standing paradox of China that a people so peace-loving should have been plagued by so much war: there appears no explanation but Ruskin's, that men will fight. But beneath all turmoil Confucius held society together. There is no question that in their long struggle with Japan the Chinese were upheld by the contrast between the invaders' ruthless totalitarianism (which China tried and rejected 2,100 years ago) and the broad, humane reasonableness set out by Confucius and elaborated by countless later critics.

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Keith Feiling

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This authoritative biography, by a distinguished historical scholar, is based throughout on Mr. Chamberlain's private letters and memoranda, extending from his earliest travel diaries down to the narrative of his interviews with Hitler, and including important correspondence with leaders among his contemporaries. These documents thus contain rich historical material, but the primary importance of this book is that through it Mr. Chamberlain speaks for himself. *December 17th*. 25s.

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This is a highly provocative book by the one-time United States Ambassador to Russia. He believes that in Communism there is an ever-present threat of war, for its creed calls for the conquest of the world. This attitude the author has supported by a solid wall of documentation, but besides pointing out the dangers to world peace he also suggests remedies to ensure it. *December*. About 8s. 6d.

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An important work of fiction by one of the most stimulating writers of the present day. It is an exciting story set in Palestine, and is also a brilliant discussion of the whole Jewish problem. 10s. 6d.

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West, it is illustrated with apt parallels from Western literature and lively stories from China's past, and is so attractively written that (as has been said of Bacon's Essays) the profundity of its meaning is only perceived on after reflection. Even those for whom philosophy is "one of those things no feller can understand" should find pleasure in this book.

One especially interesting chapter is that on marriage, which, from the legendary days of Yao and Shun (say 4,000 years ago) has been a particularly sacred institution in China. The choice of a wife is a tremendous matter, and the position of match-maker or go-between so responsible that, according to a popular jingle, a wise man refuses it. Modern Chinese of the upper classes tend increasingly to find their wives for themselves. But from what one has seen of the result, they seem duly conscious of the Chinese proverb: "Bamboo gates match with bamboo gates and wooden doors with wooden doors."

The importance of marriage is, of course, bound up with the supreme importance of family. Confucius pointedly avoided religious instruction; for their spiritual needs the Chinese turn to Buddhism, and the vast pilgrimages to the many sacred mountains of China on Buddhist festivals sufficiently support Dr. Cheng's warm defence of his countrymen in religious matters. But in any case ancestor worship, which makes almost any misdemeanour a sin against the all-compelling filial piety, is surely a very practical daily form of religion.

In politics Confucius taught the profound truth that the State exists for the individual not *vice versa*; that virtue in a ruler is more effective in making a happy State than laws; and that a multiplicity of the latter merely increases lawlessness—as we are painfully finding out in England to-day. But in China's long history a precedent or a pithy warning can be found for all things. All the "isms" and idols which seem to us so modern have been tried by the Chinese,

found out and discarded.

Summing up his reflections Dr. Cheng says: "The average Chinese finds life agreeable, though he may be poor, and rightly or wrongly thinks himself a reasonably minded creature." That is a far truer picture of the Chinese than the mud, blood and misery in which some writers seem to revel. Misery there is no doubt; yet in spite of many trials, the Chinese are a merry people, with a keen sense of humour, who love to laugh and to see others laughing. This book shows them to us as truly as any one can recall.

It has some beautiful illustrations and an admirable index.

O. M. GREEN.

INTERNATIONAL RAIL TRANSPORT, by Sir R. L. Wedgwood, C.B., C.M.G., M. Inst. T., assisted by J. E. Wheeler. *Oxford University Press*. 10s. 6d.

FRONTIERS, PEACE TREATIES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, by Brigadier-General Sir Osborne Mance, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. *Oxford University Press*. 12s. 6d.

In 1940 the Royal Institute of International Affairs, better known as Chatham House, entrusted to Brigadier-General Mance the preparation of studies in international transport and communications. Four volumes dealing with *Telecommunications, Air Transport, River and Canal Transport and Sea Transport* have already been published. The fifth, to be called *Road Transport, Postal, Electricity and Miscellaneous Questions*, is promised in the near future. These five, together with the two books under review, will complete the series.

There are three main needs for the existence of transport: economic, social and military, and to their competing claims conflict is no stranger. And when the disputes are aggravated by national ambitions and self-seeking the best interests of a unified transport system cannot be served. So the publication of these books

is well-timed, for the high hopes of the peace-makers need the corrective that contemplation of the past may give, if their planning is to stand the impact of the world of tomorrow.

Sir R. L. Wedgwood is very well-equipped to grapple with the intricacies of international rail transport and is fortified by a vast knowledge gathered in the service of the London and North Eastern Railway. He sets out briefly the experience gained in international railway co-operation prior to 1914. This is followed by an intensive survey of the inter-war years with special reference to the Berne Union and the attempts made to widen the sphere of international action. The author finds that

in the period between the two wars the nations of Europe showed a greater willingness to co-operate in the field of rail transport than perhaps in any other domain of their political and economic relations.

Succeeding chapters deal with the railway systems of Africa, the Middle and the Far East, Canada and the U.S.A. The relations of the last two countries set a high standard of co-operation for, despite the inevitability of much competition due to their geographical proximity, the author is able to observe: "It has not been found necessary to have any special laws or regulations for their trans-border railways."

The final chapter is from many points of view the most valuable for in it are many important suggestions, not only to assist development in the next few difficult years but to lay the foundations for an era of effective world co-operation in rail transport.

The second volume is concerned not with any specific means of transport but with three well-defined groups headed "Frontiers", "Transportation and Articles in the Peace Treaties" and "International Organizations for Transport and Communications" and relating the problems of transport to the larger political issues. In the final section the author surveys the conclusions put forward in the previous volumes and offers an all-embracing summary containing the principles upon which an effective world transport organi-



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zation can be built.

The value of these volumes is enhanced by comprehensive notes on the sources of documents and agreements which are quoted in the text. Unfortunately the bindings fall short of all the other excellencies; the former books in the series of their very nature induce much handling and their covers are now woefully dog-eared.

HERBERT T. BANYARD.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE IN GREAT BRITAIN 1911-1946, by R. W. Harris. *Allen & Unwin*. 12s. 6d.

Standing as we do on the threshold of a comprehensive reorganization of our social insurance services, Mr. Harris's book is a timely reminder of the achievements of the last thirty years or so in the field of National Health Insurance. The author has the advantage of having been concerned in the administration of the scheme from its commencement in 1911 and he brings to his survey a wealth of practical experience and first hand knowledge. Mr. Harris, however, is no fond uncle of a precocious child. He is well aware of the great hopes and expectations which attended the birth of the scheme and equally conscious of its stunted development in certain directions. As a measure of partial insurance against loss of wages through ill health, the scheme is regarded as an unqualified success but Mr. Harris rightly feels it is "a matter of some concern that after more than a quarter of a century of the working of the scheme, there have been no real developments in the direction of a complete and organized medical service."

Dealing with the cash benefits, Mr. Harris shows the continuity of the scheme with the earlier voluntary effort of the great friendly societies, on to whose administration the national measure was largely grafted. He traces the growth of the Friendly Society movement and explains with great lucidity the difference between the various types of Society—

for instance the Deposit Societies, the Holloway Societies, the Dividing Societies—and shows the various forms of organization which have been utilized in National Insurance administration.

There was indeed great merit in 1911 in retaining the general features of a system of insurance which had been evolved by the people themselves in an effort to meet their own requirements. The convenience and efficiency of the Approved Society system have been commended by successive committees and commissions of enquiry and the latest tribute was paid by Lord Beveridge in his famous report of 1942. That the Societies now have to give place under the National Insurance Act of 1946 to administration by a Government department, in no way reflects on their past successes. They are to be sacrificed on the altar of co-ordination.

Mr. Harris carefully examines all the evidence for and against the Approved Society system, particularly from the point of view of the desirable extensions of benefits. He refers in more than one place to the falling off of the old friendly society spirit and on balance comes to the conclusion, somewhat reluctantly one feels, that "compulsory insurance should be organized under a Ministry of Social Insurance to proceed along well ordered definite lines of development."

In his examination of the medical service under the National Health Insurance Act, Mr. Harris says that the present system meets all the reasonable requirements of the medical profession. He thinks, however, that there is a good deal of dissatisfaction with the service among the insured population, though only a small fraction of it emerges in the shape of formal complaints. More serious than particular complaints in individual cases is the lack of development of the Health Service. The scheme still provides little more than general practitioner treatment for the insured person. Hospitals, specialists and ancillary services remain largely outside the range of medical treatment, except in so far as these are

provided by Approved Societies by way of Additional Benefits out of their valuation surpluses. The solution, in Mr. Harris's view—and he was writing before the announcement of the Government's plan—lies in the divorce of the medical service from the insurance service. This recommendation seems to be justified by the march of events and will find practical expression when the National Health Insurance Bill now before Parliament, comes into full operation.

Mr. Harris's book is extremely well documented and he does not hesitate to deal in apt quotation from a wide range of sources. The statistics he presents are a useful record of past achievement and the volume will prove invaluable to students and historians of social movements in this country.

HENRY LESSER.

DARWINISM AND HUMAN LIFE, by J. Arthur Thomson. *Melrose*. 10s. 6d.

SCIENCE OLD AND NEW, by J. Arthur Thomson. *Melrose*. 10s. 6d.

There are still people who regard the scientist as an academic recluse though it is doubtful whether such a conception has ever been a true one during the past hundred years. Towards the end of the last century a number of leading scientists endeavoured to present science to the general public by means of lectures and demonstrations given to large audiences. The decline of the popular science lecture has coincided with an unprecedented growth of scientific literature intended not only to expound to the people the facts and principles of science, but also to acquaint them with the characteristics of scientific inquiry and to make them aware of the possibilities in scientific research for the well-being or otherwise of mankind. The giving of effective popular lectures on science and the writing for the layman of readable and informative books are by no means easy tasks, particularly as the scientist has to discard for the purpose the free use of the technical

terms of his everyday vocabulary. No scientist has done more than Professor Thomson for the education of the layman and few have written with such charm and lucidity. There can be little doubt that he succeeds in his endeavour to convey to his readers some measure of his own keen appreciation of the wonder and beauty of animate nature.

Of these two books the former is the sixth edition of a well-known account of Darwinism first published in 1910. Now that we are compelled by no less a consideration than the very survival of our civilization to find a basis of ethical and social principles on which world peace and prosperity can be built, it is well that we should try to understand what Darwin's evolution-theory has to do with our present national and international problems, and how misinterpretations of it have had disastrous consequences in our own times. The six chapter headings of

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the book are: "What we owe to Darwin", "The Web of Life", "The Struggle for Existence", "Raw Materials of Evolution", "Facts of Inheritance" and "Selection". Though the author refers frequently throughout to human life it is in the last chapter that he comes most closely to grips with the applications of selection to some important and controversial social and political matters. A very full list of books on Darwinism, arranged under chapter headings, twelve half-tone illustrations, and an index are useful features of a book which can be recommended to all who wish to acquire a working knowledge of Darwin's great contribution to human thought, and to understand something of the modern views concerning the evolution-theory.

Science Old and New is an attempt to give the reader a general understanding of the new biology by the novel plan of discussing a large number of topics covering a very wide field. Each of these is self-contained in that the discussion does not assume that the previous topic or any other one has already been studied. The reader can therefore take the topics in any order and, as there are fifty-two of them in some 180 pages, each one can be read in a short time. This plan should prove convenient for those readers who, not being serious students of biology, will prefer small doses of the subject to a systematic study of it. The topics are arranged in four groups—geological, biological, evolutionary, and human—and they are all treated in the attractive style characteristic of the author. The many arresting titles, such as "sea-snakes and sea-serpents", "insect musicians", "the passionate pigeon" and "increase of knowledge, increase of sorrow", make this a very desirable book for the occasional half-hour's entertainment and instruction. No doubt the present shortage of materials accounts for the absence of illustrations and for a format which though fairly serviceable does not conform in standard with the content of a book which deserves to have

a place on the shelves of all libraries, public and private.

G. H. LESLIE.

WELLINGTON, by Richard Aldington. Heinemann. 18s.

Changes in the machinery of warfare have tended to reduce the practical value of detailed study of the tactics of bygone epochs, yet the characteristics of the great commanders of the past are still worthy of examination and emulation. The return to mobile conditions enabled commanders in the recent war to exercise personal influence and to become familiar figures to their troops to a degree that was impracticable in 1914-18 but for which the Duke might have provided a suggestive model.

Mr. Aldington disclaims all right to be considered a military historian, although his practical experience as a soldier gives him a keen appreciation of tactical skill, quick decisions and the qualities which appeal to troops; his book is therefore a study of Wellington's character rather than of his military achievements. It gives however a concise and very readable account of his background and whole career, and its genesis guarantees its objectiveness.

Mr. Aldington admits that the Duke had always seemed to him, for a number of reasons, to be just the type of man he particularly disliked; and he had always been prepared to accept without question the views of those who disparaged him. But an unpremeditated visit to the Bussaco battlefield excited the interest of the practical soldier and induced him, without ulterior motives, to read up Wellington's campaigns and to visit many of the scenes of his victories. Gradually prejudices were removed and the Duke took shape as a human being, "a man who influenced human destiny more than is usually granted." As a result where one might have expected a debunking essay we are given a sincere and unprejudiced appreciation of one who still has a message for us.

If this portrait is not one of a man of phenomenal genius it is certainly one of a very great man who possessed common sense, foresight, a sense of duty and loyalty to a degree that was an effective substitute for genius. Clear thinking rather than intuition was the secret of his success. Mr. Aldington shows us that the Duke although a stern disciplinarian was both human and humane. He knew when to relax discipline in minor matters and could himself relax in the hunting field and in conversation. He was always considerate for the people of the countries, friendly or hostile, in which he was operating and in their contacts with them he insisted on his troops displaying high standards of conduct.

Opposed to an enemy of great reputation a lesser man might have been tempted to imitate his opponents' tactics but instead he evolved his own methods to exploit their defects.

Before he reached the peninsula he had concluded that the fire power of line formation would provide an answer to the mass attack of columns. That reverse slopes would not only give protection against preparatory artillery bombardment but, giving cover for close reserves, would compensate for the weakness of the thin firing lines.

These tactics, though an example of clear thinking, are to a limited extent only applicable in modern conditions and are of less interest than his success in gaining the confidence and devotion of his troops. He of course gave them victories, the best stimulant of morale and confidence, but he owed much to his ubiquity and physical energy which excluded all doubt as to whom victories were due. In this and in his dealings with allied commanders and troops, regular or partisan, and in his attention to administrative problems he set examples which our Generals of to-day have shown it still pays to follow.

The section of the book which deals with Wellington's background and Indian career is quite as interesting as that concerned with the Peninsula and Waterloo. Not so much for its description of his

operations but because it shows how a young man with drive and a grasp of essentials stands in little need of powerful friends. Even at that stage the confidence he inspired in his subordinate officers and troops was remarkable, and his good sense and humanity in his contacts with native peoples were outstandingly displayed.

Altogether this is a book which the rising generation of officers may read with profit and entertainment.

CHARLES GWYNN.

BISHOPRICK PAPERS, by Herbert Hensley Henson. Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. 16s.

Bishop Hensley Henson has here collected a number of his contributions to *The Bishoprick*, the Durham Diocesan Magazine, together with certain papers read to various audiences on various occasions during his tenure of the See of Durham; all therefore belong to the period between the wars. Although this period now seems in many ways of thought and outlook to be separated from our own by a remoteness quite disproportionate to the few years involved, and although many of the subjects dealt with by the Bishop were subjects of their day rather than of ours, yet what will at once strike any reader is the way in which he never "dates". Even when writing on such things as the Coronation of King George VI (1937) or the discussions around the revision of the Prayer Book (1928) he shows a sense of historical perspective and of the abiding principles involved which will always keep his writing fresh; and on such things as the supply of clergy, their rôle in modern England, the evolution of the relationship of Church and State, and the like, he showed twenty years ago a clearness of vision of then incipient trends which our own day may well hail as prophetic. Only on the subject of Russia does he seem to "date"; a fact of which he is well aware and to which he makes specific reference in his Preface.

He covers a very wide range of subjects: many of them naturally enough

ecclesiastical, though these travel widely from the Ordination of Women, through The Church in the Modern State to the Oxford Movement and the Thirty-Nine Articles; but such subjects as Sunday Observance, the Abolition of Slavery, Sir Walter Scott and the Ethical Conditions of Scientific Method, and several more, show the width of his interests and his grasp of them.

This compilation has many of the characteristics of the Bishop's "Retrospect" of which it is in some ways a complement. He is quite incapable of writing a dull page; in some matters (for example Church Schools) his mind is more akin to that of the average layman than of the average cleric; he leaves the reader in no doubt as to his opinion on the matter in hand, and his own reasoned statement demands that disagreement shall be equally thought-out and documented, and not merely emotional—though it may be mentioned here that not the least of his prophetic forecasts is a passage in which he says that the mechanized mass-society of the future is in danger of being swayed and impelled by instinct rather than by reason; and he combines a sense of history with a robustness of outlook and of expression which are both rare and invigorating.

His limitations are also largely those of the "Retrospect." We learn more about a powerful writer and speaker, but little more about the then Bishop of Durham in his relationship with his clergy and people in matters not of Church and State but in the more intimate ones of soul and spirit, and he remains shy of expressing his deeper spiritual convictions. Thus, his "Advice to a Young Clergyman" deals excellently with many matters of administration and method, but goes little deeper; and the weakness of his otherwise quite admirable Ordination Charge here reproduced as "The Respected Clergyman" is in the sketchiness of its final section on "Devoutness in his Personal Habit." The ecclesiastical statesman of wide vision is here, the wise Prelate of the Church very much

of England and very much by Law Established (that he foresees quite clearly the only logical outcome to the present situation is Disestablishment affects him not a whit *en attendant*); the Father in God is less conspicuous.

Last but not least, his care for language and style is a real joy in these days of too much slipshod writing, and the reader puts down the book with a grateful feeling for a writer who has offered him only the best of his material produced with his most careful craftsmanship.

JOHN HALET.

ENGLISH LETTERS OF THE XVIII CENTURY, edited by James Aitken. Pelican Books. 1s. 6d.

James Aitken is the compiler of two Pelican anthologies of English Diaries, and it is good now to have his selection of eighteenth-century letters with the promise of a companion nineteenth-century volume to come. He has produced again an admirable volume which one would like to have by one's bedside.

As would be expected Horace Walpole and Charles Lamb figure largely, but where the representation is on a smaller scale, as with Pope and Addison, Mr. Aitken has shown skill in the choice of letters which particularly reveal their author's character. The proportion of the anthology which is allotted to women letter-writers prompts the wish that authorship in the fullest sense had been as much a feature of women's life in those times as it has later become.

But of all the letter writers, mostly perhaps more famous than he, William Cowper will for many be the most delightful. It is never easy to explain why the long rambling letters of this gentle man possess such charm; but charm is not for explanation. He writes of everything, however ordinary, however trivial, with an easy grace of style that would be difficult to match.

Certainly another excellent addition to Pelican Books.

J.F.B.

MILK OF PARADISE, by Forrest Reid. Faber & Faber. 6s.

Mr. Reid's book is intended primarily to introduce poetry to the young, having originated as a series of broadcast readings with notes on the poems read. Mr. Reid starts by assuming that it is romantic poetry which is most likely to capture the imagination of the boy or girl of sixteen or seventeen. I think this is probably true—in my own case, Keats got his hooks into me long before anyone else. Nevertheless, it is surely wrong to give the impression that poetry is a one-course meal—an endless variety of sweets and fancies which may clog the appetite it has aroused. How many of those who never get beyond Keats end with Patience Strong?

Moreover, Mr. Reid's conception of poetry is limited not only to the romantic, but to the lyrical romantic, to the "magical". He says: "The sound of the waves on the sea-shore, a landscape seen in a certain lighting, a group of children gathered in the street at dusk round the glowing brazier of a night-watchman—all or any of these may produce in us a particular state of mind we instinctively call poetic, and however vague, loose and unphilosophic our words may be, they allude to something real—a mysterious element which somehow fertilizes a seed in the receptive mind, and gives that seed the power of growth. In this sense poetry must be nearly as old as mankind."

No one would deny that this magic is a real and important element in poetry: but it is not the whole of poetry. Mr. Reid, I am sure, would not say that it was, but he seems to believe that the young think so. Even if they do—which I greatly doubt—they may find this magic in unexpected places. What indeed do they call "romantic"? Keats's magic casements, Blake's tiger, Coleridge's albatross? Yes, all these. But what of this:—

... I have gone at dusk through narrow streets
And watched the smoke that rises from the pipes

Of lonely men in shirt-sleeves, leaning out of windows.
Those were the "magic casements" which opened for me three years after Keats, and I think poetry takes on greater intensity for many young people when it gives them a new vision of the everyday world in which they live. Mr. Reid had already told us his preference for poetry of feeling rather than poetry of thought so it matters little whether they understand it or not—I certainly didn't understand T. S. Eliot. What does matter is that they should feel that shock of surprise, the adolescence of the mind, which comes when one first feels a poem probe beneath the skin.

When these limitations are kept in mind, however, it can be said that Mr. Reid does his job admirably. He ranges over a good many poets—Coleridge, Blake, Morris, Clare, Wordsworth. He is rather cautious about Wordsworth, for obviously the homely and almost matter-of-fact, the poetry which hangs half-way between incantation and conversation, is not his favourite. He has some interesting things to say about dream poems, poems about animals and the nursery rhyme (though, oddly enough, he omits the ballad).

His method is to arouse your interest in a poet or a type of poem and then to give you one or two examples, whole and complete, slapped down on the counter and left to speak for themselves. That is excellent—you don't feel that he is bending over your shoulder to make sure that you don't miss this or that. His stories of Clare, Blake and especially Chatterton would arouse anybody's interest (though I doubt whether it was wise to quote Blake's chimney-sweep—the young, in my experience, detest children's poems), and there are a few surprises, like a poem from Sidney Dobell, which are most welcome. Indeed, it is a book which may very well succeed in "selling" poetry to some boy or girl, and it might be still more effective in the hands of a tactful teacher.

NORMAN NICHOLSON.

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

IN ONE OF his Fortnightly articles (February 1940) H. G. Wells wrote:

There will be no day of days when a new world order comes into being... No man, no group of men, will ever be singled out as its father or founder. For its maker will be not this man nor that man nor any man but Man, that being who is in some measure in every one of us.

And with what great measure in H. G. Wells himself! *Nine Penguins* and a *Pelican* (1s. each) have been specially published in commemoration of that eightieth birthday he just failed to reach. The ten volumes are TONO-BUNGAY, THE NEW MACHIAVELLI, THE ISLAND OF DR. MOREAU, THE TIME MACHINE AND OTHER STORIES, THE HISTORY OF MR. POLLY, THE WAR OF THE WORLDS, LOVE AND MR. LEWISHAM, THE INVISIBLE MAN, KIPPS and A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WORLD which he revised in 1945. This list alone is sufficient to indicate the range of his mind and to read the complete titles of his books, which seem to be ninety-six, is to realize how much richer the world has been, in science, in literature and in humanity, for having had H. G. Wells as one of its citizens.

A divine patience!

Wells's belief that world order must inevitably come is not shared by H. Bennett in *MUST ENGLAND FALL?* (*Allen & Unwin*, 10s. 6d.) He answers the question in the gloomiest of affirmatives—his sub-title should have been: "Change and decay in all around I see"—and reserves his praise for past captains of industry and the industrial revolution. He illustrates his thesis with copious quotation and his style, so admirably clear and concise, incites the reader to retort with quotations just as helpful to the other side; for every instance of man's downward trend another can be given to prove that the "increasing purpose" is also running.—Harder to answer is the contention in *A STIFF-NECKED PEO-*

PLE by Berl Locker (*Gollancz*, 3s. 6d.). The author traces the connection of the Jewish people with Palestine from 2000 B.C. and thus utters a powerful plea for Zionism.

Recent history seems to show that *here* is no room for a federal idea and no solution on the Irish model. Britain's position, either by accident or through neglect, has become false and therefore untenable and one wonders if the mandate could not be handed to America who, with her vast experience of mixing peoples, might yet find a constructive way out. However, this may be regarded as an emotion, rather than a thought, prompted by sympathy. Meanwhile, Mr. Locker's book will keep before the thoughtful the sufferings that the Jews have endured through the centuries; it must be remembered too that the unwanted ones trying to get to Palestine *have* come from the tortures of concentration camps—such truths are obscured in many quarters by irritability with Arabs and Jews alike.—A divine pity is needed, which brings John Eloff Boodin's *RELIGION OF TOMORROW* (*Muller*, 7s. 6d.) into focus. This is a statement of belief in the ideals of Jesus of Nazareth written by a philosopher at the University of California. Very persuasively does he set out man's consciousness of the creative presence and destiny, of love and insight, using not the philosophers but the poets to adorn his pages and fortify his beliefs. His graceful prose, free of portentousness, is refreshing in an American.

The traditional essayist

Sir John Shuckburgh knows how to write attractively too. His collection of essays *AN IDEAL VOYAGE* (*Chatto & Windus*, 8s. 6d.) ranges over a variety of subjects including town, country, family and wartime habits. They are scholarly, spiced delicately with humour and irony, do not disdain the common scene but bring to it the individual touch which

comes from wide reading, and indulge in happy memories. They seem to be very nearly perfect of their kind; it is inevitable that somebody will compare him with Charles Lamb, and any resemblance in his work to that of John Pullen will not be coincidental because that is his pseudonym.

Two paths to fame

Julius Berstl is not strictly the pseudonym for Edmund Kean, though in *THE SUN'S BRIGHT CHILD* (*Hammond*, 15s.) the one writes the imaginary memoirs of the other. This proceeding gives rise to a prejudice which should not be allowed to hinder the reader who prefers his biography "straight" and has no liking for the self-praise which cannot be excluded from the autobiography of an actor like Kean. The book however is so vividly written and illustrated that any sense of unreality soon evaporates. Coleridge it was who said of Kean that "seeing him act is like reading Shakespeare by flashes of lightning" and Mr. Berstl entirely succeeds in making his reader long to have shared the experience. And to compare his *Lear* with Mr. Olivier's! Of Kean's novel interpretation of Shylock, of his Richard III, his Iago, Hamlet and other characters the author puts in his subject's mouth many penetrating observations, and of his private life he gives a convincing and unbiased picture.—Mr. Ernest Bevin's childhood had the poverty and obscurity of Edmund Kean's without the squalor. But he is no actor, as foreign embassies and the Peace Conference have discovered. Trevor Evans in *BEVIN* (*Allen & Unwin*, 10s. 6d.) has written the biography of one whom the 'blurb' with perhaps a touch of inverted snobbery calls "the strangest of all Britain's Foreign Secretaries." His background was certainly not orthodox—starting work when he was eleven years old and at twenty-nine earning two pounds a week, becoming a trade union leader and the "dockers' K.C."—but only proves how an exceptional man can break through tradition. The book is extremely

readable and its hero were he the subject of a novel would be found incredible.

European symbols

Don Juan has fascinated many novelists, poets and playwrights, and Salvador de Madariaga chose him for the title of his Byron Foundation Lecture of 1946, at University College, Nottingham. *DON JUAN AS A EUROPEAN FIGURE* is now obtainable from the College Librarian at 1s. 6d. Led astray by the poet's name coupled with the foundation lecture, it was disconcerting not to meet Byron's *Don Juan* before page fourteen and then only in a paragraph. But by then the reader had given up hope of a detailed study of Byron's figure and had learned quite a bit about Zorilla's and Mozart's; also about Faust, Don Quixote and Hamlet through various eyes. Senor de Madariaga finds alluring parallels throughout his lecture, considering Hamlet and Don Quixote as the symbols of the Englishman and the Spaniard and Faust and Don Juan as the German and the Spaniard—an acute and stimulating topic.—And now to a woman, who might well be considered the symbol of those who suffered under the French Revolution. The story of Madame de Sévigny is told in *THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS* by Joan Evans (*Longmans*, 5s.). Born in 1762 she knew a gracious life in convent school, and in marriage, during the reign of Louis XVI. As wife, mother and widow she witnessed the horrors of the Revolution at first-hand and displayed throughout a courage that carried her into the new ways of her country, and into further short-lived marriages, until she succumbed to smallpox. Her letters have survived to give the tragic history recorded here the sweetness that flowed from her own happy spirit.

Praise for two poets

Two collections of poems are lying on the table in a proximity that is more than physical. They are both concerned with love, pity, death, courage, loss—in short, their themes are lifted high above the temporary and the topical scene. Both

poets write with a classical restraint and a warm idealism, crowned by scrupulous craftsmanship. Their strongly-marked individuality and maturity of thought are rare in modern poetry. The two singers who have inspired these encomiums are Dorothy Wellesley in *DESERT WELLS* (*Michael Joseph*, 6s.) and Sir George Cockerill in *LATE HARVEST* (*Hutchinson*, 6s.). There is nothing of the "poetess" about the first or of the mere dilettante in the second. Comparisons are not only odious but treacherous when poets are under discussion so it must suffice to quote from Dorothy Wellesley:

Nothing is here for pain, nothing for fear,
I have learnt not whence I came, nor where
shall go,
Nor what in God's eventual light shall be.

and to say that the association in the mind makes George Cockerill's sonnet (a form he seems master of) which begins:

When you speak verse, none heeds the poet's
name
Nor cares to question what the verses mean:
For every eye lights with a borrowed flame
And every ear echoes the graces seen.

particularly apt, for it might have been written for Miss Margaret Rawlings as she read I, XXIII and XLIII of the "Sonnets from the Portuguese" at the recent memorial service to the Brownings on the hundredth anniversary of their marriage.

Ringing true

The three books left unaccounted for are novels which have no affinities, either physical or spiritual. But each confounds the pessimism which overtakes any contemplation of the modern novel, and leads one to hope that the doldrums are over-past now that the effects of war are lessening. All three seem to conform to the primary requirement—they tell a story, and in the main convincingly, which is more than can be said of most novels of this decade. The first, *THEY GREW IN BEAUTY* by Caroline Seaford (*Cape*, 8s. 6d.), is not nearly such a naïve piece as its open-

ing sentences might lead one to believe. It is concerned with the Mainlaw family who live in and around Quebec in the days when Victorian prosperity in England had its counterpart in Canada. The sisters who share the main interest are very different, but each has a part in the evolution of the family from its conservative clannishness to the levelling-up process of wartime, more devastating in the 1940's than any of the conflicts the now old women had previously heard about or experienced.

BEFORE I GO HENCE by Frank Baker (*Dakers*, 9s. 6d.) is a sort of ghost story in reverse. The author has been accused of tampering with metaphysics. Be that as it may, his author hero cannot stop tampering with a house in Sussex, once the abode of a clergyman's family. In search of a theme, the former finds himself obsessed with the feeling of being linked to the old priest and becoming as great an influence over the past as the other is upon the present. The atmosphere is difficult to convey without confusion but the reluctant reader is advised to persevere for the reward.—George Martelli is the author of the third book, *FROM SUCH A SEED* (*Cape*, 8s. 6d.), which seems to be particularly good reporting of the happenings in North Africa after the liberation. Eddy, a somewhat improbable American, is a member of the imaginary Anglo-American Mission which is a morally re-educating UNRRA. The encounters appear to be absolutely right, whether with collaborationists, resisters, the military, or the people who under occupation just go their way and hope for the best. The situations ring true to the accounts from countries which having had their freedom restored find it hard to be grateful to the victors. There is one regret—love, which he turns into 'lurve'. is not Mr. Martelli's forte and only when he writes of it is he boring.

GRACE BANYARD.

THE FORTNIGHTLY

DECEMBER, 1946

THE BRITISH ZONE OF GERMANY

BY GEOFFREY GORER

THE most immediate and striking contrast is between the country and the towns. The country, with some minor exceptions (such as the destroyed viaduct at Bielefeld) looks 'human'; the towns are a monstrous nightmare. The country is being most intensively cultivated; although the ground is not, apparently, allowed to lie fallow at all, one crop being planted as soon as its predecessor is reaped, and despite the almost complete absence of artificial fertilizers, the fields appear better tended and the crops heavier and richer than in France or Belgium. Most of the fields are under grain, leaf vegetables (such as cabbage) and sugar beet; nearly every allotment or cottage garden grows, besides the ordinary vegetables, some tobacco ("Father's tobacco") which is home dried and consumed almost immediately, some sunflowers—the seeds being pressed for oil—and some sugar beet which is apparently processed at home. The cattle and sheep population seems normal both in quantities and condition, but there appear to be very few pigs. A number of small holdings have tethered goats and nearly every orchard has geese and ducks. Hens appear less numerous. The farm-houses, the cottages, the villas in the small country towns look demurely prosperous: the white curtains in nearly every window are clean and untorn; begonias, geraniums and gloxinias flourish in the windows; and, outside, well-grown dahlias, fuchsias and other hardy plants demonstrate continuous care for the amenities of life, and indicate indirectly some hope for and trust in the future.

As one approaches the heavily bombed areas, these signs of care and confidence disappear; in the suburbs, and even in the adjacent country, the state of the flower-gardens indicates the destruction in the neighbourhood.

The big towns in the Ruhr present an unimaginable and horrifying spectacle. What makes them so ghastly is not the heaps of rubble—that one has seen elsewhere and been prepared for—but the fact that whole towns are standing, skeletons of buildings and factories, durable and uninhabitable. Dortmund was a handsome town, medieval Gothic mingled with solid nineteenth century constructions. All the buildings are still there; the central square is still lined with solid masonry; but as far as the eye can see these buildings are roofless, windowless, floorless, transparent, useless. The appearance of permanence is there, however; one gets less the impression of destruction, than of a lunatic construction; it is as though these façade towns had been erected by a surrealist Titan, an apocalyptic stage-designer. These corpses of buildings and towns

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continue throughout the Ruhr; the enormous Krupps works at Essen, its outer walls nearly a mile long, its chimneys towering into the air, looks from a little distance as though it should be throbbing with activity; it is only on a near approach that one sees that here again is a skeleton mockery, sans roofs, sans floors, the remaining machinery mostly twisted and all red with rust. The big towns look as though they had not been designed for human habitation, and as though no population could live in them.

But they are heavily populated, in most cases more heavily populated than in the days when they were human towns; for millions of *flüchtlinge*, exiles from the Polish zones, from Czechoslovakia, or fleeing from the Russian zone (in real or imaginary terror is unimportant) have swelled the population in the towns by a figure approaching twenty per cent. Bitterly resented by the original inhabitants, their misery swells that of their involuntary hosts; and all live together under conditions, for the most part, of the greatest squalor, often half a dozen to a single cellar room, without furniture other than beds, without light, heat, or ventilation, flooded with every rainstorm. Many families have built shacks in the courtyards and gardens of former houses, one or two small rooms patched together with material gathered from the debris. Those that I saw were spotlessly clean, with water and electricity taken from the mains, with flowers in the windows, and with little patches of cultivated ground, growing—if nothing else—tobacco. On most rubble heaps one sees men scrambling about for material to suit them; a primitive life is being reconstructed.

A few of the luckiest have rooms in a house still standing; or, greatest luck of all, a small house in the suburbs; even in these the ceilings are without plaster, the walls often cracked, and, besides the damage of war, there is also the more wanton damage of the occupying troops as they passed through. Despite these drawbacks, these fortunate ones still live the life of the self-respecting *bourgeois*, polishing their remaining glass, sitting straight on their carefully dusted *plushmöbel*.

The most unfortunate of all—the *flüchtlinge* and the dispossessed, those without even a cellar to call their own—sleep in the enormous and excellently constructed air-raid shelters, which were so amply provided in the Ruhr towns. (It is, incidentally, only when one has seen these shelters that one can understand how any of the inhabitants can have escaped the conflagrations which destroyed their cities. Deep dug, with complete ventilation and sanitation, they could resist even a direct hit with our heaviest bombs, and give complete protection to some five thousand people each. Had Germany relied on such flimsy constructions as our Andersons and Morrisons, or our surface shelters, the land would have been depopulated.) These cellars still have the wooden bunks in tiers, and the sanitary and medical arrangements instituted by the Nazis; they are now administered by the Red Cross, and perhaps a twentieth of the population sleeps in them each night; for some is provided a meal of

gruel. Much of this population is transient; many possess no more than the clothes on their backs.

In these ruined towns most of the municipal services are now restored; trams run, three or four cars hitched together; there is electricity and running water, in some towns gas. The sewerage works. Most of the streets are passable. Rubble is being cleared, dangerous buildings demolished, still habitable houses put into service. The magnitude of the task accomplished, starting from utter ruin and complete civil chaos, is noteworthy, a major achievement of the British Occupation Forces.

The British Zone, is, like Britain itself, misleading. It gives the impression of being chiefly rural, whereas in fact it is overwhelmingly urban. The prosperous appearance of the countryside suggests that the misery is local; it is practically endemic; the fortunate farmers and country dwellers represent only a tiny fraction of the whole.

* * * *

The most striking first impression of the Germans is that they are clean, neat and well-dressed. This impression persists; in the vast majority, the Germans are cleaner, neater and better-dressed than their English counterparts. This is undoubtedly due in major part to their character and training; but all but the most unfortunate also seem to have better stocks of clothes—or at least better clothes—than the English. I did not, for example, see a single middle-aged or elderly woman with bare legs—a common enough sight in England. Most of the younger women, particularly in Westphalia, wear the white, hand-knitted, knee-length stockings and much of their costume recalls traditional peasant dress. Apart from the *flüchtlinge*, the worst dressed are the growing children. Many of them, even in the cities, are bare-footed, without stockings, and, in the case of the boys, with excessively brief shorts. The Germans are obviously living on their stocks, taking great care of what they possess.

This neatness and cleanliness is misleading, suggesting by inference that they are relatively fortunately circumstanced. Moreover, the stigmata of obvious penury are lacking; though there are few or no fat people, apart from the farmer, one relatively seldom gets the impression of excessive thinness and such signs of starvation as oedema are not apparent. But closer observation throws emphasis on the thin and shrivelled necks of the older men and women and the often match-thin legs of the growing children. These groups are obviously those that are suffering most; the adolescents and young adults look better nourished, perhaps because they are getting the rations of heavy workers, perhaps because they have more energy for trips into the country to supplement their food.

A very considerable number of the children between four and six show all the signs of rickets, the bent bones and the over-big joints; but this is a result, not of current conditions, but of the excessive ration cuts imposed in 1942 and early 1943.

Apart from the farmers and the hosts of servants and employees attached to the British, nobody eats to the full. Most are continuously hungry, even with the supplements of "green" (garden) and "black" rations.

The reactions to these privations are complex. The first impression is sullenness; the Germans pay little attention to their conquerors, do not look them in the face, appear to act as if they are not there. They are usually silent, but the lowest classes—for example those in the air-raid shelters—may make rude remarks to one another about them.

This sullenness disappears as soon as they are addressed in German with normal courtesy (for example, using "*Sie*" and "*bitte*") to be replaced by an almost excessive friendliness and eagerness to talk. In many cases this excessive friendliness has an ulterior motive—to beg cigarettes (cigarettes have the validity of currency; and, since the institution of BAFS—special notes in English denominations which can only be used in English clubs and messes and the possession of which is a crime for Germans—is the only currency valid for the two groups), or to pour out a tale of woe and elicit the support of the representative of the powerful; but in many cases it would appear quite genuine; a pleasure at being treated as a human being, an eagerness to please superiors, an agreeable interest in a life devoid of such incidents.

If one pushes beyond this human friendliness (whether interested or no is irrelevant) one discovers in an overwhelming number of cases typical paranoid projections. The food policy in the zone (and any other unpopular measure, such as the requisitioning of houses) is believed to be intentional and unnecessary—measures by which we are venting our anger and our desire for revenge. There is in general no belief in the seriousness of the present world food shortage (it must be remembered that probably less than one person in ten sees a newspaper, and a great number are without radios) or the destruction throughout Europe. Except for returned prisoners—and they are a minority—few were outside Germany during the war; but they do remember the inflated accounts of the destruction wrought on England by the *Luftwaffe*, and they therefore consider it natural, if reprehensible, that we should take our revenge on the innocent. For, again almost without exception, they personally are innocent; they had no voice in policy, no knowledge of what was being done, no responsibility of any sort. They were, and are, perfectly ready to repudiate their former leaders, and start afresh as democrats, if we would only make them democrats.

The propaganda for democracy has had most deplorable and confusing effects; the Germans are willing to believe democracy is a "good thing"—after all, it has won two wars—but the only type of social arrangement they can conceive of as desirable is one which imposes *Ordnung*; and this word carries the connotation of "ordering" rather than of "order". The recollections of Weimar—and perhaps even more the Nazi picture of Weimar—make the exacerbated and over-personal strife between the current political parties,

distasteful—more, an abomination—to all except the few directly engaged in such polemics. By non-politicals of all classes, and they are the vast majority, this phenomenon is viewed with passionate abhorrence; an intensity of emotion is betrayed on this subject as on no other. The excessive party strife is undoubtedly somewhat pathological; and it would seem that any party or group, no matter what its other tenets, which promised to do away with it, would gain overwhelming adherence.

Perhaps the most deplorable, and the most lasting, effect of twelve years of Nazism, is the almost unbelievable ignorance of those who received all their education under that régime. The young people—those between twenty and twenty-eight—are true barbarians, untouched by the main-springs of European values, uninformed, unscrupulous, tinder for any dangerous torch. It would seem to have been a very grave miscalculation of the authorities to have granted an amnesty to political offenders under twenty-five. Those over thirty would have been safer to let out.

The policy of denazification has been ill thought out. It was perhaps necessary to deprive of influential employment those too closely associated with the former régime; but it is surely short-sighted to leave at large the most able of the Nazis, barring them from honourable employment, but otherwise leaving them alone. If these people are dangerous—and it is a reasonable assumption—it seems a folly to leave them at large, disgruntled and hopeless under the present régime, patent focuses for malcontents. And of these there are any number, and we are undoubtedly creating more; the Universities, for example, can only take a small proportion of those who apply for admission; the politically suspect are excluded, but also many for whom there is simply no room; and the majority interpret such exclusion as deliberate persecution.

The only clue I have to the German attitude to denazification is a story told by the *compère* of a cabaret in a small provincial town: "In a farmyard the old hens set up a denazification committee and denazified the young hens, and were then indignant because not enough eggs were being laid. The old hens, of course, were past their laying period."

This cabaret-music-hall was revealing in many ways. The political jokes were numerous, but mostly good-humoured; the most bitter was about an escaped lunatic who was found up a tree eating the leaves and was taken back to the asylum. The next day he was released as it was found he was merely a year ahead of the nutrition programme. The sexual jokes showed a considerable change from the 'twenties. There was a complete absence of anal or lavatory jokes. There were a couple of very crude homosexual jokes, of a type which certainly could not be made before a respectable middle-class provincial audience anywhere else in the Western world; but overwhelmingly the jokes were phallic. These phallic jokes were further peculiar in that, almost without exception, the laugh was caused by the failure of the phallus; there very many instances of objects, which could be—and obviously were—inter-

preted as phallic symbols, which suddenly wilted; and a surprising number of the verbal jokes dealt, in varying degrees of crudity and clarity, with the themes of impotence and castration.

The psychological implications of such jokes were further borne out by the humorous turns; out of ten turns three were clown acts, all closely resembling one another. In each case the clown had a distorted, almost inhuman, make-up, and came on looking extraordinarily fat. He then proceeded to draw, apparently from out of his person, a very great variety of incongruous objects—such as large musical instruments—which failed to perform their proper function. Furthermore these objects, as they littered the stage, took on a malicious life of their own; music stands grew up to the ceiling, tables revolved, suitcases ran round in circles, hatstands wilted and revolved, until the stage was like a madman's visions, like the hallucinations of *Le Horla*. This comic picture of an inhuman world, where nothing is reliable, where men and things get confused (one clown inserted a bung into his belly and drew a mug of beer), where everything fails, is perhaps psychologically the truest picture of the world of the German to-day.

* * * *

In British tropical colonies, the colonists usually live in a separate quarter, apart from the natives. During office hours those whose work makes it necessary will deal with the natives on a professional level, and may occasionally feel some human liking for the people they deal with officially. The work of the greater number however only brings them into contact with other colonists. All their leisure is spent in one another's company, the natives only represented by the excessive number of servants. Social intercourse with the natives, even if not officially frowned upon or socially disapproved of, is unusual; the difficulty of language, the enormous contrast in the standard of living, the lack of shared interests or experiences all stand in the way.

The life of the British in Germany is very strongly reminiscent of life in the colonies, even to the point that nearly everybody is living a life of greater luxury and comfort than they would do at home. In the administrative towns, British compounds are surrounded with barbed wire and road barriers; after nightfall natives have to have a pass to be in these streets.

The civil servants and administrators seem to divide sharply into two classes. A few, particularly in the technical branches, are devoted and most highly competent people, excited by the political and technical challenge of the situation, working most strenuously to bring order out of chaos, to make the desert flourish, to lead the submerged population to political maturity. Too many however have volunteered on account of the high salaries, the comforts and indulgences, and do no more work than is necessary to avoid a reprimand, without interest in their task or any conscientiousness. What is almost completely lacking is the conscientious mediocre worker.

This would appear to be due to the manner of recruitment. Far better con-

ditions than would obtain for similar work in England are offered, and relatively few volunteers are rejected. There is apparently no consistent screening or selection; and so too many posts are filled with people who doubt their capacity for success in civilian life at home. In consequence there is some overstaffing and a good deal of inefficiency and bungling at the lower levels.

Although the best men are as good at their jobs as could be wished, their efforts are largely nullified by the fact that each task is attacked in isolation. If there is an over-all plan (and that is doubtful) it is not known to the vast majority who have to carry it out. Until there is a commonly shared ideal of what Germany is wanted to be like in (say) 1960, the administration, however staffed, will inevitably be fumbling and to a great extent self-nullifying. Until such a decision is made, the misery of Germany and the frustration of Britain must continue.

(Geoffrey Gorer, author and anthropologist, this summer paid two visits to Germany as a special consultant to the Military Government.)

A POSTHUMOUS DEBATE: MANTOUX VERSUS KEYNES

BY R. P. SCHWARZ

BARELY six months after Lord Keynes's death, in April of this year, there is already evidence of the coming revaluation of his work in the field of economics and politics. A revision of our views on Keynes would no doubt have come about even if fate had permitted this great man to live longer. It had, in fact, been due ever since he became, at the beginning of World War II, an adviser to the Treasury later to join the Bank of England as one of its directors. The Keynes of the last few years—in particular, the Keynes of the Anglo-American loan negotiations of 1945—is difficult to reconcile with, if he is not wholly different from, the author of *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* of 1936. That contrast alone would have compelled a reconsideration of Keynes's work whereby it might be placed into its proper historical perspective.* The process has been accelerated by the publication, in June of this year, of a posthumous book by a young Frenchman under the title *The Carthaginian Peace—or the Economic Consequences of Mr. Keynes*.† Its author, Etienne Mantoux, an officer in the French forces, was killed at the age of thirty-two, nine days before the end of the hostilities in Europe, in an obscure Bavarian village.‡

This brilliant piece of polemics, completed in the Summer of 1944, is worthy in style and literary qualities of Keynes's own *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. It is superior to the Keynes of 1919 in its ruthless logic and the soberness and maturity of its judgment, the author's youth notwithstanding. The only defect of this caustic and in many ways devastating reply to the *Economic Consequences of the Peace* is that its publication comes twenty-seven years too late. One must fear, that, regardless of its qualities, it will not reach the same notoriety nor exercise the same influence as Keynes's *Economic Consequences* and that its practical, that is political, effect will thus prove inadequate.

There are no doubt some passages in Mantoux's book which, with the passing of time, take on the features of an academic exercise. But such passages

* Further evidence of this coming revaluation reaches me from Canada, in the shape of an interesting article by Mr. Stuart Armour, published in the Toronto weekly *Saturday Night* of September 7, 1946, under the title "Was Lord Keynes assailed by doubts at the end?"

† Oxford University Press, 1946.

‡ Etienne Mantoux was the son of Professor Paul Mantoux, noted French historian, who acted as interpreter and adviser to Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919.

are mostly concerned with correcting Keynes's factual errors of which Mantoux discloses far more than one would have thought possible. Yet, to dismiss his book on these grounds, one would have to overlook the deeper significance of the controversy now opened from beyond the grave. Such an attitude, in its ultimate logic, would hardly be different from Mr. Henry Ford's attitude some years ago, before a Detroit court: "History is 'bunk'," he is reported to have said—a dictum itself, by now, part of that 'bunk'. Even if some features of the controversy may have become unreal, there are, despite obvious differences, so many equally obvious analogies between the post-war situations of 1919 and 1946 that the timeliness of Mantoux's book is almost overwhelming. Last, but not least, the practical angle cannot be overlooked completely. Admittedly, most of the mistakes that could possibly have been made after World War II, have either been made already or are in the process of being made. That limits severely the influence any book—and be it as brilliant and as widely read as Keynes's original indictment of Versailles—could still exercise. But some, at least, of the possible mistakes have not yet been consummated.

II

What gives Mantoux's book permanent value and secures it against the objection of merely academic writing is the author's awareness of the fundamental issues involved in the discussion of *any* peace settlement. It is this concern with principles which lifts the debate from the lower plane of mere economics into the higher realm of philosophy of history.

What Mantoux disputes is Keynes's fundamental contention, expressed thus:

To what a different future Europe might have looked forward if either Mr. Lloyd George or Mr. Wilson had apprehended that the most serious of the problems which claimed their attention were not political or territorial, but financial and economic, and that the perils of the future lay not in frontiers or sovereignties, but in food, coal and transport.*

Although Mantoux himself does not neglect the economic approach—he was by training an economist—he rejects the primacy of economics over politics which underlies Keynes's argument. If he follows, on this point, Briand against Keynes—Briand having stated firmly that "*le politique domine l'économique*"—he shows a deep sense for history which is essentially a discipline averse to the specialist mind. Mantoux did not live to hear the clever aphorism which Don Salvador de Madariaga coined recently in a B.B.C. "Brains Trust" discussion: "A man who is 'nothing but', is 'not even'." But his whole book is written as though he had heard it and taken it to heart.

III

Any thesis pressed to excess bears in itself the seeds of its antithesis. And

* Keynes: *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, p. 134.

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events plead it, if men don't. In the present case, authors and events have joined forces.

No doubt, then, some such reply was "in the air". In England, the era of appeasement closed, the reaction was first announced in 1942 when Dr. Paul Einzig, foreign editor of the *Financial News*, in his book *Can We Win the Peace?*, pointed out that on Germany Keynes had at best "been right for the wrong reasons". The argument was further developed in the same year in a pamphlet on reparations by G. Borsky, well-documented and valuable despite its sensational title *The Greatest Swindle in the World*, and in a small volume, the work of Professor T. E. Jessop, of University College, Hull, entitled *The Treaty of Versailles was it just?* In 1943, the writer, in a paper on *The Next Reparations** pointed out that compared with Keynes's assessment of Germany's capacity to pay, reparations had in fact produced a sum from fifteen per cent. to twenty per cent. larger—a fact not merely to be dismissed with the retort that such payments were made out of the creditors' own money—and enumerated a number of German statistical sources in support of the view that reparations exceeded in no way Germany's capacity, but in every way her willingness, to pay. With telling effect Mantoux has used these and other statistics for his own examination of the Keynesian thesis.

There is no doubt, though, that Mantoux has produced the most *systematic* and thorough-going refutation so far of that thesis.† If it is not wholly new on the economic side, it is original in the use made of the historical and philosophical approach. But Mantoux has not confined himself to producing an antithesis that would merely exaggerate in the opposite direction. His refutation, if frequently sarcastic or ironical, is sober and measured.

IV

If the myth of the "Carthaginian Peace" were to survive in history, that would certainly not be Mantoux's fault. He has done everything to demolish that legend not only in the field of politics and psychology where Keynes, in Mr. Churchill's words "could judge no better than many others", but also in Keynes's very own field, economics.

A brief summary of his demonstration can hardly do justice to a closely reasoned argument. All one can hope to do here is to convey its general trend, by a few examples. Thus Keynes was entirely mistaken in his estimate of German coal production when he predicted that it could not suffice to cover the coal deliveries prescribed under the Peace Treaty, in view of Germany's own requirements, the loss of the Upper Silesian mines, the fall in out-put of the remaining mines, etc. But, as early as 1921, production within the remaining

German territory had again reached its pre-war level and, from 1927 onwards, exceeded the 1913 figure for the whole pre-war Germany. Keynes also greatly over-estimated the economic consequences of the partition of Upper Silesia. By 1925, a remarkable industrial development in its German part had brought the production of its coal and metallurgical industries (with the temporary exception of its foundries) back to the 1913 figures for the whole of that territory. Keynes's considerations about Germany's foreign trade were similarly invalidated by events: by 1929, Germany's foreign trade, in volume, stood only three per cent. below its 1913 record total and, in value, was twenty-five per cent. higher. (After 1929, it contracted considerably under the influence of the world-wide slump, but rather less so than that of other highly industrialized countries.)

These may be points of detail although in Keynes's picture of Germany after the Treaty, they were important details. But in discussing them, Mantoux shows the internal contradictions in Keynes's argument—an argument which, on the one hand, asserted the primacy of food, coal and transport over frontiers and sovereignties, yet, on the other, rejected that same criterion when its consequences, as in the case of the régime adopted for the Sarre territory, were unfavourable to Germany. That does not mean that Keynes was "pro-German". Despite his severe and, at times, extreme criticism of French policy and France's political leaders, he conceded the logic and justification of French security claims. Yet, that concession was confined to theory. In practice, economic prosperity mattered more to him than security. Born after 1870, he could not conceive of an economically stable Europe without, in its centre, a fully-prosperous Germany—hence a powerful, if not also a pre-dominantly strong, Germany. Little inclined towards a historical approach—except perhaps in his own discipline, political economy—the habitual, with him, became identified with the necessary, nay the indispensable. The idea does not seem to have impressed him that Europe had lived many centuries, prosperous in relation to her technique of production of the period, without a trace of German hegemony, and that it might do so again. Neither did he pay much attention to a corollary of that idea, namely that a little less economic prosperity and little more political tranquillity might, after all, be preferable to the reverse situation, so characteristic of Europe since Bismarck's times. This lack of historical perspective was not, unfortunately, limited to Keynes. But the authority which he had gained for himself, provided his ideas with so valuable an endorsement as to make them negotiable the world over. It thereby became an important factor in creating that psychological climate which Mantoux qualifies as *meaculpism* and from which resulted the abandonment in practice of the Treaty.

Perhaps, Keynes felt that political tranquillity was impossible without economic prosperity. If so, he shared with others the illusion that economic prosperity engenders peace. That proposition may contain a *post hoc*, but by

* In *The London Quarterly of World Affairs*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, October 1943 (written in November 1942).

† This disregards opponents of Keynes's views in the years 1919/20 of whom Mantoux mentions a number in his book. Their voices were drowned and their arguments forgotten during the following two decades.

no means a *propter hoc*. It would be fairly easy to plead, with at least equal justification, that economic prosperity, in many cases, merely facilitates the practice of power politics and the arrogant manifestations of a brutal and unscrupulous will-to-power. When one is barely successful in making both ends meet, one has neither time nor desire to seek a quarrel with one's neighbour. And for sheer lack of reserves to fall back on, one is considerably more cautious than one might be otherwise. That goes for nations as it goes for individuals.

V

But Keynes's errors were not confined to what were, after all, minor aspects of the Treaty, such as the coal problem, Upper Silesia, the Sarre—minor at least when one views the reparations problem in its entirety. He taxed as "inveracities of politicians" the French estimates of war-damage in the fourteen devastated departments of Northern France—a point of great importance in calculating Germany's total reparations bill. Yet, Mantoux shows that these estimates were calculated in *paper* francs, thus reflecting the price level of the years 1918-19 when they were made, while Keynes dealt with them as though they had been calculated in *gold* francs and, accordingly, converted them into pounds sterling at the pre-war rate of twenty-five (gold) francs to the pound. Now, it is quite clear that the conversion rate which should properly have been used, could only be one reflecting the purchasing power parity, as of that time, of franc and pound. That rate was at least Frs. 40 to the pound and, in Keynes's own estimate, somewhere between Frs. 50 and Frs. 62. This elementary error in Keynes's calculation provokes this comment from Mantoux:

Such was the process by which this illustrious economist could (no doubt inadvertently) leave the whole world under the impression that the French estimates constituted a swindle on a colossal scale.

No less misleading were Keynes's comments on the problem of Germany's capacity to pay, as dealt with by the Peace Conference. Keynes asserted that "scientific consideration of Germany's capacity to pay was from the outset out of court." Mantoux, quoting chapter and verse, shows how much attention was given to this problem by the Second Sub-Committee of the Peace Conference's Reparations Committee. That Sub-Committee perceived immediately that a distinction had to be made between capacity to pay in *marks* and capacity to pay in *foreign exchange*—in other words, it realized that there was a transfer problem. And it pointed out, quite logically, that only an increase in Germany's exports could solve the problem. But looking farther ahead than Keynes, it included in its calculations a margin for the technological progress of Germany's industry which could be expected to reflect either in increased output, or in reduced costs of production, or both. Keynes, much to his misfortune, neglected that factor. Hence, among other consequences, his

erroneous forecast of German coal production.

Keynes estimated at £100 million (2,000 million marks gold) the maximum annuity which Germany could possibly pay, an estimate which, implicitly, took into account transfer difficulties. From German statistics, Mantoux shows that capital formation in Germany, between 1924 and 1929, totalled each year from three to five times that maximum annuity. True, this does not prove that a larger amount could also have been transferred. But Mantoux has also some highly pertinent considerations on the transfer problem itself, as when he shows how unexpectedly quickly the balance of trade can, good will provided, adapt itself to the balance of payments position. His other considerations on this point are less pertinent. The argument which invokes the facility with which the United States, in the course of two world wars, succeeded in transferring vast sums of capital in the shape of loans of goods and/or money, is somewhat weak. These transfers came from an economy so remarkably prosperous that they did not affect the standard of living of the American people. And in as much as they were made in time of war, they were obviously not resisted by the recipients, faced with shortages of all kinds, and concerned only with gathering in, not with keeping out, goods and money. As distinct from the American case, reparation transfers on a large scale would have reduced the German standard of living. But one must agree that Germany's standard of living could have been reduced materially, in fact, and should have been so reduced, in equity. Thus, whatever restrictions one may have to make on this point, enough remains of Mantoux's investigations into the transfer problem to show that its difficulties were greatly and deliberately exaggerated.

VI

It is perhaps not unnecessary clearly to point out the lessons which can be drawn from Mantoux's demonstration.

The first belongs to the field of philosophy and bears on the relationship between economic and political factors in international politics. The theory which puts food, coal and transport above frontiers and sovereignties does not resist a serious test. While economic factors play an important rôle, they are in constant evolution and undergo modifications either spontaneous or due to the deliberate intervention of man. Political factors are far more rigid, being either geographical, historical, cultural or, in some regions of the globe, physical (racial). And while the first change almost at the speed of technical progress itself, modifications of the latter proceed at best at stage-coach speed. When these factors are in conflict, clearly, the flexible must adapt itself to the rigid, the economic to the political. In the presence of fundamental political antagonism, the most perfect economic agreements, the best-conceived international agencies designed on "functional" lines to increase material prosperity, are unavailing. Man is so constituted that he frequently prefers independence in

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poverty to dependence in prosperity.* "The final step of reason," wrote Pascal, "is to recognize that there is an infinity of things which surpass it." Keynes, the son of a nation of mature age, so well-knit as to be unaware of minority problems, whose frontiers are on the sea and not on land, was out of sympathy with such a mentality. That led him to ridicule Wilson, "the blind and deaf Don Quixote" as he called him, and his concern with self-determination and frontiers. Yet, it is Wilson, the idealist who subordinated the material to the immaterial, economy to liberty, Wilson who was no doubt not half as good an economist as Keynes, who comes out the victor in this controversy with Keynes begun at the Paris Peace Conference. Not the least merit of Mantoux's book is to rehabilitate Wilson's figure before the world against Keynes's accusations which he shows to have been not only unjust, but also, at times, biased.

The second lesson that can be learned from Mantoux's book, concerns the credulity of the reading public. That public swallowed Keynes's thesis uncritically not only because mental laziness prevented it from checking facts and figures, but even more so because Keynes's conclusions followed the line of least resistance in the field of political action. The specialist had prescribed an easy treatment which would avoid a surgical intervention, by recommending in fact the abandonment of reparations, apart from a negligible minimum. That may have saved Europe an operation, but it led in a straight line to the second World War. In retrospect, diagnosis and treatment assume an air that one might almost qualify as quackish.

The third lesson is one of human fallibility. There is no doubt that Keynes was one of the outstanding thinkers in the field of modern economics, endowed with the speculative mind of a genius. Political economy, to-day, lives to a large extent on the dividends of Keynesian capital. Further research may modify Keynes's findings in some respects and discard others altogether. But even his errors are likely to prove fruitful. So much for Keynes, the theoretician. But posterity may reserve a less favourable judgment for Keynes's incursions into the field of politico-economic action. In that realm, Keynes's reputation derived from the fact that, in the great controversy about the gold standard, in the early 'twenties, his judgment should have proven right against that of the majority. In the eyes of many who had never read a line of his theoretical writings, that gave him the aura of infallibility. They were not concerned with Keynes, the author of the two monumental volumes of *A Treatise on Money* and a third on *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, works whose intelligent readers number at best a few hundred the world over. What they knew was the man who, in a pamphlet called *The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill*, had attacked the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day and, through him, the Treasury and City experts,

* "The Sarre is evidence that when economic interests clash with patriotic ties, the latter win." Dr. S. Wambaugh, *The Sarre Plebiscite*, p. 316, quoted by Mantoux.

and whom the events of 1931 had vindicated.

Yet, his farsightedness in the gold controversy made the public forget his shortsightedness in the controversy on the German problem. Nor is it quite sure that the list of Keynes's very human errors is closed. For who knows whether the antagonists of Bretton Woods and the Washington agreements of 1945, Keynes's last politico-economic work, will not ultimately prove right?

There were two Keynes during the last years of his life: the speculative thinker and the statesman-economist. A week after his death, in a highly laudatory obituary, *The Economist* wrote rightly:

But thereafter (after 1943), Keynes the statesman took charge of Keynes the economist, and the paramount advantages of a comprehensive economic understanding with the still imperfectly Keynesian America led him, step by step, into the position of chief architect of the Bretton Woods system which, whether it is good or bad, workable or not, is certainly full of contradictions of Keynesian ideas. We shall never now have the instructive pleasure of reading the detached opinion of Keynes-in-retirement on the economic philosophy of Keynes-in-office.

It does not diminish the greatness of Keynes's achievements to recognize this distinction and indicate the human limitations that follow therefrom. Uncritical admiration is out of place towards human beings, who are perfectible, but not perfect, and can only result in disappointment. Its consequences may not be serious or immediate in the field of speculative thought. But the position is quite different in the field of political action which affects the fate of the millions. "A good decision," wrote Keynes in his book *A Revision of the Treaty*, "can only result by impartial, disinterested, very well-informed and authoritative persons taking *everything* into consideration." (Keynes's italics.) Keynes considered "everything"—but he overweighted the economic, and underweighted the imponderable, irrational, factors.

The calculating machine produces results which are nearer thought than anything that animals may achieve; but it does nothing which might make one say that it has a will, like animals.

Keynes whose vast reading embraced most that is worth while in the literature of all the great nations,* may yet not have liked the company of Pascal who wrote those words.

* See an article in *The Times Literary Supplement* of October 19, 1946, by A. N. L. Munb under the title *Lord Keynes and his Books*.

It must be agreed that the committee performed both parts of their allotted task with exemplary thoroughness. Few official reports have been more tightly written, or have packed so many helpful suggestions into such limited space. Section I, which described the existing statutory provisions and administrative arrangements, is a masterly analysis of an almost inextricably complicated and tangled situation. Section II, illustrative of how deprived children are cared for to-day, throws a brief but intense spotlight on every type of institution receiving such children: workhouses, public assistance homes and nurseries, public health nurseries, homes managed by voluntary organizations, hostels for working boys and girls, probation hostels, approved schools, remand homes, homes and institutions for handicapped children, and boarding out. The survey is eminently fair; good, bad, and in-between conditions are illustrated, and the committee go out of their way to warn that they probably saw more bad and indifferent institutions than good ones, and thus to correct any impression that might be gained from their report that bad conditions predominate. No fault can be laid at the door of the committee if certain sections of the press ignored this warning.

The main conclusions to be drawn from these two Sections are crystal clear. The defects of the present system can be classified under four heads:—

I *Divided responsibility.*

"Responsibility for providing or supervising the substitute home for the deprived child may be taken by the State, by local authorities, by voluntary organizations or by private persons." (Para. 98).

II *Varying degrees of supervision.*

"... not only does the responsible [central] department vary, but so does the closeness of State direction and control. . . . In some cases . . . it is remote. At the other end of the scale . . . it is immediate . . . With local authorities, too, the degree of responsibility may vary." (Para. 99).

III *Lack of trained workers.*

"... we found a widespread and deplorable shortage of the right kind of staff, personally qualified and trained to provide the child with a substitute for a home background." (Para. 418).

IV *Lack of imagination.*

"We found no child being cruelly used in the ordinary sense, but . . . we did find many establishments under both local authority and voluntary management in which children were being brought up by unimaginative methods, without opportunity for developing their full capabilities and with very little brightness or interest in their surroundings." (Para. 418).

None of these defects is surprising. Divided responsibility and varying degrees of supervision both at the centre and in the localities are the inevitable result of the piecemeal way in which all the social services have been built up in this country. The lack of trained workers is a legacy from the days when social services for the unfortunates of society were solely provided by voluntary organizations and private charity, with limited means; and by persons imbued with the noble idea of doing good without thought of material gain and the less noble one (as we see it to-day) of descending from the heights to

give aid to a different species of humanity, the "lower orders". Lack of imagination is a national characteristic from the shackles of which we are only just beginning—with more than a little reluctance—to shake ourselves free.

The Curtis Committee courageously propose that an end be put once and for all to the division of responsibility at the centre and the varying degrees of State control and direction. They recommend that:

Responsibility for the care of deprived children at the departmental level should be in one department in which should be concentrated the relevant powers under the Poor Law Act, Children and Young Persons Acts, Public Health Act, and Adoption of Children Acts, and which would define and maintain standards by inspection, advice and direction. (Summary of Recommendations, Para 5).

The Committee have been criticized, I think justly, for not specifying which department ought, in their opinion, to shoulder this responsibility. It is difficult to imagine why they refused to do so, for on every ground the Home Office selects itself almost automatically. It is presided over by a Secretary of State (as opposed to a Minister in the case of the other two departments chiefly concerned), its range is over the entire field of home affairs, and it already has a Children's Branch (the Curtis Committee recommends that the responsible department should have one) with long experience of most of the aspects of child welfare which would be required.

If unification of responsibility at the centre be accepted, and if, as may be anticipated in that case, the Home Office becomes the responsible department, the present intolerable administrative tangle could without doubt be unravelled. But neither of the other two departments concerned has a clear claim to, or could by itself support, such responsibility. And a joint responsibility, though it might be worked, would be both cumbrous to administer and a potential cause of friction.

That unification of responsibility at the centre demands a similar unification in the localities is indisputable. That this latter should be effected, as the Curtis Committee recommend, by the creation of an *ad hoc* committee is, to say the least, doubtful, despite—one might almost say because of—the present-day tendency to proliferate committees. Local government is already top-heavy with committees, and consequently overloaded with departments. Only irrefutable reasons should add to their numbers. On the other hand, it is clear that no present committee of a county or county borough (the local authorities rightly proposed by the Curtis Committee) could establish a justifiable claim to the total responsibility that would be vested. The situation seems to call for a new approach. Instead of establishing an *ad hoc* committee, and thereby necessitating the creation of a new department, could not the responsibility remain vested in the council, which should be required to appoint a joint advisory committee, but not one to which it would delegate responsibility and powers? And could not the Children's Officer proposed by the Curtis Committee work under the direction of the clerk of the council, who would thus occupy a position comparable with that of the Permanent Secretary

to the Home Office? Both at the centre and in the localities the guidance and help of the departments of education and health would be drawn upon, even perhaps to the extent of delegation of given functions, but without delegation of responsibility.

There are, no doubt, objections to such a scheme. So there are—and I submit graver ones—to the others which have been suggested. It seems to me to have two overriding advantages; the shortest possible chain between State and child, and the elimination of inter-departmental body-snatching and buck-passing. The links in the chain of responsibility are three only: the Home Office, the local Council, and the officer whose business it is to deal personally with the "deprived children" in each locality.

The "Children's Officer" is, as the Curtis Committee emphasize, the pivotal link. They are absolutely right in declaring that:

This may indeed be said to be our solution of the problem referred to us. Throughout our investigation we have been increasingly impressed by the need for the personal element in the case of children No office staff dealing with them as case papers can do the work we want done—work which is in part administrative, but also in large part field work, involving many personal contacts and the solution of problems by direct methods, in particular the method of interview rather than official correspondence. (Para. 441).

Part of that last sentence, however, calls for a word of caution. In the paragraphs (443-446) in which the committee detail the functions and desirable qualifications of the Children's Officer, they allocate to her some two dozen duties and responsibilities, of which eleven are administrative, while several others could be so regarded by an officer of sedentary inclination and having assistants at her disposal—as the Curtis Committee envisage. The whole purpose of the appointment would be defeated by an officer who sat at her desk for longer than was absolutely necessary. The wording of parts of para. 445, and the suggestion of Joint Boards for areas having fewer than 500 children constitute a positive invitation to the Children's Officer to regard herself primarily as an administrator and not as a field worker. The rule should be that no chief officer is responsible for more than 500 children, and no assistant officer for more than seventy-five (as against the 100-150 suggested in the report). Areas throwing up larger numbers than 500 should be divided in districts each with a chief officer in charge. It is essential that every chief officer shall be able to "know and keep in personal touch with all the children under her care," and each assistant officer to be in the fullest sense "the friend of [each of her group of] children through their childhood and adolescence."

The three prime duties of the Children's Officer are to learn at the earliest moment of deprived children, to place them without delay in an environment "best calculated to compensate them for the lack of parental care," and to ensure that until they can step out confidently into the world of adult society their lives are as far as possible assimilated to those of children growing up in a genuinely good home.

The Curtis Committee consider that, due consideration being paid to individual needs, for healthy children adoption is, if successful, "the most completely satisfactory method of providing a substitute home." Few will dispute that verdict, which is substantiated by both experience and the results of psychological research. That being so, a clear moral duty is laid upon all responsible for the welfare of deprived children to find adoptive homes for every child deemed likely to benefit from such provision; an equal duty is laid upon the State to make it possible for suitable people to offer homes, and upon such people to be moved to make the offer. The fear of the financial stringency it might involve is frequently the determining factor against an offer; this bar should be removed, though without introduction of the element of remuneration.

Before any attempt is made, however, to expand the practice of adoption the law should undoubtedly be stiffened in the ways suggested by the Curtis Committee; and in addition a clear ruling should be obtained on the vital question of revelation of his status to the adopted child. What the right answer to this question is I do not know; but if casual report speaks truly, many cases occur where the care and affection of years are nullified by the accidental or over-late discovery by the adopted child that his "parents" are not his parents by blood.

Adoption is, of course, frequently impossible, and the Curtis Committee rightly advocates a vigorous campaign to secure more foster homes for boarding out deprived children. At the moment there is a not unnatural reluctance to take on the responsibility and the extra work of "fostering", but the Committee are probably right in assuming that this can be overcome, as it has been in some areas. It is to be hoped that local authorities, and in particular the Children's Officers when they are appointed, will do their utmost to secure as many foster homes as possible, for it is above all imperative to preserve the normal, healthy, homeless child from an institutional life.

This is not in any way to disparage the magnificent work done by the large and small voluntary organizations which for many years have made the homeless child their care. But the evidence against the institution as a way of life for children is overwhelming. Some of the organizations recognize this, and are boarding out the children they receive; others acknowledge it in part by their development of grouped "cottage" homes or "scattered" homes, which are at least on the way to boarding out. There will probably always be a place for the institution, particularly for "difficult" children, but it is to be hoped that it will be an increasingly smaller one, with the main function of preparing children for life in an adoptive or foster home.

A bookful of commentary might be written on this impressive report, with its multitudinous recommendations. In this article no detailed mention has been made of the defects in the present provision; it has seemed better to concentrate on the main constructive proposals in the report. Clearly, a great

and sustained effort has to be made to ensure that this not inconsiderable fraction of the nation's children shall have a full opportunity to grow into balanced and mature men and women. No one will surely question either the wisdom or the necessity of such effort. In the national interest we cannot risk the chance that even three or four out of every 100 of the declining numbers of our children may grow up warped or immature. It is in flat contradiction of our democratic principles to do so. And beyond democracy there is that spirit of love and brotherhood which lies at the core of Christianity. "Whoso shall receive one such little child in my name," said Christ, "receiveth me." But, he added: "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea."

Whatever our religious persuasion, we can hardly ignore such a challenge.

RECONCILIATION AND DIVORCE

BY E. J. COHN

THE terms of reference of the Divorce Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Denning provide that the Committee is to consider "in particular whether any (and if so, what) machinery should be made available for the purpose of attempting a reconciliation between parties, either before or after proceedings have been commenced." The combination of some "machinery" of reconciliation with the administration of justice in divorce cases has obviously strong adherents. This explains the stress laid on this aspect of the Committee's work ("in particular") and its inclusion in the work of a body whose main task is to devise ways and means of speeding up divorce proceedings. But it is also clear that this combination is open to serious objections. The Committee is therefore not simply asked to investigate which type of machinery is most suitable to bring about a reconciliation. It is bidden to consider whether reconciliation in divorce proceedings ought to be provided at all.

The idea of providing for "machinery" for the purpose of attempting a reconciliation between the parties to divorce proceedings is not new. It has been tried out for over a century in most European countries—practically ever since divorce proceedings were made available. There is thus a large amount of experience on which our legal reformers can draw. In the opinion of the present writer the available material permits only one conclusion: that reconciliation is out of place in divorce proceedings in the social and spiritual conditions that exist in this country.

This conclusion must be reached notwithstanding the fact that the overwhelming majority of European laws do in fact at present provide for such attempts at reconciliation in divorce or separation proceedings and even make it compulsory for the parties to resort to them. In the first instance it must be remembered, that many European and South American laws which provide for such attempts do not permit a divorce. In Italy, Spain and other predominantly Roman-Catholic countries marriages cannot be terminated by divorce. It is true that in these countries a marriage may be declared void by the Court on a number of grounds and that these grounds are much more numerous than are the grounds on which a petition for nullity may be brought in this country. In such proceedings, however, there is no room for attempts at reconciliation, because a void marriage is a marriage of which the law disapproves. On the other hand a breach of the matrimonial obligations in

these laws does not lead to a severance of the matrimonial tie. It merely gives the innocent party a right to demand separation. Separation does not entail the right to remarry. In legal systems of this type judicial attempts at reconciliation have a meaning that differs widely from that which they must have in English law. Reconciliation has clearly greater chances of success where the innocent party can choose between reconciliation and separation than it can have where the choice lies between reconciliation and divorce with the chance of a new marriage.

Leaving out of account the laws just referred to, the European laws can be divided into four groups. There are a few countries where reconciliation proceedings are not permitted. There are a few countries where reconciliation proceedings before a Justice of the Peace or another low-ranking judicial officer are required before the parties can petition for a divorce. In a number of countries reconciliation proceedings before an ecclesiastical authority precede proceedings for a divorce. Finally there is a comparatively large group of countries where the court in charge of the divorce proceedings or its chairman must undertake an attempt at reconciliation between the parties before the Court can try the petition for divorce.

Official reconciliation proceedings are expressly prohibited in Norway on the ground that they are incompatible with the dignity of the Court, that they cause needless delays, that they frequently lead to undesirable attempts to maintain a marriage already hopelessly broken and that they result in attempts at persuading one party to condone gross immorality. The Czechoslovakian law of 1921 has a similar rule. As, however, under Czechoslovakian law divorce may be by mutual agreement between the spouses, the rule is expressly excluded from application in such cases.

Where divorce is sought by consent reconciliation proceedings are prescribed. They form a necessary element of the proceedings. English law, of course, does not permit divorce by consent. In all those cases in which English law permits a divorce, Czechoslovakian law would therefore expressly prohibit attempts at reconciliation being made by any judicial officer.

Reconciliations before a Justice of the Peace are at present prescribed in many cantons of Switzerland. Such proceedings are not, however, special institutions for divorce petitions. It is a general rule of the law of civil procedure in these cantons that the parties before bringing any action in Court must appear in person before a *Juge de Paix* and make an attempt to bring about a compromise. In many of the more populous cantons, as for example the town of Basle, the institution has been replaced by attempts at a compromise before the Chairman of the trial court. In the rural cantons, however, it persists. Many Swiss experts speak highly of the success of the *Juge de Paix* in reaching a reasonable compromise between the parties. Statistics show this in some fifty per cent. or more of all cases brought before him. However, the statistics which are available do not distinguish between

divorce proceedings and other civil cases. In the rural cantons in question divorce is far less widespread than it is unfortunately at present in this country. It would be unwise to conclude from the successes of the *Juges de Paix* that our Justices of the Peace or some local Court official could achieve similar results. Swiss experience rather points to the opposite conclusion. In the cantons of Geneva and Berne the institution of compulsory mediation before the *Juge de Paix* was abolished, after having lingered for some time in a state of desuetude. In all matrimonial matters reconciliation is now reserved to the Chairman of the trial court. But the success of these attempts is, according to reports, not much more encouraging than it is—as we shall see later on—elsewhere.

There can be no doubt at all that *prima facie* attempts at reconciliation have the greatest chance of success if the conciliator can invoke the moral support of religious authority. That is proved by experience in those countries in which the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church is—or until very recently was—predominant. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church this Church recognizes the validity of a divorce. But it considers it as the duty of its ministers to exercise the whole strength of their influence upon the parties in favour of the maintenance of the matrimonial relation. Jewish law, too, adopts a similar attitude, with the proviso, however, that it does not permit reconciliation proceedings in those cases in which the wife has committed adultery, because in such a case the husband is as a rule under a duty to terminate the marriage by divorce.

In Greece parties belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church must make an application to the Bishop of the place where the husband is domiciled to obtain his co-operation in an attempt at reconciliation. The Bishop then invites the parties to a "hearing for reconciliation". While the reconciliation proceedings are in progress the Bishop exercises certain judicial functions. He may grant permission to the wife to live separately from her husband. On application from either party he can make provisional orders relating to the maintenance of the wife and the education and maintenance of the children. The Court does not accept a petition for a divorce if the petitioner does not enclose with his petition a report from the Bishop to the effect that his efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the spouses have failed. The law provides a significant alternative. Instead of enclosing such a report the petitioner may make a statement that he has applied to the Bishop for reconciliation proceedings, that three months have elapsed since the application and that he has not heard from the Bishop. In such a case it is the duty of the Court to contact the Bishop and ascertain the position from him. This alternative is obviously provided in order to enable the Bishop to refrain from attempts at reconciliation in those cases in which such attempts must either appear wholly futile or in which on moral and religious grounds they cannot appear to be desirable.

Similar proceedings were provided in pre-war Bulgaria. These proceedings

differed, however, from the Greek proceedings in the one important aspect that under Bulgarian pre-war law the ecclesiastical Courts (*Consistoria*) were themselves in charge of divorce proceedings between orthodox spouses. Reconciliation proceedings were therefore merely one stage in the proceedings for the divorce themselves. This brings the pre-war law of Bulgaria in the immediate neighbourhood of the last and most important group of European laws: that is those laws where it is the duty of the divorce court itself to make an attempt at reconciling the parties.

This fourth system was introduced in France by the Napoleon Code. It has made its way from France into all those countries which received this Code, notably into Belgium, the Netherlands and Rumania. The importance which the French legislator attached to the reconciliation proceedings at the time of their introduction was very great. This is the reason why the rules dealing with them were included not only in the Code of Civil Procedure, but also in the Civil Code which every citizen was supposed to read and which has indeed been read by many more citizens than any other modern code. These provisions were expected to constitute an effective safeguard against an undesirable increase in the number of divorces. This explains the elaborateness with which the legislator has drafted his rules. Every party intending to bring a petition for divorce must hand the petition in person to the President of the trial court. So desirous is the legislator that the petitioner should have to face the President in person that the President, accompanied by a clerical officer, must go in person to the petitioner's house, if the latter has legitimate grounds for not attending at the court building. At this first hearing the President "makes those observations which he considers expedient." He then summons both parties before him for an attempt at reconciliation. At this hearing again personal appearance is compulsory for both parties. If reconciliation fails the President may grant permission to proceed with the petition. He may, however, instead require the parties to appear once more before him within a period of not more than twenty days. If he does not choose this latter alternative, but grants permission to bring the petition, both the permission and any interim order for maintenance or separation made in favour of the petitioner lapse, if use is not made of the permission within twenty days.

These lengthy proceedings would perhaps not matter overmuch, if the institution had achieved its purpose, that is if it had reduced the number of divorces. Unfortunately this is far from being the case. In 1936—that is long before the increase in the number of marriages broken up by the war—France had no less than 20,000 divorces. This colossal increase has led to a rapid deterioration in the treatment of divorce cases. Safeguards that could reasonably be applied where the number of cases was limited, had to be thrown overboard, to cope with the flood of cases that burst over the Courts. The old truth that legal rules are impotent against moral debacles has once

more been vindicated.

In Germany experiences have been very similar. The story of the development of reconciliation proceedings in Germany is particularly interesting, because Germany has tried out in the course of a few decades not less than three different systems of compulsory reconciliation proceedings—all of them without achieving the success they were expected to achieve. After a law of 1844 the Prussian Courts could not deal with petitions for a divorce, unless an attempt at reconciliation before a member of the clergy of the parties' denomination had been unsuccessfully attempted. This rule led to great inconveniences because many ministers refused to attempt reconciliation or at least to issue the certificates of unsuccessful reconciliation which they were supposed to issue. The reason for this attitude on the part of the clergy was that in too many cases the spouses did not take the attempts at reconciliation seriously. All that they expected the ministers to do was to provide them with one of the requirements of divorce which the law of the country prescribed. Quite properly ministers of a religion which prohibits divorce refused to assist in bringing about divorces. The Code of Civil Procedure of 1879 therefore abolished the principle of ecclesiastical reconciliation and replaced it by a "hearing for reconciliation" before a judge of the local court. This court had no jurisdiction in divorce, but the judges were expected to know the parties better than the judges of the district court and were therefore better qualified to bring about a reconciliation between the parties. In a few rural districts these hopes may have been fulfilled. As a rule, however, the reconciliation proceedings proved to be an empty and meaningless formality. In the large towns the "local" judges had no more intimate knowledge of the parties and their circumstances than their brethren at the higher courts. As they themselves had nothing to do with the divorce proceedings the "hearing for reconciliation" soon deteriorated into a meaningless ceremony which everybody—the parties, their advocates and last not least the judges themselves—tried to get through with the utmost speed. In the course of the latest reform of the Code of Civil Procedure of 1935 the German legislator therefore returned to the pre-1844 system, under which the trial court itself—as in France—must make an attempt at reconciliation before opening the proceedings. The attempt is obligatory, but the Code provides numerous sweeping exceptions to this rule. Thus no attempt need be made in those cases in which it can with certainty be expected that an attempt at reconciliation will fail. In German petitions for divorce the request that the Court should abstain from reconciliation proceedings as these will certainly fail is now-a-days inserted as a matter of course. Such requests are granted as a matter of routine.

If the Courts look with disfavour upon a task, which is so alien to the normal functions of the judicial office, they are certainly justified by past experience. To make no attempts at reconciliation is certainly better than to conduct those purely formal and undignified proceedings which were frequent in former

times. Bismarck in his *Memoirs** tells the following significant story. As a young apprentice to the Court he was once put in charge of reconciliation proceedings between two highly excited spouses. Feeling the task somewhat beyond him, he appealed to an elder judge, Herr Prätorius, for assistance. In the case in question the husband desired a divorce, but the wife did not. The husband accused the wife of adultery. The wife—in tears—protested her innocence. She insisted that she wanted to remain with her husband notwithstanding a good deal of maltreatment that, she alleged, she had received from him. Judge Prätorius turned—according to Bismarck's report—to the wife: "My good woman, don't be stupid. What is the good of it? If you go home with him, he will beat you up, until you can't stand any more of it. The simplest thing for you is to say 'yes' and get rid of the drunkard quickly!" The wife, crying aloud, replied: "No, no—I am an honest woman, I cannot bear the shame of being divorced." After some more altercations in the same vein, Bismarck reports: "Prätorius turned to me with the following words: 'As this woman is not open to reason, please write the following minutes,' and then he dictated to me those words which made so deep an impression upon me that even to-day (that is, some forty years later) I know them by heart: 'After an attempt at reconciliation had been made and the arguments of religion and morality in favour of maintaining the marriage had not met with success, the proceedings were continued as follows.' Then Herr Prätorius rose and said to me: 'Now you will remember, how such things are done and not trouble me with them in the future!'"

Not many judges will perhaps share Herr Prätorius's frivolity or his contempt for the dignity of marriage. Yet it may be said in mitigation of the judgment on his conduct that judicial reconciliation proceedings are apt to impose upon the judge a task which he cannot possibly solve. Mediation is not a proper function of a judge. Petitions for divorce are—even to-day—rarely brought unless the parties, their friends and advisers, both religious and legal, have exhausted every means of finding a less desperate solution. What chance can a complete stranger, like the judge, have of succeeding where they have failed? The fact that he has authority to grant or refuse a divorce is of no avail. For this authority does not enable him to compel the parties to be reconciled. What the parties say or do not say during the reconciliation proceedings, has no influence on the subsequent proceedings.

Experience in the countries dominated by the Greek Orthodox Church might tempt one to recommend conciliation proceedings before a minister of religion. But it is easy to see that the difficulties which were encountered in Prussia would soon be bound to arise, if such attempts were to be made obligatory. If, on the other hand, they are not to be made obligatory, there is no point in altering the existing law: the law of this country prevents nobody from apply-

ing for the help of the clergy of his denomination in his matrimonial difficulties. It is well known that such help is not infrequently sought. Nothing prevents the clergy from extending and improving the valuable services which they can render in this field. To make resort to them compulsory can only have one result: the loss of that amount of confidence among the population which the clergy has been able to gain. Secular marriage guidance agencies are in the same position. They too work with greater chances of success if resort to them is voluntary. Only services, voluntarily offered and voluntarily resorted to, will escape the danger of being turned into an abject and undignified ceremony, meaning exactly the opposite of what it professes to mean.

Last but not least, compulsory attempts at reconciliation are exposed to one objection that has rarely been as serious as it is to-day. It is a fact, unfortunate but undeniable, that the typical ground of divorce is no longer desertion, but adultery. There are few more unfortunate tasks imaginable than the task of the man whose duty it is to persuade a spouse to forgive adultery. It was a disputed point already among the Fathers of the Church whether a spouse should or should not forgive adultery. It is a disputed point between contemporary religions and contemporary teachers of ethics. If reconciliation were made obligatory in all cases, the legislator would have decided this point in favour of a view, which not infrequently would force the conciliator to preach immorality. This is particularly true in Service divorce cases. Who can possibly undertake to persuade the soldier returning from the battlefield to accept a woman who—often living in relative comfort and ease—has broken the faith that was due to him? The present writer has during part of the war been in charge of an Army Legal Advice Bureau. In this position he had to deal with some three or four hundred divorce cases. The number of those in which an attempt at reconciliation could possibly be made, was very small. Every one of these few cases was satisfactorily disposed of by an appeal to the chaplain of the parties' denomination. There was no need for any further "machinery". Nor did there seem to be any possibility that any such "machinery" could achieve any success.

It would be surprising if Mr. Justice Denning's Committee should come to different conclusions. To stem the flood of divorces is not the task of the law. That flood is caused by a moral landslide, too great for the law to cope with. The ethical foundations of our society cannot be rebuilt by organizing some fresh bit of social machinery. Nothing less than a complete renaissance of our entire ethical and religious life is required. The flood of divorces that has been continuously rising in all countries of Europe for the last 150 years is a mere symptom. That symptom is incurable as long as no remedy for the disease has been found from which it springs. Another unsuccessful attempt at curing the symptom will not make things any better. It may well contribute to making them worse.

* *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*. Vol. I (new edition 1924) pp. 8 F.

PROGRAMME FOR SURVIVAL

By W. R. INGE

THIS is the title of an essay by Lewis Mumford,* which he intended, he tells us, to be a continuation of the book on the Condition of Man which he wrote in 1943. He then predicted that some scientific discovery might lead to a complete disintegration of civilization. The atomic bomb has, he thinks, fulfilled this melancholy prediction. Only a greater degree of moral responsibility can save the world from irreparable disaster.

Mr. Mumford's books are perhaps well enough known to justify a consideration of his views. His chief work, *Faith for Living*, written in three weeks in the summer of 1940, was very well received in this country in consequence of the author's generous appreciation of the steadfastness of our people in that terrible year. He speaks of "that cool courage, that resolute action, that tough endurance of terrorism, which has given the world a spectacle of collective heroism it will never forget." Nationalism, which in an exaggerated form is the major curse of modern civilization, can produce very noble conduct. The Russians, who are now terrifying Europe and Asia with the spectre of a new Genghiz Khan, resisted an even more dreadful threat than that which was averted by the Battle of Britain. Some smaller nations showed equal courage.

Faith for Living was written in a white heat, but its appeal went home to all its readers. Never, he says, since the Black Death, have terror and misery stalked through the world on this scale. There are no havens of refuge, like the monasteries of the Middle Ages, which the barbarians would respect. Civilization itself is threatened with ruin. War has become an unthinkable obscenity, like cannibalism. We who were brought up in a relatively innocent society did not realize that its apparently solid structure might be shattered by a small number of ruthless fanatics.

The tradition of lawless violence in Germany, he says truly, goes back through Fichte to Luther and Machiavelli. The western democracies had no understanding of this mentality. But the twentieth century inherited a morality which it never worked for. The husk of religion had protected and encouraged many humanitarian reforms, but it took the form of a delusion, the belief in human perfectibility, and when this decayed its place was taken on the Continent by the religion of power. Militarism and new technical discoveries centralized the power of governments and strangled freedom; the machine has become omnipotent; and bureaucracy is beginning to stifle the mind. Self-

help has disappeared. Let the workers be carefree and the employers worry. This is the road to serfdom.

"Fascism happened first in Russia, Italy and Germany for a very simple reason; none of those countries had a tradition of freedom." But the advertisements, newspapers and habits of the western peoples are evidence of deep-seated vulgarity and barbarism. Liberalism is "one of the most precious parts of the human heritage"; but the Liberal Party too often refuses to recognize evil as evil; sin is an unpopular word. Hence the shallow optimism which has discredited its adherents. 'We labour for peace, but when we speak unto them thereof they make them ready for battle.'

The remedy for this reversal of all decent human standards which has made a nightmare of the present century is obviously the restoration of faith in the absolute values which are independent of human enactments, of belief in the divine attributes of justice, mercy, and love. We are neglecting what should be the centre of our social life, the three safeguards of the family, the land, the person. The disruption of family life has gone very far, and is too often regarded with indifference. The simple routine of country life—the farmer's year, is far more wholesome than the way in which our town dwellers spend their time. The decay of strong, independent personality is part of the growing collectivism of our day. It means the loss of dignity and self-respect, and forgetfulness of the truth that the care of our own souls is the bit of the line which as soldiers of Christ we have to defend. Not only a severely simple life, but a habit of meditation, are earnestly recommended by the author.

So penetrating a diagnosis, and so moving an exhortation, evoke our deep respect. But there are some deductions to be made. Mr. Mumford's strictures upon Neville Chamberlain and upon the policy of this country between the World Wars, are unjust. At the time of the Munich interviews it would have been quite impossible for us to go to war with Germany. We were unprepared, and neither France nor our Dominions nor America would have helped us. The author seems to think that our pacific policy was due to the reluctance of the taxpayers to part with their money. Nothing can be more unfair. It sounds like bitter irony at this time of what is politely called redistribution, when no large house can be lived in, and when a hotel waiter, as I happen to know, 'demanded' £750 a year, to speak of the "capitalist classes being unwilling to curb their enormous privileges." This is not true of America; of our country it is absurd.

Our disarmament after the first World War was as idealistic as our adoption of free trade a hundred years earlier. We wanted to bring war and preparations for war to an end, and we hoped that other nations would follow our example. We were the strongest Power in Europe when we refused to fire a shot to put down the rebellion in Ireland. Chamberlain, we are told, was humbugged by Hitler. When a gentleman has to deal with a crook, he must treat him with civility until his double-dealing becomes quite unmistakable.

* Secker & Warburg. 3s. 6d.

This prejudice becomes flagrant when Lewis Mumford says that "the American Republic was a traitor to itself when it deserted the Spanish Republic." If there is any country which must be left to settle its own affairs, it is Spain, that land of proud individualists. As for the 'Spanish Republic', well documented books have been published describing the hideous cruelties of the Spanish Reds, who murdered at the lowest computation 200,000 innocent persons, many of them with revolting tortures. If this evidence is not enough, there are the confessions of poor Krivitsky, Marshal Stalin's agent in Spain, who knew that his repentance would probably cost him his life. He was murdered in America by Soviet emissaries. I hold no brief for Franco, nor for political Catholicism, but throughout the Spanish civil war the public was deliberately misled by mendacious propaganda, which cost the lives of many misguided young Englishmen.

We may further object that it is far from certain that Hitler had at that time any hostile intentions towards this country. John Gunther, the well-informed author of *Inside Europe*, writing in 1935, said: 'The aims of Hitler's foreign policy are very simple. They appear to be . . . eastward expansion in pursuit of land for settlement and raw materials; and friendship with England.' My reading of *Mein Kampf*, in which this wish for friendship is expressed, convinced me that it is a naïvely honest book. Hitler's offer to us was quite intelligible. We were to keep our empire and our command of the sea, on condition of giving the Teutons a free hand to settle their age-long feud with the Slavs by annexing and colonizing Poland and the Ukraine.

In his new book Lewis Mumford reiterates with agonized emphasis his former pleadings. Professing to eliminate value and purpose from scientific thinking, we have risked the destruction of our species. We are case-hardened against abominations which forty years ago would have been inconceivable. Can we remember our righteous indignation over Captain Dreyfus, and over the lame cobbler of Zabern? The atomic bomb reveals to us what the total repudiation of moral inhibitions means. *Homo homini lupus*; but this is unfair to the wolves, who do not wantonly slaughter each other. Such absolute devilry has never been known on earth before.

Ronald Knox in his *God and the Atom* discusses the same problem. He agrees with Mr. Mumford that between the wars "we overreached ourselves by our own idealism," and he is very clear that we ought to have said to the Japanese, who, it must be remembered, were on the point of surrendering: "We have the means of destroying your towns, but that is one of the things which are not done." They might then have thought that Christianity is not all hypocrisy. Writing as a theologian, Monsignor Knox, like A. N. Whitehead, thinks that Descartes led philosophy on a wrong course by divorcing the study of the world outside from the study of the human mind. This cannot be discussed here. But he also suggests that we have struck a very bad patch in history. St. Bernard agreed that this is possible. *Habet mundus noetes*

suas et non pancas. The saints, Ronald Knox reminds us, have often passed through a 'dark night,' and have not given up hope. He thinks, and I agree with him, that religions and philosophies of *escape* will again be popular. For, apart from the atomic bomb, "our personalities are being ruthlessly abridged. There is no generosity in the group; the mob is not generous." Still, hope is a duty. Society generates anti-toxins as well as toxins. Arnold Toynbee's examples of 'challenge and response' in past history are rather encouraging.

The terror aroused by the atomic bomb is rather of what it may do than of what it has done. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was on a much smaller scale than the 'burning to ashes,' described in the last number of *THE FORTNIGHTLY*,* of Tokyo, the third largest city in the world. Parts of the Ruhr are completely ruined. It has also been stated, and not contradicted, that both we and the Americans have been experimenting with 'bacterial warfare', the disseminating of pestilence in an enemy country. This is surely the last possibility in the way of diabolism. Let those who still believe in human progress read Plato's suggestions for laws of war among Greeks. And are not wars in Europe as much civil wars as the quarrels between Athens and Sparta?

It is indeed a very doubtful question whether we can rely on the moral exhortations of our prophets and preachers to bring back some degree of decency into human intercourse. We had become more humane in the nineteenth century; Ronald Knox lays some stress upon this; but it needs only an attack of mingled fear and cupidity to turn humanity into Yahoohumanity. The veneer of civilized behaviour is easily worn off. The prospect for the future is, I think, less discouraging if we approach the question from a different side.

It is admitted that in the late war both sides abstained from the use of poisoned gas because it was known that both had a store of horrible compounds. The reasons for agreeing not to use the atomic bomb are of course far stronger. The Western nations, including Germany, could destroy each other in a week. Russia and the United States could hold out a little longer, but they are far from invulnerable. Is there not something absurd in accepting the theory of 'total war', and refraining from the use of the most potent weapon? And is it certain that it would not be used? War does not pay unless it is internecine, and when a man is fighting for his life with his back to the wall he will not observe what I believe are called Queensberry rules.

I am not supposed to be an optimist, but it does seem to me that this horrible new discovery may be the means of bringing war to an end. War is the wickedest and most irrational of all anachronisms. History might be written as a record of successive attempts by mankind to arrive at a decent and tolerable way of living together, each in turn frustrated by senseless wars. One-tenth of the wealth fruitlessly squandered since 1914 might have abolished

* *Japan under the Occupation*, by John Morris. November 1946.
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want everywhere, and filled the world with beneficent institutions housed in beautiful buildings. Conscription, and preparations for war generally, are almost as devastating as war itself. The nations live in fear of each other, and the fear is well founded. Except when maddened by rage and terror, do the citizens of one country wish to slaughter or even to injure those of another? Why should they? Too often, as Shakespeare says, the sight of means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done. But it is mainly fear that prompts attacks.

There are obviously two possible ends of international anarchy. There may be a knock-out blow by the strongest Power. Rome in this way gained for the lands round the Mediterranean two hundred years of relative peace and prosperity. At the end of that period there were hardly any Romans left. All the old families were extinct, except the obscure Anicii, who were as much respected as the Howards and Stanleys with us. The emperors were Spaniards, Illyrians, Africans, Syrians, and 'Philip the Arab.' The example is not encouraging to advocates of 'blood and soil'. Nothing fails like success. Ruling nations, like ruling classes, rule themselves out.

The other solution is a voluntary limitation of sovereignty. This has been advocated by both the writers who have been commented on in this article, and by several others who have tried to find some remedy for our present distress. In truth it seems to be the only possible cure. National animosities are at present so exacerbated that it may be rejected as impossible. But 'needs must when the devil drives,' and the devil is now behind us with the most cruel of whips. It is really only fear that prevents the nations from disarming, for there is now no nation of whom it could be said that war is a national industry. Good government, as we are learning to our cost, is no substitute for self-government; but it is not proposed to allow any interference with the internal affairs of any country. The nearest approach to such a league of nations in being is the British Commonwealth, which in Canada and South Africa has dealt successfully with formidable racial difficulties; but Ireland and India seem at present to be irreconcilable. The difficulties are indeed so enormous as to be hardly worth enumerating. But there is probably no country in which the majority of the inhabitants would not vote for peace, even at the price of some curtailment of sovereignty, and if our present experience has not convinced the world that war, as an instrument of policy, is foolish and wicked, we must despair of the sanity of the human race. Our first duty must be to show generosity to our late enemies, a gesture which is not only an elementary rule of the religion which we profess, but is plainly the right way of bringing nearer the reign of peace and goodwill which is said to have been promised on the first Christmas Day, and the disregard of which has now brought on the world what may be a truly frightful retribution. The social insects have chosen instinct, and have achieved a stable but not enviable existence; shall it be said that we have chosen intelligence, and have ended in co-operative suicide?

MEXICO AND THE LAND

BY LILO LINKE

WHEN on December 1, 1946, General Manuel Avila Camacho hands over the presidential sash to his successor, he can do so with a mingled smile of satisfaction and relief. His six years of government saw the rise of Mexico to a place of importance. If formerly she suffered from being next-door neighbour to the powerful U.S.A., World War II allowed her at last to turn that position to full advantage. It brought prosperity to her mining industries, to the new factories, to merchants and builders; it turned her capital into a boom town and helped her to balance the national budget through an inflated tourist trade from the North and the earnings of countless of her day labourers who legally or illegally crossed the frontier into the U.S.A. But none of these favourable circumstances may play as large a part in the future. The moment has come for Mexico once more to turn her energy to the development of the permanent factors that build her economy.

This means, above all, her agriculture. In the past, agriculture has given her little ground for satisfaction, in spite of the heroic struggle put up by all concerned. The reasons are manifold. Though the power of the semi-feudal landlords was smashed early during the revolution and by the series of radical reforms that started in 1911, too many of them remained as "small proprietors" and through their possession of machinery, processing plants, etc. kept an undue economic hold over their former peones. The peasants themselves until quite recently lacked credit, working capital, and agricultural implements more appropriate than, for instance, the wooden ploughs they were using. They lacked, above all, experience. Their newly-won freedom was a heavy task to bear, and too often it meant little else but the freedom not to work, if they preferred leisure to food.

Perhaps the worst of all was their feeling of insecurity. The land was not given to them, at least not to the former peones who were transformed into *ejidatarios* (a special type of communal farmer); it belonged to the nation, which merely let them use it as long as they kept it under cultivation. They could not sell or mortgage the land, nor could they be certain that, if they cultivated their plot well, it would not arouse the envy of the local *caciques*. The latter were clever enough to back whatever government was in power, and frequently disguised themselves as the committee that was meant to be the legal representative of the communal form called *ejido*.

Even if, however, in a stubborn effort the peasants overcame all these handi-

caps, their plots were generally too small to yield them and their families a reasonable living. According to the most recent statistics, 1.8 million *ejidatarios* held between them some seventy million acres, and only part of that really first class land. The 1.3 million genuine small proprietors legally recognized as such were hardly any better off because together they owned thirty million acres. Small proprietors and *ejidatarios* together form about three quarters of the economically active rural population. And though they are often hard up, their position is still preferable to that of over one million of their countrymen who after thirty-five years of successive reforms still own no land at all.

This tragic state of affairs was not caused by any ill intentions or indifference on the part of previous governments. The truth is that there is not enough land to go round. Even the superficial traveller will quickly discover the reason: too much of the country is inaccessible mountain or desert, tropical jungle or swamp. Land potentially available for farming constitutes a mere twelve per cent. of Mexico's total area, as compared to twenty-one per cent. in the U.S.A. and nearly fifty-two per cent. in France. The lack of land is closely linked to that of water. Brief rainy seasons alternate with long dry ones, and most of the rivers—of which there are too few, anyhow—either rush from mountains in destructive torrents or for the rest of the year offer men and beasts nothing but scorched pebbles.

Yet whereas only twenty-three per cent. of U.S. Americans work on the land, Mexico's rural population represents 65.7 per cent. of her total inhabitants. In vain has the Government tried for the last twenty-five years to extend the agricultural area to any considerable extent by pushing ahead vast irrigation schemes. No other country, in proportion to the whole of its national budget, has spent as much on irrigation as Mexico, especially during these last years. One hundred and seventy-five million pesos (about as many shillings) were reserved for it during the current year, and Miguel Alemán, the president-elect, promised during his nation-wide election campaign early this summer that during his six-year term of office he would spend up to 1,500 million pesos. If he keeps his promise, altogether three and a half million acres of formerly dry land will be opened up for agriculture, and another three-quarter million acres bear increased crops.

For the land-hungry Mexicans, this is little enough. Even the Executive Secretary of the National Commission for Irrigation, engineer Adolfo Orive Alba, one of the most sober-headed hard-working patriots I have ever met, admitted that with irrigation schemes pushed to their physical limits, Mexican agriculture in many parts would still be short of water, and the amount of land available insufficient to satisfy all demands. "We shall never be an important export country of agricultural products, excepting industrial plants like the sisal-producing henequen. Our prosperity, as far as trade goes, must come from other sources. If we produce enough food for our own increasing con-

sumption, we can be proud of our achievement."

Critics of the Government, among them many ex-landlords, will not admit that inescapable facts like these lie at the back of shortages and go far to explain the poverty of so many peasants. The ex-landlords are an embittered lot, though few will express themselves as frankly to an outsider as did one of them I met in Yucatán. Once he had been the owner of a large henequen plantation. When all but a small portion of this land was taken from him, he hung on to the big processing plant and made lots of money out of selling the sisal fibre he produced there. His former peones had agreed to let him have all the henequen they grew on what was once his land. Yet he hated them and made no bones about it. "In the past, wherever there was a wedding or funeral on the estate, I used to send them money; not because I was expected to, but because I was interested in keeping them content. Now they are on their own, and I don't care what happens to them."

The Government had "stolen" his property—compensation was small and slow and haphazard in forthcoming—and treated him who thought himself a Christian patriarch, as if he were a soulless capitalist exploiter. True, he and his overseer in the good old days had sometimes whipped a lazy or careless farmworker. But then, did not a father punish his sons for their own good? "Many of them could do with a good whipping now, to make them see reason. Then production would rise quickly enough."

As a matter of fact, it has begun to rise, though only during the last four or five years, and generally not as far as Mexico's typical foodstuffs—maize, beans, and green pepper—are concerned. If less is available in the market, it is because the newly independent peasants eat just a little more than in the "good old days", and the population has increased from fourteen millions in 1903 to over twenty-one millions in 1944. That the peasants have turned to more profitable crops, generally those needing intense cultivation, is a trend to be welcomed as an essential basis for their future prosperity. Statistics recently published by the Mexican Institute of Economic Planning indicate that, though the annual production of maize decreased from 2.4 million tons (average 1897-1907) to two million (1940-1942), other crops like sugar cane, wheat, chickpeas, rice, fruit and vegetables were doubled, tripled and sometimes rose six and ten fold. A decrease of about half a million tons in the production of maize, beans, green pepper and tomatoes was compensated by an increase of two and a half million tons of other foodstuffs during the same period.

If these favourable results have only been obtained mostly during the term of office of General Avila Camacho, it is due in part to the hard work of the peasants who are rapidly gaining in experience, but also to Government measures taken in their favour. Avila Camacho's predecessor, General Lázaro Cárdenas, most radical of recent Mexican Presidents, still thought that a vital part of the remedy lay in stepping up the rhythm of land distribution on the old lines, that of transforming estates and Government land into *ejidos*. President

Avila Camacho, with perhaps a juster appreciation of human nature and actual conditions, laid more stress on creating a feeling of security in the *ejidatarios* by beginning to hand them title deeds to individual plots not to be sold or mortgaged, but neither to be taken from them or their sons as long as they prove that they are cultivating them. This process will be a long one since it requires much legal work and surveying, but it is steadily being pushed ahead. Also the Government is wherever possible increasing the unit of land from eight and twelve acres to sixteen and twenty-four, thereby easing the rope around the peasant's ankle.

That all this is not enough, the Government would be the first to admit. Rarely have I found more outspoken officials and less desire to hide the facts from an interested observer. Without the slightest difficulty, I obtained permission to visit as many *ejidos* as I pleased during my recent five-month stay. In many parts of the country, I accompanied the "delegates for the promotion of *ejidos*" on their tours of inspection. They are among the best informed about the actual situation since their task is to organize, supervise, advise and criticize the activities of the *ejidos* in the agricultural, financial and educational field. Intended to be the Government spokesmen before the peasants, they are expected to proceed in a way that allows them to become their trusted friends. Only supermen could carry out such a task to perfection, yet within their possibilities most of them perform their duties in quite an admirable way.

"I haven't been out here for over six months," one of them told me as we were riding across a bare, wind-swept plateau, some 200 miles to the north-west of Mexico City. Our horses belonged to the *ejido* we were about to visit, and had been sent to the nearest railway station to meet us. "I told them last time to graft their fruit trees; I showed them how to do it and left them several hundred shoots to finish the job by themselves. Whether they have done it, and correctly, I don't know." "Couldn't you write to them?" "Of course, though letters may take a long time to reach them, and not too many of the *ejidatarios* can read and write. Yet could I ever be sure that they understood me correctly? In the beginning, all the *ejidos* used to send representatives to see me, but that only made things worse. They left their land unattended, and made me spend all my time at the office instead of out in the field. It all degenerated into squabbles and paperwork, and I had to tell them to stop it."

He was a man of about thirty-five, a typical Mexican half-breed, cocksure and full of vitality. If he was not talking, he was whistling or singing; his most characteristic gesture was to pull his wide-brimmed straw hat forward only to push it to the back of his head a minute afterwards. He was a graduate of the biggest National Agricultural School and a Socialist, rather contemptuous of the Government Party and its omnipotent machine. He had taken the job as *delegado* because he wanted to help the people, and he was disappointed that he could do comparatively little in the circumstances.

"The Government offered steel plough-shares," he said, "to replace the in-

efficient wooden ones still everywhere in use. Half the ordinary price was to be paid by the peasants, the rest by the Ministry of Agriculture. It was hard work to convince the *ejidatarios* that the whole thing was meant to benefit them, harder still to collect the money in advance. Nowhere on earth will peasants part with their money without first receiving the goods. Well, I persuaded them, but when I sent in the cheque, the available plough-shares were sold out, and I had to return the money and was made to look an utter fool. Eight months later I had to start all over again on the same business, and what that meant, you can well imagine."

When we reached the *ejido*, we found all the men assembled in the school, where they had been waiting for hours. They grinned affectionately, and there was a lot of backslapping and polite twiddling of hats. They were all wearing their best clothes, collarless cotton shirts and blue jeans (now produced in Mexican factories cheaply and in great quantities), leather sandals, and black *sarapes*—with the lively white pattern typical of this region—neatly folded and hanging over their left shoulder.

The purpose of the delegate's visit this time was the control of their book-keeping. The 125 members of this particular *ejido* had spent, from September 1943 till May 1946, some 16,000 pesos, more than half of it for the running of their maize mill that served the whole community. This expenditure was amply offset by the villagers' payments for this most important service. One hundred and fifteen plough-shares had been bought at twenty pesos each, also a lot of barbed wire. Then there had been the expense of sending the produce—maize and wheat—to the market, that is, the transport of the five per cent. of the crop each farmer was obliged by law to contribute to the communal funds. Almost 500 pesos had been spent by the various representatives sent on special missions to the state or national capital. A large amount (6,000 pesos) was held to their credit by the National Bank of Mexico. Thus, at 22,469 pesos and seventeen cents, their budget was nicely balanced. Since all expenses were strictly accounted for and those above 100 pesos had furthermore only been effected after consulting the delegate, his signature was now easily obtained.

"This is quite a victory," he explained. "In the beginning they wanted to distribute among themselves any money left over at the end of the year. They held a big assembly where the majority went nearly mad with joy at the great news. What a lot of *aguardiente* they would get! Only two of the more reasonable ones reminded them that by law they were obliged to set aside twenty-five per cent. of the communal income as a reserve, but nobody heeded them. So they fetched me. What a meeting! Worse than a boiling cauldron. I let them all shout themselves hoarse, and then I told them that it was not convenient for them to go on borrowing money every year at high interest; that it was only reasonable to build up a reserve; and that anyhow the law required it of them. Grudgingly they gave in. Meanwhile they have long admitted that I was right. The result is that their conditions begin to improve.

They have even started building better houses, which is usually the last thing they turn to. Formerly they just put sticks into the ground and covered them with a layer of mud. Now they are using bricks."

I visited several other *ejidos* in scattered regions of the country. One of them, Santo Domingo, was four hours' bus ride from Ixtepec. A once privately owned sugar plantation and mill had been bankrupt for several years, and in 1935 an *ejido* was formed with 1,000 *ejidatarios* having 1,000 acres under cultivation. Quarrels among them over personal problems and politics forced some fifty men and their families to leave. The remaining members were now prosperous, chiefly because they had the good fortune to take over a well-run plantation, with a good irrigation system, and could acquire cheaply working implements and livestock of the former owners. They had saved 100,000 pesos which they kept at a small private bank and would now with the approval of the delegate use part of the amount to intensify cultivation.

This delegate was in control of some thirty-odd *ejidos* and in addition over fifty communal properties and a series of agricultural societies and Indian communities. Communications in his region were rather bad. To reach one of his *ejidos*, he had to travel first forty miles by train, then two days on horseback. "And I am no longer one of the youngest," he said pointing to his grey hair. During his six years of work in this region, he had only visited that far-off *ejido* twice, but was now preparing a third visit. In some *ejidos* under his control, only Mije is spoken, one of the Indian languages, unknown to him. He talks to them through an interpreter, discussing each subject separately in short sentences. One of his *ejidos* near Ixtepec cultivated pineapples and hoped soon to open a small canning factory. In that entire region it was dreadfully hot, hotter than anywhere in the world I had ever been. Sweat dropped off one's body even while sitting quietly on a chair.

Ejido Soledad Etla was the second *ejido* set up in the State of Oaxaca, back in 1917. It comprised 3,000 acres, just about to be divided into separate individual lots, five acres to each *ejidatario*. They had paid some 5,000 pesos to an expert to survey their land and prepare a plan prior to the obtaining of their title deeds. It meant a great sacrifice for each of them, yet they simply could not wait any longer for the Government surveyor to do the work at Government expense, since everybody was clamouring for his services and Soledad Etla's turn might never come. Their president was now in Mexico City to speed up the distribution of the deeds. Then at last, they hoped, peace would reign, and those of them who had not been able to get a plot for lack of land, would make up their mind and leave.

They all worked hard in the fields from six to midday, growing maize and wheat, small quantities of alfalfa grass, and broad and kidney beans. In the afternoon, they attended their cattle and did the odd jobs around the house. They all had several cows, oxen to do the ploughing and draw the high two-wheeled carts, and donkeys to ride on and carry loads. Few had horses. Their

chief worry was the lack of water. All the wells were dried out, and they were now building one very large and deep for the whole community. Though there was only one maize crop a year for lack of irrigation, they had yet of late increased production by improving their methods of cultivation and using the manure of their oxen. Government credits at eight per cent. had always been repaid punctually. Formerly, private money-lenders used to charge them up to fifty per cent interest.

Without waiting for orders from above, the *ejidatarios* built a new school, some carting stones and sand, the others putting up the building. Soledad Etla was also the first community in Mexico to stamp out illiteracy. The Minister of Education came to honour them, brought them a large embroidered flag and a photograph of President Avila Camacho. But the proud men of Soledad Etla felt rather sad when they had to scrape together 2,500 pesos to pay for the food and drink consumed by the hundreds of visitors that had come to be with them on that historic day. How many cows they could have bought for all that money, or maybe even a tractor! The *ejido* belongs to one of the most populous regions of Mexico, a wide beautiful valley where several Indian civilizations flourished long before the Spanish conquest. Not many big estates were ever established here, but land is scarcer than anywhere because there are so many peasants.

To the north, not far from the Gulf of Mexico, I visited the *ejido* Coronado, on the river Tecolutla. Each *ejidatario* had eight acres of land on the river bank and sixteen acres inland, all formerly belonging to an estate. Chief products were tobacco and maize. Bananas were once the most important crop, but a fungus disease destroyed many of the plants. The Ministry of Agriculture showed the peasants how to combat the disease, and the *ejidatarios* bought the necessary equipment to continue the fight. They owned a lorry that took crops for sale down to the nearest port. Everywhere there were large open sheds to dry tobacco. Most of the houses were primitive structures of bamboo or wood, with roofs of palm leaves. The school, one of the few buildings with a tiled roof, consisted of a single room. Seventy-five boys and girls divided into three sections were taught by one young girl who also instructed a group of adult illiterates in the afternoon. It was hot. Everybody suffered from malaria as a matter of course. The latest victim was the eight-month-old baby of the telephone operator who had five more children. Everybody was strikingly clean. The women stood up to their knees in the river, washing the family clothes or their own bodies, dressed in a long white shift. The men had a separate place lower down the river. These people were mestizos, some with a skin almost white, perhaps from so much scrubbing. Or was it malaria that had turned them so pale?

Near the big port of Veracruz, I went across the sand dunes to the *ejido* Jamapa. They grew maize and kidney beans for their own consumption, and vegetables, melons, etc. for Veracruz. All helped to cultivate the school plot,

which annually yielded some 2,000 pesos. At another *ejido* nearby, the *ejidatarios* were cultivating their 600 acres together on communist lines. They were wealthier than any of their neighbours and dashed across the country on well nourished elegant horses to organize races in the villages. They came nearest to the bragging type of Mexican so well-known through the films.

Further south, near San Andres, I went to the *ejido* Salto de Eyipantla. Of the ninety-seven members, seventy-eight already had their final title deeds. The *ejido* owned about 2,000 acres of land watered by the river that lower down formed a lovely waterfall. The people looked rather backward, shabby, and a little wild, and told me when they had overcome their shyness that they found it difficult to make a living. They were all former peones. Here, too, malaria and hookworm found many victims. The Government doctor in the nearby town wrote out prescriptions, but they had no money to take them to the chemist's. For years, they had been cheated by certain "good-natured" merchants who lent them money on the understanding that the *ejidatarios* would sell them their crops—of course, at prices far below those fixed by the Government. Since the peasants were all illiterate, they had no idea of anything the Government decreed and did to help them. When a *delegado* arrived a year ago and forced the merchants to pay 2.60 pesos instead of 1.60, as they were wont to do, the *ejidatarios* grew frightened, some of them even angry because now the merchants stopped lending them money and were no longer friendly. In the *ejido*, the houses were still the same built by the estate-owner, of split cane only, with thatched roofs. Trees were standing all round, but it cost too much to take them down to the saw mill. Still, perhaps in a few years they would be better off. They had a school now, with a school-master graduated from a teachers' training college. He was a good teacher, they said, and was even giving them quinine injections so that there was no need for them to call on the doctor any more.

Thus some hope is growing now even in those regions where the struggle has been hardest. How much there is still to be done, how backward many of the peasants still are, especially if compared to the Mexican workers, was clearly revealed the day Miguel Alemán visited Orizaba. The town is one of Mexico's most important industrial centres full of breweries and textile factories, and purposely the official candidate had left it almost to the end of his election campaign to close on a note of triumph. For over three hours, thousands of men and women marched past him and the powerful Party bosses and trade union officials. There was no need to look at the standards and painted signs the marchers were holding high above their heads to discover which were town, which country people. The workers and their wives walked upright, smiling, their well-shod feet marching in rhythm with the band. The men wore good cotton overalls and their wives pretty dresses or black silk shawls, and they all carried flowers in their hands, lilies and red carnations and sweet-scented gardenias, and they waved their hats and shouted: "*Viva Mexico! Viva el*

candidato del pueblo! Viva Miguel Alemán!" But of the peasants, too many shuffled past barefooted or in dirty home-made sandals, weary, their straw hats pierced by the boiling sun that made their unshaved faces look grey. Their clothes were unwashed, and the odour of sweat and poverty was almost overpowering. They had come because the organizers of the Peasants' League had told them to, and they were humble, obedient people, and perhaps also a little afraid they might be punished if they stayed away. There was an air of hunger on them, the hunger not of the long journey behind them and the endless march, but of years, hunger for enough food, for a little comfort, for encouragement. Yet once near the balcony from where the candidate watched the march past, they, too, shouted: "*Viva el candidato del pueblo!*"

They did not know his name, but they looked up to him with all the hope born out of their suffering, and it is to them that six years hence Miguel Alemán will have to render account. Mexico cannot prosper if the Mexican peasant is not prosperous, too.

ITALY REVISITED

BY C. M. FRANZERO

COUNTRIES, like human beings, have a face—their cities and landscape. Entering Italy, as one should, from the North, I revisited the country with the eyes of one who last saw Italy on the eve of the war in 1940, and I endeavoured to see, as an Italian, what difference the war has made in the externals, the land and the cities, in the life of the country and the outlook of the people. It was a sad homecoming, and yet most illuminating.

Milan, once the most modern and prosperous city of the industrial and wealthy North, is now battered beyond recognition. I was told that over eighty per cent. of the houses of Milan are either destroyed or damaged. Their appearance is at first deceptive, as the buildings were mostly hit by incendiaries and small bombs, and the walls are therefore standing; but when you look at the upper stories you see that there are nothing but empty shells. Yet, there is a pleasure that only an Italian can savour in its fulness—to seek at leisure a familiar sight which for long had been only a memory, and to rejoice at the survival of a composed and classic beauty. To re-enter the vastness of the over-decorated cathedral so miraculously intact amidst the destroyed buildings on all the other sides of the great square; or to take a cab and have a look at the "ruins" while the old cabby chats from his box, and hear him say while pointing to a big building topped with the hammer-and-sickle: "It used to be the Fascio's Headquarters, now it is the H.Q. of the Communist Party; the label has changed but the scoundrels inside are the same." A peep at Venice—a surfeit of gambling and dancing at the official Casino; a glance at Turin, so battered and reduced to a third-rate provincial town in which, however, great labour troubles are brewing; and then a week-end at Menaggio on Lake Como, at one of those quiet hotels so quaint and homely. For the long journeys you take the new motor-coaches, fast and comfortable (although the tyres cause a lot of trouble); but on short journeys you use the railways, or what is left of them, and it is very little. I made the short journey from Milan to catch the boat at Varenna in a dilapidated train without window-panes or lights, and with seats made of boards roughly nailed to benches robbed of their former cushions, and the passengers were packed like sardines and some even sat astride the buffers between carriages. But the lake was so palely blue, and there was no trace of war, no vestige of the civil strife that tore the North. Only, stencilled on the walls of the lovely little towns dotting the shores, there was an abundance of hammer-and-sickles, just as in former days the face of

Mussolini with the haunting eyes gave you the shivers. At Milan's Central Station I saw a kiosk, plastered all over with photographs of young officers and men, and heart-rending appeals for news of them. Those were the pictures of war prisoners lost in Russia. There were 127,000 prisoners in Russia; only 12,500 have so far returned. Those who came back were at first met on arrival by Communist processions; but they tore the red flags and beat the "comrades". Ever since, I was told, the return of prisoners from Russia has been reduced to a mere trickle.

I travelled from Milan to Rome by motor-coach. There is only a skeleton service of trains; the journeys are long, owing to the bad state of tracks and rolling stock and the still damaged viaducts and bridges. It is, therefore, better to travel by motor-coach and by stages, and see the countryside. It is not a cheerful sight. While you meet the scars of war almost to the gates of Rome, the city itself is almost intact. You find that Rome has not changed a great deal, neither externally nor otherwise. If ever, life seems to be more leisurely than in the past. Having said this, which epitomizes the unchangeable spirit of Rome, I can now begin to tell of the extraordinary and almost unbelievable paradox of post-war Italy.

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The first thing that strikes the visitor, all over Italy, is the excellence and apparent abundance of food. In every restaurant he is offered a meal such as no money could buy in London. The variety of food, the cuisine, the quality and richness of the fare simply leave him amazed. And when he walks about the streets, he sees the shops full of food to be had for the asking. Nor, in a way, are prices exorbitant; for a meal in a restaurant—and I mean a Lucullan meal—only costs from 400 to 1,000 lire according to the class of restaurant, that is from 8s. to £1, wine included. On the other hand, and especially in Rome, one is surprised by the disorganization of essential services. While in Milan everything seems to be in tiptop condition, in Rome water is scarce, gas and electricity are unreliable; and worst of all is the state of public transport. Trams are few and mostly in the outlying districts, buses are almost non-existent, and the public has to rely on contraptions run by private individuals and called camionettes, which pretty often are nothing better than a shaky wagonette in tow of a motor-bike. People in Rome call these public vehicles "the tumbrels", and while riding on them you may hear an old gentleman ask to be put down at "the stop before the Place de Grève." But at the Ostia Station of Rome I have seen thousands and thousands of passengers unable to get a vehicle to take them home after a day at the sea. As the war in Rome ended in June 1944, that is twenty-nine months ago, and Rome was little damaged by the Germans, one is bound to ask why the successive Governments have been unable to restore the essential services—people tell you that Rome

suffers from an excess of "politicantism". Another thing that strikes the visitor is the general air of shabbiness and neglect of Rome: an incredible number of beggars, and a profusion of street-vendors, who offer you anything, from British and American cigarettes to dollars and Swiss francs. It is a most depressing sight, and a perplexing one.

On the other hand, the Northern cities give an impression of general alertness, of a promising revival. In Milan you feel in the air a determination borne out of the realization that it is no use to brood over tragedy.

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In more than one sense, Italy is ruined—materially, economically and spiritually. One must travel by train from Rome to Genoa to see what utter ruin a modern war can leave behind. There is not one viaduct, not one bridge left standing. The train often has to travel at walking pace across temporary bridges spanning the gorges which used to look so picturesque in former days.

It is, however, the way of life that strikes you most forcibly. In Italy everything can be obtained, but at a price and only if you know the ropes. To secure a berth in the Rome-Genoa train may necessitate an advance booking of fifteen days, and at the end you may be told that a priority booking cancelled your reservation. But if you are prepared to give a "present" of 1,000 lire, you can get a sleeper without delay and queueing-up. The same applies for all kind of travel; otherwise one must go to the stations five or six hours in advance, and take a chance at the booking-office. It is obvious that such a way of life brings about a deterioration of morals, and a tendency to make money quickly and anyhow. My strongest impression from every big city is a hullabaloo of men endeavouring to arrange deals. Negotiations take place not in offices but in hotel-lounges and cafés. Telephone booths are buzzing with long-distance calls, while men do their business at the lounge tables, and often there is a pretty woman present—in what capacity I cannot say. No differently, I thought, had Italy appeared to me in the first two years after the other world war—only the cities then were not battered—and the people then were no less dejected at the results of the Peace Conference.

One is indeed painfully surprised to find that things have changed—but in name only. Here are some instances. In July the Government published a special issue of the Official Gazette giving the names of the informers of the once dreaded OVRA (the secret Political Police). But people in the know tell you that there is already a new Ovra in existence, which is called SIRN (Investigation Services for Repression of Neo-Fascism); and people add that a good many names are missing from the published list of the Ovra because the agents have tactfully passed to the service of SIRN. The former GIL (Youth Organizations) are to-day called Youth Front, to which is added the UDI (Union of Italian Women), which are supposed to be non-political but

are Communist centres. Peace-loving people shake their heads when they tell you of the bands of Communist Patriots that play havoc in the same way as the *Squadristi* did twenty-five years ago. All day long, in the squares, under the arcades, you see men preaching and haranguing—they are the professional propagandists of the Communist Party, whose job is to denounce the Church, the rich, the *bourgeois*, and to assert that the keys of the kingdom rest with the true prophets of Moscow. One has very much the impression that the wine is the same—only the label has been changed on the bottle.

And what about the workers? Workers of all classes, including the black-coated workers, see very dark days ahead—and so do the industrialists. Wages and salaries are kept at a level which is disproportionate with the incredibly high cost of living—itself made higher by the black-market system brought about by the impossibility of controlling an even distribution of food and other essential commodities. Yet, even these insufficient wages are in themselves artificial, because the industrialists, for political reasons, have to retain all their hands on their pay-rolls; and as the big industries are obliged by the Government to keep their production "blocked", that is to say, not to put it on the market, the whole situation proves utterly uneconomical. The industrialists on the one hand see their assets and banking-credits on the point of giving out, and the Government on the other hand fear serious labour disturbances. At the end of July the law against discharging superfluous labour was supposed to come to an end—though no employer dares to discharge a single man. The industrialists say that the paralysis is caused by the inability of the public to purchase at the current cost of production; yet, a financier in Milan gave me this interpretation: "The economic crisis is not so much a question of raw materials or markets; it is essentially a question of conditions of labour. The workers have lost affection for their trades. It is a post-war evil; it happened also after the other war, and it will pass as it passed then. Nevertheless, for the time being the workers do not care to work; they are disaffected, they want to be paid without working, and work not being plentiful they make the situation worse by taking a deuce of a time to do their job. The Fiat works in Turin used to turn out 300 units a day; now they find it difficult to turn out 400 units a month, with the same number of hands. The difficulties of coal and materials have greatly ceased to exist; it is now purely and plainly a question of pay without work." In such conditions, my friend said, production costs are so high that they are beyond the reach of both internal and external markets—bicycles can be bought in England for half the price of Italian ones; ships can be built in Britain at cheaper cost than in Italy.

The crux of the problem, however, lies in the disproportion between salaries and wages and the purchasing power of money. An industrial worker may receive a wage of 15,000 lire per month (£16 at the official rate of exchange). His wage is paid to him also if he does not work; that is to say if he happens to belong to a group of "blocked workers" that the industry cannot utilize

but has to keep on its pay-rolls. In addition to the wages, the worker may receive in some of the bigger concerns weekly or fortnightly distributions of rice or flour; his children are looked after and sent to mountain and sea camps, and he himself (if he is one of the working groups) can, at choice, stand idle for an indefinite period by proclaiming himself unfit, and still receive seventy per cent. of his wage. It is an established fact that workers idle through lack of work or by their choice (and nevertheless paid) employ their time most profitably in the black-market: mostly sons of the countryside, they know quite well how to exploit in the towns the produce of the land, assisted by their peasant relatives. As for the black-coated workers, their situation is simply appalling. They, with higher expenses to meet for rent, the education of their children, etc., receive an average salary of 10,000 to 12,000 lire per month. A cashier in a bank, with personal responsibility for errors, receives from 12,000 to 15,000 lire; in the Civil Service the scale is lower still. Wages and salaries represent an increase of ten times the basis of 1938-39. But—and here is the real problem of Italy—the cost of living has gone up infinitely more. While in America this has increased by forty per cent. and in Britain by one hundred per cent., in Italy prices of essential commodities have gone up thirty times as compared with 1938-39. On the other hand, the value of money is utterly fictitious—it is the tumbling value of a currency on the road to inflation. The real value of the lira is less than half the official rate of exchange: Swiss francs sell on the Black-Bourse at 150 lire per franc, dollars at 600. Yet everybody agrees that it would be fatal to let the currency run free; it would simply open the floodgate of inflation.

The depreciation in the value of the lira since pre-war days is more than striking. Economists tell you that the lira to-day is worth twenty-five times less than in 1938—if you compare the prices, you come to the conclusion that money is worth much less. A meal in a restaurant used to cost from fifteen to thirty lire; to-day it is from 400 to 1,000 or over. A pair of shoes, which used to cost from sixty to 140 lire, to-day costs from 3,000 to 10,000. A necktie, the price of which was fifteen to thirty lire, is now from 600 to 1,000, and the quality has not improved with the astronomical rise of the price. You are obliged to go about with a thick wad of 1,000 lire notes, as big as a tablecloth; and you see them disappear like water through your fingers. Yet, one sees people spending these big notes with surprising ease—where does all this money come from? Friends tell you that mostly it comes from the black-market—black-market being by now a term meant to cover any deal that is not strictly business. In Milan, not far from the official Stock Exchange, there is a regular Black-Bourse of currencies where one can openly buy or sell any amount of dollars or Swiss francs or any other currency in notes or gold. But the black-market is, after all, a field for the few, the majority of the people living on their regular work in the shops, in the offices, in the factories. I have not said "in the fields", because the peasants are doing very well

indeed: they hold back as much of their crops as they can from the Government pools, and sell it privately. I was told that the peasants of Northern and Central Italy nowadays find it too bothersome to count huge piles of notes, and they simply weigh them—so many pounds of paper so many millions, a few notes more or less.

The real remedy should be to equalize wages and prices, and better still to find a way to impose a taxation proportionate to the needs of the State, and thus to check the black-market and properly control the country. Instead, the country is in a state of continuous disturbances, strike after strike, from city to city, from province to province. You hear continuously: "Who or what is behind these endless series of strikes?" The two largest Parties—the Christian-Democrats and the Socialists—had agreed to oppose with all means the increase of wages and prices, in order to stem the growing inflation. And yet the Communists, through the General Federation of Labour, order the workers to strike. There is, all over the country, the same unrest as that of the years 1919-21 and the same growing sense of fatigue on the part of the middle-classes,—that fatigue which brought about the *coup d'état* called Fascism. Communism, you are told, has lost much ground as far as popularity is concerned; but it has gained enormously in organization and control, and people whisper that there is a hidden hand that counts on making big political gains from the catastrophe which may soon overcome the country.

* * * * *

If I had to answer the question: What do the people in Italy really think? I would reply with frankness: Italy has appeared to me as a mixture of resilience, dejection, apathy, individualism and political immorality; stirred by a cross-current of Party politics which tries to build up a new nationalism at white-heat, and which may one day prove most dangerous. In Rome, a British friend said to me: "There is an unpleasant feeling, all over Italy. The Press is writing in the strain of 1939." I replied: "No, the Italian Press is writing in the same strain as it did in 1919."

I have, it is true, noticed a wave of xenophobia all over the country. But no country can be expected to be enamoured with foreigners, especially when the foreigners are in the position of victorious occupiers. Yet, while everywhere I was told that after 1943 the Italians were ready to throw themselves on the neck of the Allies and in particular the British, I would fail in my duty to record the plain truth if I said that much love exists to-day. Whenever I brought up the subject, I was told on every hand that "the British have let us down." In what or in which way this had happened it would take pages to explain and no argument would carry enough conviction. People of all classes kept repeating: "Where are all the promises of the war years?" The promises then made over the radio rankle more bitterly than I can express.

After listening so often to a tale that really sounded plaintive, I should say that the Italians expected too much of Great Britain. With their vivid imagination, they had taken the propaganda of the war years as gospel truth and the vague promises made over the radio as promissory notes to be honoured the day the fight against the Germans was over. When Mr. Churchill said that one and one only in Italy was, in his mind, responsible for the war, meaning Mussolini, every Italian considered himself wholly absolved of a war which had nevertheless cost Britain untold sacrifices for more than three years. When co-belligerency was announced, every Italian saw himself a fully-fledged ally of Great Britain, and his country ranked at least as a United Nation. Equally, I was unable to discover, except among the followers of the Communist Party, any sympathies for Russia.

What there is in Italy to-day, and this to an astonishing degree, is a spirit of nationalism—an almost rabid nationalism. One detects this neo-nationalism everywhere. The Peace Treaty will leave a bitter taste. No one wants to be reconciled with the idea that much water has flowed across the Atlantic since the day when the Charter was thrown as an ultimate hope to the subjugated peoples of Europe. The people say that Italy is now being handed a *diktat*; and they loudly recall the consequences of the bad Treaties of 1919. Count Sforza, who is a much squeezed political lemon, has none the less been sent by the Italian Government to make propaganda against the Peace Terms in South America.

Yet, all this white heat of nationalism seems utterly futile when one considers the absolute chaos that is troubling the life of the country in every field. The new Republic is everywhere treated as a joke. Only the politicians, you are told, take it seriously, probably because it pays them to do so. Everyone tells you that the proclamation of the Republic was a frame-up; and everyone complains that there is no first-rate man at the wheel. The politicians are simply beaming with delight at finding themselves Cabinet Secretaries. There are still forty-three million Italians—but there is no Count Cavour.

Privately, the monarchist leaders are not convinced of the chances of a restoration. They know that kings seldom return; at the most, they leave behind a regret. It is upon this regret that the monarchists mostly count, and upon the errors of the republicans. On the other hand, few people have any illusions about the cynical coldness with which the Communist leader is paving the way for the programme from which he will not deflect. There are a few men who do not see things as simply as all that, and they are the men of the Vatican, who are accustomed by centuries of tradition to collect facts and views from all sources and quarters, and collate and weigh them in the light of deeper and wider events. They say that Italy to-day is merely a pawn in a greater game, which can be bluntly called the sovietization of Europe. "The outlook is dark," they say, "and full of danger. The Demochristian Party will do no good, no better than the Popular Party did twenty-

five years ago. Besides, it is not cohesive, and is guided by a man who is weak and too prone to compromise. But the real danger comes from outside, from the hidden hand that directs Communism, in Italy as elsewhere. Italy is the crucible into which the opposite conceptions of Eastern and Western Europe may either fuse or explode."

What will the future portend? Many sober-minded men do not hesitate to say that the Communists are aiming at a total disruption of the country, in order to bring about that zero hour when they will be able to seize power in the name of the people. They call the present phase the Kerenski phase of Italy. It is only too true, they say, that the Communists are egging the workers on to continuous troubles and strikes, as they are responsible for keeping up the vicious circle of falling value of money and rising prices. On the other hand, we may see a coup in the opposite direction; one of those coups in the Italian style, such as the March on Rome of 1922 which was a farce, or the overthrowing of Mussolini in 1943 which was the most constitutional and peaceful of counter-revolutions. The Italians love these simple strokes in politics; they almost have a knack for them. I recall the pathetic vividness of the last episode of my stay in Rome. I had gone to say good-bye to an old friend at the Palazzo Chigi—that vastness of rooms and silk-hangings making a solemn *décor* to a Ministry of Foreign Affairs where foreign policy can no longer be forged. We had been talking earnestly of the political chaos, of the resentment of the people at the Peace Terms, of the seeming inability of the British to rescue an Italy that would ask no better than to be rescued by Britain, and of the danger of abandoning oneself to the tide from the East. "Will it come soon?" I asked. My friend replied: "I am afraid so." We leant out of the window. Below us, the Piazza Colonna, in the setting sun, was an absurd contrast of grandiose buildings and shabby vehicles. I pointed to the motley crowd, busy as usual at their black-marketing in all kind of goods, from cocaine to American dollars and Swiss francs: "One would say that Rome has become an Eastern city." We looked down for a while; then my friend put his hand upon my arm, and said: "And yet there may still be a salvation; we Italians have an uncanny ability for creating something out of nothing."

GREENWICH HISTORIANS

BY C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON

WITH the death of Sir Geoffrey Callender on November 6, those interested in naval history and archaeology must feel that an epoch has drawn to its close. The seriousness of a loss by which we are deprived, at a blow, of the Director of the National Maritime Museum and the Secretary to the Society for Nautical Research is hard to estimate. This is no place for an obituary but it is a moment perhaps for taking stock of what, in Sir Geoffrey's life, was accomplished, and so to find by inference what there is still to do. He and the subject of Naval History were born almost simultaneously some seventy years ago. For it was in 1876 that the late Sir John Knox Laughton began to lecture at Greenwich on this subject, and it is at the age of seventy-one that Sir Geoffrey has died. Much happened in that lifetime and succeeding generations may well wonder at the gigantic achievement for which Sir John Laughton and his successors at the Royal Naval College may claim the credit. Truly to assess all that they accomplished is a task which only Sir Geoffrey himself could have performed. He was the one for whom the difficult tasks have always been reserved. But it is now too late for that and one far less qualified may be forgiven for making the attempt.

Seventy years have passed since Naval History was officially recognized, and it would seem that in few other fields of historical work has any comparable progress been made. It is a progress to be measured not only by the number of volumes which the Navy Records Society has published since 1894, but by constructive works successively planned, undertaken and finished. A record which begins with the restoration of H.M.S. *Victory*, goes on to the erection of the Victory Museum, mentions in passing the saving of the ships *Implacable* and *Foudroyant*, and ends (for the time being) in the building of the National Maritime Museum, is a list in which naval historians might be forgiven for taking a certain pride. The subsequent saving of the Museum through the devotion of its staff must be relegated to the obscurity of a footnote or traced in the index under 'Incendiary bombs, extinction of.' That destruction should have been averted is less remarkable perhaps than that anything so vast should have been there to destroy.

If a sort of apostolic succession can be traced from Professor Michael Lewis and Sir Geoffrey Callender, back through Sir Julian Corbett to Sir John Laughton himself, a term for these historians, 'The Greenwich School' might

be found to have its practical convenience. None of these but has paced those grimy colonnades and watched the brown sails pass the terrace foot. At Greenwich, if anywhere, a future age may think to see their studious ghosts. Ignorant of that heaven to which historians go (where Corbett can question Nelson and where Mr. R. C. Anderson will compare the dockyard model with the ship herself), these our descendants will feel no envy. Suppose they discuss the work of the early twentieth century, and praise it as they surely must, what comment will they have to add? First, perhaps, they will observe that these scholars could rely on a tradition which, by 1950, was dying out; the tradition of the square-rigged ship. Sir John Laughton, they will remind each other, had served in the Fleet which bombarded Sevastopol. Corbett, travelling in 1882, had only to use his eyes. And even Callender could rely on the help of men but little older than himself. Thenceforward, they will say, the historian who should deal with the sailing ship was handicapped through being born too late. Having said so much and noted the obvious, our descendants may go on to criticize the work of those who were born in time. In the shadow of the Queen's House their criticism must be kindly. Will it also, one wonders, be just?

Criticism of the Greenwich School must centre, unless wide of the mark, on the fact that our professional naval historians have all been in Admiralty employ. They have sought for truth but only such truth as the navy might employ. They have sought for truth but only such truth as the navy might require or their Lordships at Whitehall be likely to approve. It is no part of the Admiralty's design to seek truths that are unpalatable or, worse still, irrelevant. Historians, therefore, when officially employed, have written a type of history intended for practical use. Their more elementary books are meant to inspire cadets and midshipmen by tales of daring. Their more advanced books are written to provide guidance and warning for captains, admirals and statesmen. The limitations of such a history can be easily imagined and are easy to define. A history begotten by Sir John Laughton, fostered by the Admiralty, and reared at Greenwich, could not fail to concentrate on the Royal Navy, and that mainly in modern times. Its exponents could not, in the nature of things, spend overmuch time on merchantmen or on countries other than their own. And their treatment of things strictly naval was bound to emphasize those aspects from which a lesson might be drawn. They dwelt mostly on tactical principles, which are eternal. They tended to avoid technical details which are merely obsolete.

Historians of the Greenwich School are handicapped, moreover, in another respect. Their pupils are dedicated to their high calling as seamen and as officers. In no ordinary circumstances could any of them turn aside to make history his profession. Such a school is necessarily sterile, its teachers initially ignorant of what they have to teach, its pupils never passing on what little they may learn. This did not matter, perhaps, in the early days, but the subject grows more difficult as the nineteenth century recedes. Teachers beginning,

in theory, where their predecessors began, may not, in fact, progress as far. Who shall blame them if they do not? Now that square-rigged ships have almost disappeared, the study of maritime history can no longer be left to amateurs, self-taught and unreplaced. As time goes on, the staffing of the National Maritime Museum will itself become a problem. It is a problem which should be faced.

What is wanted is a school at which young men may, with films, models and practical demonstration, assimilate quickly what their elders have so tediously learnt, and so the sooner make progress on their own. Given a tithe of the equipment that the scientists demand, such a school could impart in a year all that the beginner needs to know. Only at a university can historians be trained, and it is to the universities—and their benefactors—that we must look for help. Until it comes, the Greenwich School must find recruits as best it may and train them how it can.

Looking back then on the first half of the twentieth century, our intelligent successors will note the weakness of the Greenwich School in these two respects; its unavoidable subservience to the navy and its unavoidable failure to pass on its own tradition. Will they then, perhaps, discuss its strength? If so, they will probably classify Sir Geoffrey Callender as an archaeologist and a great one; as a pioneer, too, in museum display. There are many other names they may mention, but there is one name they cannot ignore. For, of the Greenwich historians, considered as such, the most eminent, unquestionably, is Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond. A former cadet of the *Britannia*, a former President of the R.N. War College, Greenwich, in 1920-23, he is perhaps the only English naval historian who could be compared, in calibre, with Mahan. He stands apart from the rest not merely in stature but also in his breadth of view. He is aware, in an unusual degree, of European history as a whole. He is aware of other navies and is not for nothing a member of the *Académie de Marine*. Comparing him with Mahan, however, one is bound to see that, in some other respects, he runs true to type. Like Mahan, he is concerned with the past mainly as it affects the present and future. Of his published books, indeed, but few concern the past at all. Except when writing his brilliant and definitive works on the 1739-48 period and on the East India station in 1763-83, he has spent his energies mainly in furthering the interests of the navy. Since 1932 he has campaigned both to reform naval training and to explain the navy to his countrymen. Still vigorous during the recent war, he delivered the Ford Lectures at Oxford in 1943; and it is on these that his latest work is based.

After delay, presumably, in publication, *Statesmen and Sea Power** appears now, aptly enough, to coincide with the creation of a Ministry of Defence. This book shows the Greenwich School at its best, clear, persuasive and with its purpose undisguised. The narrative includes much naval history, but arranged

* Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond. Oxford University Press. 15s.

in such a way as to support, by past example, the lessons in statecraft which our leaders should by now have learnt. Those who advocate drastic naval reductions as a measure of economy should take note of the experience here summarized. Too often in our history has that particular saving proved most costly in the end. In strategy, again, there is much to be learnt from past errors and more from such errors as we still repeat. Sir Herbert does well to remind us that at Dakar, the re-enacting of our worst Elizabethan blunders led to the repetition, in essence, of our worst Hanoverian crime.

It is with these lessons of the past that Admiral Richmond is chiefly concerned. Such incidents, therefore, as have no moral he has tended to omit. A naval history, intended as such, could scarcely ignore James II and Samuel Pepys. But the author's concern is with the use of sea power. Naval administration is outside his theme and he pays as little attention, later in the book, to St. Vincent's work at the Admiralty.

In discussing trade, Admiral Richmond concentrates largely on the supply of naval stores, and has most to say about the Baltic. At the same time, while his attention is mainly directed to the statesman as provider of weapons and director of strategy, he is keenly aware of the connection which exists between merchant service and navy. He views the matter, however, with a professional eye, seeing in the merchant seaman a potential source of naval strength. When more is known on a subject which so few have troubled to investigate, it may well appear that the connection is a closer one than that. A navy must rest, it is true, upon trade for its man-power and supplies; but it also owes to trade its financial backing and political support. It may be argued, it may yet be proved, that British naval success has mainly derived from a just proportion reached between defence and trade. For it is, surely, a matter of proportion, in which one may as easily overbalance one way as the other. The English navy has so often sunk below the peacetime danger point that a naval historian may be forgiven for concluding that a navy (or at least *our* navy) can never be too large. But navies have often been too large; too large for trade to justify and nourish, too large even to succeed. The French fleet, created by royal policy, came never so near defeating us as did a Dutch fleet, assembled for defence of trade. Naval strength derives, in part, from the merchant's willingness to pay; and Charles I, in demanding ship-money from inland towns, was raising more than merely a point of law. Merchants might be cajoled to pay for what they could be shown to need, but squires refused to subsidize a thing they did not even want.

Whether the *Sovereign of the Seas* was premature, whether the gold leaf on her carving had been overdone (as Charles's critics were apt to insist), must remain a subject for debate. But about the *Great Harry* there can, surely, be no doubt at all. If French kings and statesmen built fleets which their exports could not justify, none offended as did Henry VIII. Eighty men-of-war, as is said, with the *Henri-Grace-à-Dieu* as flagship! Protecting

what? Financed by whom? And yet historians will shake their heads over the subsequent decline in naval power, implying that Elizabeth (with no monasteries to sack) should somehow have maintained that tottering edifice to the terror of her enemies—and the ruin of herself.

It would be rash to suggest, for a moment, that Admiral Richmond has never considered the true proportion which naval strength should bear to trade. But it would be at least equally unfair to expect him, at this moment, to discuss it. At the conclusion of a war, in the very hour at which, in the past, our most costly blunders have been made, it is theoretically possible that we may choose to maintain a navy larger than we can afford. But Admiral Richmond may be excused for thinking it unlikely. Should we find ourselves, ten years hence, in mortal danger, we might well trace our peril to mistakes made now. From Admiral Richmond we have had most timely warning. It is a warning we should do well to heed.

(Mr. C. Northcote Parkinson is lecturer in Naval and Maritime History at Liverpool University.)

ACROSS THE ESTUARY

BY NORMAN NICHOLSON

I

THE fog floats in with the tide and lies on the mosses,
Branching up the channels like the veins on an old man's hand
The world of field and farm, the woods and the embankment,
Are blurred away like figures on a slate;
Here, under the canvas of the fog,
Is only sand, and the dead, purple turf,
And gulleys in the mud where now the water
Thrusts flabby fingers. The wild geese
Feed beneath the mist, grey and still as sheep,
And cormorants curl black question-marks
Above the threshold of the sea.

Here is the track:

The ruts of cartwheels filled with water, the dark
Brogs of broom. Unseen, a curlew calls—
A shadow slipping through the rippling mist;
Byzantine domes of foam sail up the gutters.
But now—where is the track? where are the ruts? The broom
Skulks back into the dark, and every footstep,
Dug deep in mud, draws water through the heels.
Each step goes wrong. Here, forward—deep, the sand
Shifts under foot like scree. Backward—deeper.
Stand still then—squids of sand
Wrap suckers round my feet. The tide
Tops the rim of the gulleys, and the mist
Tightens its cold, wet nets about my throat.

II

It is not the eyes of the past
That stare through the mist,
But the eyes that belong to now.

It is not the faces of a dream
That bulge through the gloom,
But the faces of the waking sight.

It is not the voices of the dead

That leave the word unsaid,
But the voices of those who live.

III

Thigh-deep in fresh water
I waded the channel
Before the ebb turned.
Do not ask where
Foot first stepped away
From turf to mud,
From dry sand to quicksand;
Oh do not ask where
When foot was bare,
Wings bright in the air
And the sun spinning there,
The wind in my hair,
The unimaginable, rare
Flabbergasting world
Uucurling like a fern,
Unfurling like a flag,
Do not ask where
Foot turned from the ruts,
For my eyes were on the sky
And the wide stripe
Of light above the sea.
And do not ask now
How came I here—
My footsteps veer
Back into the mist,
A bird-track of pools
Oozing like wells
And losing shape
As the sides dissolve.
The past slides
Like sand beneath my feet,
But the past is forgiven—
The unconfessable sins
Of hand and brain and eye,
Murder, rape and lie,
Are washed by the river
To the salvaging brine.
It is not then but now

That tightens like mist about me :
Not how I came
But where I am,
Not what I was,
Nor how I grew
From that to this,
But merely
My being I.

IV

There is no sin
That can never be un-sinned
But the sin we are always sinning.

There is no lie
That can never be unlied
But the lie we are always lying.

There is no knot
That can never be untied
But the knot we are always tying.

There is no death
That can never be brought to life
But the death we are always dying.

V

The tide spreads across the marsh; a six-inch rise
Of water covers miles of sedge and plantain;
Gulleys and gutters are confiscated now
Into the wild acreage of the sea; for a while
The inerasable choice of wrong and less wrong
Is forgotten or deferred. The fog
Is rent like calico, and the sun lets down its ropes,
Yellow, frayed and tangled; gulls and sea-pies
Fly up the estuary, shelducks jangle; but
There is no sign of traveller on the flat waters.

Note :—In the days when the estuaries of Morecambe Bay and South Cumberland were crossed regularly by travellers on foot and by coach, the guides marked the track by planting branches of broom in the sands. This was called "brogging the sands."

THE UNIVERSITIES IN A PLANNED SOCIETY

BY G. W. KEETON

WITHOUT warning, the universities to-day find themselves, after years of neglect, front-page news. They are being asked to spend money—a great deal of money—with promises of still more to follow; but the gift is accompanied by hints of “increased responsibilities”. They are being asked, in fact, “to be fruitful and multiply”. Still a little dazed by unaccustomed limelight, the universities have not as yet fully assimilated their good fortune (if it is good fortune). There is an impression that they are still too modest in their estimate of their future requirements; whilst amongst university teachers, as is inevitable, there are those who joyfully embrace the opportunities for wider service which are now being offered, but there are also those who regret the passing of individual initiative, of cloistered withdrawal and of uncontrolled seeking after truth. Moreover, there are others who openly scoff at the suggestion that any considerable increase in the number of university graduates is desirable or necessary. ‘Take heed,’ they suggest, ‘less we produce a disgruntled graduate proletariat. In any event, the number of people who can profit from a university education is limited, and there is evidence from the pre-war student population that any substantial increase in numbers would have resulted then in an alarming decline in quality.’ Some of this argument must be discounted, for in every generation there have been loud complaints that the quality of students is not what it used to be, and that students come up to pass examinations, and not to imbibe somehow a liberal education independent of all curricula. Indeed, this type of argument seems tacitly to assume that Honours Schools are devised for the express purpose of turning out Philistines, and that the student’s soul can only be saved if he ignores at once his lecturers and his examiners. It is, of course, possible that everyone may be out of step but that rare soul who needs no formal instruction, but even if that should be true, such a person is likely to prove somewhat difficult to integrate into a useful occupation when he goes down from his university, and in any case, why does he waste the time of university teachers by coming at all?

In fact, the function of the universities has changed in a striking fashion during the present century. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the two older universities fiercely preserved their monopoly, frustrating successive attempts from the reign of Queen Elizabeth onwards, to found a university in London similar in form and outlook to the great universities of the Continent.

Oxford and Cambridge undeniably existed for the purpose of training members of the ruling class—a circumstance which was in no way affected by the fact that at virtually all stages in the history of Oxford and Cambridge, poor scholars from other classes could force their way in, but in a semi-menial capacity. The first real revolt against this system, closely allied as it was to Anglican domination in the religious sphere, came with the foundation of University College, London, in 1826. This college aimed from its inception to give an education of university quality to members of the middle classes, and even to members of the artizan class, free from religious tests of any kind. Yet this venture provoked virulent opposition from the older universities, and it was felt desirable to establish King’s College, with its strong clerical connections, as a counterblast to the “godless” college in Gower Street, the two colleges being later subordinated to an examining organization which was incorporated as the University of London. Happily, the foundation of King’s has pointed the way in which London University was able to develop to its present impressive position—by the steady accretion of colleges and learned institutions to an already powerful nucleus, although the university still retains marks of its curious and controversial original in the “external” side which, more than any other academic development in the nineteenth century, brought university education within the reach of those who, for economic reasons, were compelled to begin to earn their living at an early age.

Later in the century came the founding of the provincial universities, mainly in the great centres of population which had arisen as a result of the development of industrialization. These owe their foundation in some cases to the liberality and vision of great industrial families, in others to civic pride and determination. Yet in every case, the basis upon which a charter of incorporation was secured was adequate private support, even though, with the dawn of the twentieth century, there came recognition of the fact that in future, university education would need state aid. This curious hybrid condition continued, with successive modifications down to 1939, giving the English universities certain characteristics not shared by their Continental counterparts. They developed according to no general plan. They preserved to a remarkable degree their administrative autonomy. Their influence and academic standing might vary over periods of time, in response to the energetic efforts of one group of university teachers, or the failure to accept opportunities of others. Without exception, at the beginning of the late war, the universities were inadequately housed, some of them (including the main colleges of London University) astonishingly so, although elaborate new schools were being built or projected by the chief municipal authorities for secondary, and even for elementary education. Funds for research were uniformly inadequate, with the result that too little post-graduate research was being done, and even that could not be co-ordinated to the desirable degree. This was a handicap which was most seriously felt in scientific and industrial research (although suc-

cessive efforts were made to bring them closer together) and in the steady drift of promising research-workers away from the universities. Further, although after the war of 1914-18, the state grant to the universities was put on a regular footing, and was administered by the University Grants Committee (to whom new and important responsibilities have recently been given by the Treasury to assist the universities in planning their new policy), the Grants Committee was not an executive body, and could merely transmit the desires of the universities to a Treasury which, in the inter-war period, was primarily concerned with the curtailment of expenditure, and which therefore turned a deaf ear to all pleas that the universities were increasingly ill-equipped to face the difficulties of the twentieth century.

This static policy (if it can be called a policy) in turn reacted upon university teachers themselves. Down to 1914, the tradition of the part-time teacher, often paid a mere pittance together with a share of students' fees (!) was still fairly strong. After the war of 1914-18, however, a determined effort was made to create something approaching a uniform scheme for university teachers, with adequate salaries, security of tenure, and adequate prospects of promotion. But the limited budgets of the universities always imported a somewhat speculative element into the last of these three characteristics, and inasmuch as salaries remained unaltered in essentials in the inter-war period, they were demonstrably less valuable in 1939 than they had been in 1920 or 1922. More serious still, the prospects of a young man who contemplated university teaching were (except in favoured cases) noticeably worse financially for long stages of his career, than they would have been in ordinary school teaching, notwithstanding the fact that in most cases, he would possess a first-class first degree, and often a higher degree as well. Where university teaching also competed with the practice of a profession—as in law, medicine, engineering or architecture—the disparity in financial return was even more marked, and the pull towards the profession was one which was only rarely successfully resisted.

This, then, was the position, with its strengths and weaknesses, as it existed at the beginning of the late war, and which wartime developments, a threatening international outlook, and changing conceptions of social responsibility have now made obsolete. Whatever views may be held of the possibility or desirability of producing more graduates of quality on the arts side of universities, it is at any rate clear that we need more trained scientists, and a much greater volume of post-graduate work in the science faculties of universities. Moreover, in the professional faculties there is urgent need for development, as the professions take a higher view of their minimum professional needs. To-day, our universities are overwhelmingly vocational, for under existing social conditions, the man of adequate means who can go to a university to study simply to improve his cultural background must be something of a freak—more especially since he will usually do so after a period of military service. The arts faculties of to-day are training teachers, administrators, and entrants

to many professions, and whatever their latent resistance may be, in the long run they will have to modify themselves to this overriding fact. Already, to some degree, they have done so, as the steadily growing importance of the social sciences in their fields of study testifies. Indeed, the growth in importance of the social sciences will in some degree preserve the balance, as compared with the science faculties, whose considerable expansion is inevitable.

The need for growth in the universities has automatically involved a discussion, especially in the daily press, of their optimum size, and of the possibility of creating new universities, a question which it is the more necessary to solve since the two older universities have resolutely set their face against considerable expansion, which, indeed, could only be achieved by the foundation of new colleges. In London, where pressure is greatest, and where the influx of overseas students creates additional problems, the growth of administrative machinery, and the duplication of college and university machinery has already proceeded to such a point that it creates a serious problem for senior members of the academic staff. Here the solution may be, as has already been suggested, the development of two of the colleges into independent universities, thus abandoning the fetish of inflated numbers, and adding richness to the intellectual life of one quarter of the total population of this island.

Among the provincial universities, opinion appears to be divided upon limits of expansion, although it is generally agreed that substantial expansion is necessary; but it seems fairly clear that the creation of new universities will at any rate require careful consideration, if it is accepted that the total number of university students must be at least doubled. To some extent, the problem may be solved by raising some of the existing university colleges, or groups of university colleges, to university status, and by increasing their resources. Under the conditions which now prevail, a university of the South-West seems overdue, whilst Nottingham and Hull either alone or with neighbouring colleges, offer very considerable advantages as university centres. Beyond this, however, it is desirable to proceed with caution. A good deal has been written in *The Times* recently of the desirability of making York a university centre. At an earlier stage, the claims of Canterbury were advanced. No doubt Winchester feels that it could offer comparable advantages; whilst the detached observer might wonder why it is necessary to stop at cathedral cities. If comparably small residential institutions are desired, why not undo some of the disastrous vandalism of the Renaissance and rebuild one or two of the greatest abbeys in the twentieth century as new universities? The perils of any course such as this, however, are many. If the history of our universities be investigated, it will be found that they are not synthetic products. They have grown out of social needs, and our older universities have continuously adapted themselves (and are still doing so with conspicuous success) to a changing social environment. These factors must be carefully weighed before embarking upon entirely new adventures in university-building, for an unsuccessful venture

may prove to be both expensive and embarrassing. In the past, the hard road which must be trodden before the charter of incorporation was finally granted has ensured that the case for each successive university has been proved before the university finally came into existence. That may be too slow and too casual a process for the era which is now upon us; but the opposite policy is one which has clear disadvantages. Further, it is at least arguable whether, in our closely-integrated society, three years' semi-monastic seclusion is the best preparation for the student. There is the alternative of community life in a hostel in a large centre of population, where the student will also be called upon to show a sense of civic responsibility. This, at any rate, is the solution where universities are already situated in great cities. Moreover the university itself has a part to play in influencing the development and culture of our overwhelmingly urban civilization.

Finally, a word must be said on the relation of the universities to the community as a whole. From the standpoint of general development, it is clear that universities will no longer retain that degree of isolation and independence which they retained in the recent past, for their responsibilities to the community have increased in the same way as those of others. Moreover, the functions of the University Grants Committee have recently been impressively extended. It has been suggested, therefore, that what is needed to-day is a general council of the universities to define and maintain academic freedom, to discuss university problems, and to make them known to Government. A lawyer would suggest, however, that when a right calls for strict definition, and the constitution of a body to maintain it, it is in danger of curtailment. Academic freedom is simply one aspect of individual freedom of speech and association. It has no special qualities, in law at any rate. It will exist so long as the individual citizen preserves his fundamental liberties. It will pass with theirs; and should that day ever arrive, no council or other body will preserve it against the irresistible power of the modern state. For the discussion of university problems, the senate of each university is in the last resort the appropriate body, and the right of each university to discuss its problems directly with the University Grants Committee should be scrupulously preserved. Without it, the characteristic features of our universities are in danger of being blurred in the pursuance of some general plan. The University Grants Committee will undoubtedly have to develop its own composition and functions to discharge its new responsibilities; but the imagination quails at the prospect of a Parliament of professors, airing their collective grievances to a delighted and astonished world.

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

AMERICAN HOMES

BY GILBERT McALLISTER, M.P.

MR. HUGH CASSON* rightly points out that America's record in the field of public housing between the two wars was comparatively undistinguished. That is an under-statement. The American continent, with all its great advances in technological civilization, nevertheless condemned one-third of its population to live in squalid tenements and even more squalid shanties, in which the elementary decencies were entirely unknown. Under Mr. Roosevelt's New Deal administration progress was in fact recorded. Partly with the object of alleviating unemployment, great new projects were set in hand. These included the construction of a number of new towns which borrowed heavily from the English garden city idea.

The war in Europe with its continual calls on American industrial capacity, and the vast expansion which inevitably resulted after Pearl Harbour, gave a new dynamic to the consideration of the housing needs of the United States. American opinion is not perhaps easily moved by considerations of the human needs of its people but it is more responsive to the productive needs of industry. When it was found that bad housing inevitably impeded production and restricted output, it became clear even to those who had classed large sections of the American community as either "dirty niggers" or "white trash", that the human cogs in the industrial machine must be treated properly or output, whether in Mr. Kayser's shipyards, the great automobile plants of Detroit or the aircraft works of California, would slump severely. Accordingly in 1942 the Government established the National Housing Agency, responsible for research, planning and technical advice; and under it three authorities, the Federal Housing Administration which insured loans on the building of new houses, the Federal Public Housing Authority which was responsible for all publicly financed defence housing, and the Federal Housing Loan Board Administration.

A comparison between the method of tackling the problem in the United States and the post-war attack on the housing problem in Great Britain is perhaps unreal since the American programme was designed as part of the war policy and was related as closely as possible to the needs of industrial production. Nevertheless it is interesting to notice that the United States National Housing Agency decided that no new building should take place in any area until all the existing accommodation, including the reconversion of houses where this was possible, had been used to capacity.

The United States adopted expedients which were perhaps suitable for better climatic conditions than those which obtain in Britain, but the device of providing trailer camps to allow temporary accommodation while further permanent houses were being built had something to commend it. The timber-framed houses, known as "de-mountables" since they could easily be taken to pieces and re-erected, did not in practice prove satisfactory. Hostel accommodation was provided on a large scale. These were cer-

* *Homes by the Million*. Penguin. 2s.

tainly no better than, and often not so good as, the Ministry of Supply hostels in this country, and it was found that the need for married quarters was so great that as the programme developed the dormitory hostel was abandoned in favour of the single family dwelling. Permanent houses were built only when it could be provided that there was a post-war need for them. That this need was enormous is suggested by the fact that by the end of 1942 one million new permanent houses had been erected. The fact that great architects such as Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer were engaged in the design and planning of communities such as that at New Kensington did mean that the houses were of graceful architectural proportions and that the greatest possible use was made of the sites and, indeed, unless the photographs in Mr. Casson's book belie reality, the greatest possible care was taken to see that the building line was suitably set back where necessary in order to avoid cutting down trees.

In the temporary housing programme, whereas Great Britain lays down a lifetime of ten years for its temporary houses, the United States laid down a lifetime of two years after the termination of hostilities. It is very questionable whether either ideal will be realized. No less than 250,000 temporary houses were in fact built as part of the greatest housing drive in history. Just as in Great Britain it was found that it was possible only to get maximum production efficiency from women who were given adequate opportunities to do their shopping, and who were relieved from the anxieties of looking after their children by the provision of nurseries, so in the United States absenteeism could be reduced only by the provision in their housing schemes of shops, schools and crèches. Nursery schools, health clinics, child care centres, schools, were all constructed, some of them admirable expressions of a light and gracious architecture. "Efficiently planned, simply formed, soundly built and generously equipped," writes Mr. Casson, "these buildings are worth the study of every housing authority They have done more than improve the health, moral and comfort of the worker. They have increased his self-respect, made him a more responsible and therefore more useful citizen, more willing and able to take an active interest in the life of his community." It is not quite so easy to agree with Mr. Casson when he praises the landscaping of the projects. Some of them indeed are admirable; others, as he himself remarks elsewhere, have an air of Tibetan desolation.

On the technical side America obviously has some useful lessons; although most of the methods illustrated here have become standard practice in the British temporary programme and indeed in the non-traditional methods of permanent house construction. It is rather curious, in view of the enormous reputation which the United States enjoy for the widespread use of labour-saving facilities, that the domestic equipment provided in the defence housing programme does not in fact reach the high standards achieved in the British temporary programme.

Mr. Casson does not make the point, but it is at least worthy of comment, that whereas the United States housing development has taken place mainly through private finance and private enterprise under State direction, in Britain there is a doctrinal emphasis on public authority building. The apparent dichotomy of method is in fact capable of the grossest exaggeration. That exaggeration was indeed expressed in the housing debate in the House of Commons on October 21, when the Conservatives proclaimed with simple fervour the virtues of private enterprise and the Socialists with equal fervour proclaimed the merits of public enterprise. Since, in fact, the two are inextricably intertwined, it is a poor service to the urgent and desperate housing needs of the British people to keep harping on the one philosophy or the other.

This excellent book serves a useful purpose by enabling us to look in a detached way at what the Americans did in the heat of conflict. It provides stimulating lessons for those of us who have some responsibility for the fulfilment of the peacetime housing programme in this country.

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AMERICA'S STAKE IN BRITAIN'S FUTURE, by George Soule.
Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

One's welcome for Mr. Soule's book—and it deserves a warm welcome—is tinted with regret at the time lag between its appearance in America and its re-issue over here. It was first published in the U.S.A. in October 1945, in good time for the Anglo-American financial talks in Washington. Between that date and the publication of the English edition lie the acrimonious debates in Parliament, Congress and the British and American press which preceded the final ratification of the financial and commercial settlement. People who believe in the rôle of reason and informed opinion in politics must regret the technical obstacles which prevented Mr. Soule's book being available to the British public during those months. It would have reminded the suspicious that, beside the clamour of congressmen, there were friendly American voices being raised on our behalf, and it would have provided the uninformed with a valuable exposition of the fundamental facts of Anglo-American economic relations. No doubt the delay was inevitable and no one was to blame, but it is a humbling reminder of how little one's boasts about "fast communications" in a "shrinking world" where we all "live on each other's doorsteps" at present amount to.

It might seem as if time's changes have thus made Mr. Soule's book of merely historical interest. It is to be hoped that no one will put off reading it on any such supposition. As long as the kind of language heard at the Conservative Party Conference on the subject of Imperial Preference can be employed by reasonable men, the main points of Mr. Soule's argument will not merely bear but will actively require reiteration. In form his book is addressed to the American reader; on the premises that the U.S.A.'s economic preponderance imposes the major responsibility on her, he endeavours to show that it is up to the U.S.A. to pursue certain policies if economic disaster on a world-

wide scale is to be avoided.

But if the U.S.A., for this purpose, is No. 1, the United Kingdom he insists, is No. 2. In terms of economic importance in the contemporary world "there are only the Big Two." If these two agree—on non-discrimination, on our overall expansion of world trade and, no less, on full employment policies at home—then something like economic health is possible, not only in Britain and North America, but also in the rest of the world. For this agreement three things are necessary—a clear understanding of the economic history between the wars when this agreement was conspicuously lacking, an equally unsentimental grasp of the present areas of disagreement—aviation, merchant marines, oil, food, cartels, etc., and a certain faith in each other's purpose and prospects. Mr. Soule's book provides for this understanding of the past and the present, and at the same time breathes a reasoned faith in the future.

The British left who view the United States as an intractable mass of economic turpitude and the American left who view Great Britain as a fundamentally unregenerate and decaying imperialism can both read Mr. Soule with advantage. His book should help to bridge the inexcusable gap between informed opinion on each side of the Atlantic.

H. G. NICHOLAS.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, by Roger Lloyd. Vol. I.
Longmans. 15s.

Canon Roger Lloyd describes this book, the first instalment of a work designed to cover the life and mission of the Church of England from the close of the nineteenth century down to the present day, as a meditation upon a historical theme. His aim would appear to be didactic: to show what the Church ought to be by an examination of what—at any rate in this the most recent phase of her life—she has been. It is not therefore, in the stricter sense, a history which he has attempted. The method pursued is selec-

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tive, indeed to the extent that the conclusions reached are rather too often an expression of the author's bias. His emphasis falls upon the powerful but undemonstrative witness of Anglicanism, upon its characteristic meekness of spirit, coupled with the steady, cumulative pressure of the English Church on the English habit of life. *Semper quietus, semper agens*. Hence the importance of the Parish, in which a subdued but persistent activity has done far more to bring Christianity into the lives of the people than that 'official' or public function of the Establishment which more readily fills the chapters of ecclesiastical history.

Canon Lloyd deals in order with Tractarianism and its effects upon the churchmanship of the Victorian era; the complacent optimism of the Edwardian interim and the hollowness of the Edwardian social structure—a little over-severely; the state of the Church before the 1914 war and the problem raised by the diminishing numbers of its clergy; theological liberalism and modernism, types of 'progressive' Christianity which very obviously fail to enlist his sympathies; the Anglo-Catholic movement, which, although he deplores the follies of its more heedless zealots, turns out to be if not entirely his *beau idéal* of the Anglican genius then certainly that breath without which the dry bones of a State Church would never have stirred; and concludes his survey with breezy accounts of the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908, which "implanted in Anglicans everywhere a far more vivid consciousness of their membership of the Anglican Communion than most had ever realized before," of the World Interdenominational Missionary Conference two years later—"one of the really outstanding events in the history of the twentieth century," and of the impact upon the Church of the first World War, with its outcome in the National Mission of Repentance and Hope (a failure) and the Life and Liberty movement (a qualified success).

The author does rather less than

justice—mainly by way of omission—to the evangelical and Broad Church traditions in English Christianity; nor perhaps does he attach sufficient weight to the significance of that 'central' churchmanship which is conscious of no party allegiance but which in fact describes the religious outlook and custom of the great majority of those who compose the Church of England's membership. His criticism, though in many respects justified, is too censorious and betrays inadequate recognition of the undoubted (and still existent) need which the liberal theology tried to meet. It is, surely, incorrect to say that modernism was "led by the literary critics, not by the doctrinal scholars and theologians." Rashdall was primarily a philosopher; so also is Dr. Inge; neither could the Principal of Ripon Hall or the late Canon Glazebrook be properly described as, in the technical meaning, Biblical critics.

On the whole Canon Lloyd has given us a very readable volume. That all his judgments will win approval among Anglicans is not fairly to be expected. He writes with evident conviction, and in point of style is not ashamed to be either exuberant or colloquial. If his book fails it is largely because of the intrinsic difficulties in dealing with a contemporary subject, especially when the abundant data lend themselves, from the very outset, to the most diverse interpretations. But we look forward to the completion of his work.

B. M. G. REARDON.

PLEA FOR LIBERTY, by Georges Bernanos. Dennis Dobson. 8s. 6d.

It may be that it loses in translation or perhaps because it is out of time, but these "Letters to the English, the Americans and the Europeans" (of which the first at any rate had a well-deserved success when it was first published in French four years ago) by the liberal Catholic who made such a mark with the eloquence of his *Grands Cimetières sous la Lune* on the Spanish civil war fall distinctly flat to-day. M. Bernanos is con-

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cerned to make an ardent appeal for the establishment of a truly Christian society: the form is that of a lay sermon. It appears that M. Bernanos has now returned from his self-imposed exile in remote Brazil. He should do a useful job of interpreting the task and desires of M. Bidault's *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* in a France purged of its Vichy dross.

W.H.C.

IN PURSUIT OF JUSTICE, by Alice Cameron. S.C.M. Press. 8s. 6d.

The Rev. Hugh Lister was an unusual man. A great-nephew of the surgeon, Lord Lister, he began his career as an engineer on the Great Western Railway, but quickly decided after "a period of extreme mental and spiritual conflict" that his true vocation lay with the Christian Ministry. By 1935, at the age of thirty-four, he had reached Hackney Wick, where, for a time, he was at the Eton College Mission. This did not satisfy him and his love for the ordinary man and his desire to serve him drove him to a new and unconventional way of life; he became chairman of a newly formed branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union and a strike leader.

Reading Miss Cameron's book, one can fully appreciate the deep affection which Lister's personality inspired. He was a natural leader of men, simple in faith, able to impart and sustain courage in others, willing to suffer privation of physical comfort and ready to meet with fortitude reverses to his cause. He was, indeed, a Christian.

Did he lack wisdom? In many ways this book succeeds in its labour of love to portray Lister as he appeared to many men and women in Hackney Wick. As a tribute of their love it could hardly be better. Nevertheless, it is doubtful if it digs deeply enough below the surface to find the essential, doubting Lister. For it is difficult not to believe that behind his decisive actions lurked the fear that by identifying himself with an earthly cause he was in some way failing in his job.

Perhaps this was not so, but his decision to join up as a combatant soon after the outbreak of war—he was killed fighting—suggests that he had not yet decided on his final course nor reached the tranquillity of a mind at peace with itself.

JOHN ARMITAGE.

A HISTORY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, by K. B. Smellie. Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.

A short treatise on local government is not easy to write, if it is to be readable. The whole subject is so much a miscellany that a writer is set the task of making an edifice of materials which were not consciously manufactured to knit together. A comparison of this book with the one produced by Professor Jenks (1921) shows the plain difference: the earlier one, a display in short form of the variety of authorities, areas and functions; this, as its title indicates, a history. A fascinating opening attempts the difficult task of showing what local government in this country was before modern democracy began with the Reform Act of 1832, and its logical consequence, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, began to mould the local unit. The thread of the poor law is seen throughout the book; and a conspectus is given of the development of the main functions of police; highways, public health and housing; water supply and trading powers; town and country planning; education; finance and rating; the erection and relationship of the various types of authorities; the review of areas; the special and perplexing position of London; the impact of national insurance. The description of the birth and growth of central control is a main feature. The theme of the book is an analysis of root social causes and of development under the compelling influences of the Industrial Revolution, the whole in a setting, to borrow from Jenks, of Christian English.

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attention, so does local government reform come more and more boldly into the scene. The present author makes his contribution, showing the weaknesses of *ad hoc* boards; pointing out the objections to centralizing services which are purely local; and taking his part in allaying the fears of regionalism. He takes for granted that the election of regional authorities must be direct. Finally, "if local government is worth preserving for political reasons, the local authorities must be given a substantial field of their own in which they can show their initiative and discretion."

R. H. WRIGHT.

GENERAL EDUCATION FOR A FREE SOCIETY. Report of the Harvard Committee. With an introduction by James Bryant Conant. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

In 1943 Dr. J. B. Conant, President of Harvard University, appointed a university committee, drawn from the faculties of arts, sciences and education, to consider "The Objectives of a General Education in a Free Society." The report of the committee, published last year in the United States and now issued in this country by the Oxford University Press, is a detailed and challenging attempt to present the basic philosophy and content of general education, which is defined as "education for an informed responsible life in our society."

The purpose which Dr. Conant had in mind in creating this committee is set out in the report which he submitted in January 1943, to the Board of Overseers of Harvard University. "The primary concern of American education to-day is," he said, "not the development of the appreciation of the 'good life' in young gentlemen born to the purple. It is the infusion of the liberal and humane tradition into our entire educational system. Our purpose is to cultivate in the largest possible number of our future citizens an appreciation of both the responsibilities and the benefits which come to them be-

cause they are Americans and are free."

Such were the terms of reference; and the committee has interpreted them freely. How far the detailed curricula at the secondary and university stages, which are outlined in this report, are applicable to English needs and to the English tradition is, perhaps, uncertain. There can, however, be no doubt in the minds of those who are perturbed by the present indifference to all questions concerning the content of education that some such scheme as that propounded in this report is urgently necessary if the English system of education, reformed under the Education Act, is to result in both a sound people and a sound society.

To educationists who have this concern the most important sections are those in which the committee wrestles with the problems which specialism has created by robbing curricula of much of the unity they once possessed. Various attempts have, it is true, been made both in the United States and in this country to find a solution, but none has so far proved to be wholly satisfactory. The only unity which will suffice is, says the report, one "wide enough to embrace the actual richness and variegation of modern life." Although this unity is sought, and found, by the members of the Harvard Committee in the character of American Society, the fact that it is rooted in belief in the worth and meaning of the human spirit, however it may be understood, is an implicit denial that it is a monopoly of American civilization. Education is conceived as nothing less than "society perpetuating its spirit and inner form in a new generation."

It would, indeed, be difficult to over-estimate the importance of this volume. Built on the assumption that education looks to the whole man and not merely to his reason, it maintains that the whole man is integrated only in so far as his life is presided over by his reason. It views reason as a means to the mastery of life; and it defines wisdom as the art of living. If reasonableness, because it

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J. MACKAY-MURE.

A COUNTRYMAN'S CREED, by Sir William Beach Thomas. *Michael Joseph*. 10s. 6d.

W. H. HUDSON: THE VISION OF EARTH, by Robert Hamilton. *Dent*. 10s. 6d.

Many who live in the country endeavour to pay a part at least of the debt they owe to good fortune by setting down the story of its harmless pleasures for the benefit of those who pass their days far from the rural life and scene. They feel with Cicero that the most beautiful view loses something if it be not shared with a friend.

For many years Sir William Beach Thomas has delighted townsman and countryman alike with descriptions of the pageant of the seasons. Now he reveals the sources of his strength and inspiration in a closely packed volume *A Countryman's Creed*. He writes with a calm assurance, with first-hand knowledge and a wealth of apposite quotations; surely he must divide his time between field, lane and library. Indeed to think of him as a man of action it is necessary to remember that in the years of what is called the First World War he was a distinguished correspondent. Perhaps reaction from scenes not readily forgotten still serves to enhance and illumine the peace and tranquillity of his latter days; if this be so he and readers alike have occasion to be grateful for that far off season of *sturm und drang*. Sir William has a fine sense of the fitness of words, an eye and ear for the *mot juste* and a sharp point to his pen. He drives the point deeply into "the literary group of intellectuals still traditionally housed in Bloomsbury"; and elsewhere he holds that the English most surely attain happiness by studying not happiness but England, as well as the English, and by

love of the English tongue. He regards 'the murder of words and their imprisonment' as one of the recurring and increasing crimes of the urban mind, and finds that the English country is "porous to human feeling and colours in sympathy."

Again, he tells us that to feel lonely in beautiful surroundings is to deny the companionship of nature, while "birds' song is not unseasonable in an English December nor is man's happiness." These are but a few of the glad thoughts that arrest the reader, while in the chapter on the new farming he claims truly that forcing chemicals are not a substitute for muck, nor wire for a hedgerow. He defends "extreme youth" saying that it surpasses the other ages of man in knowing what it likes and sometimes even what is good for it. "Love of country, in other than the political sense, is the surest and most lasting sense of pleasure" he assures us, and there will be few who have experienced that pleasure to question the statement. "To deny the companionship of nature—is to sin." What a worth-while thought.

On the subject of blood sports he has very little to say and would appear to hold some humanitarians in suspicion; he is perhaps rather less than just to Robert Browning; clearly the poet's appeal has passed him by. But even if *A Countryman's Creed* is a little overburdened by that countryman's learning it is a book that will call again and again to those to whom it is addressed.

On a different plane is Mr. Robert Hamilton's *W. H. Hudson: The Vision of Earth*. In less than two pages of *A Countryman's Creed* (pp. 111 and 112) there is a clearer picture of Hudson than I have been able to find in the eight chapters of Mr. Hamilton's book. He has taken us for a personally conducted tour round Hudson and chosen the occasion to tell us all about his own thoughts, his estimates and criticism of work, his outlook on all manner of questions that do not quite reach the man whose name is on the cover. Moreover Mr. Hamil-

ton waits too long before he seeks the noble pleasure of praising; you will not find much enthusiasm before *A Shepherd's Life* is discussed. Only now and again does the subject escape from his biographer. One of Hudson's oldest and dearest friends stood in the same relation to me; indeed he planned meetings between us that had to be abandoned because the great naturalist was an invalid. But my friend often spoke of Hudson the man and, if his views were correct, Mr. Hamilton's are not. In short I can't avoid the thought that Hudson has been used as a platform by a painstaking student of literature but if the study increases the number of the great naturalist's readers and admirers it will fulfil a very useful purpose.

S. L. BENSUSAN.

JOURNEY THROUGH A BLIND ALLEY, by Mary Borden. *Hutchinson*. 21s.

THE TRICOLOUR FLIES AGAIN, by Sven Aurén. *Hammond*. 12s. 6d.

'You never washed of course,' says Mary Borden casually in telling us how she and her comrades lived through the perpetual sandstorms of Bir Hakim. It was not much more agreeable at Sollum, but compensations existed, as when General Koenig, unshaven and swaying on uncertain feet, came to see his men in the hospital 'and all the tent was in a tumult of joy.' With the help of Sir Robert Hadfield this hospital had been equipped for service with the Free French, whose leader, General de Gaulle, had been brought over from France when his country collapsed by General Spears, whose devotion to France was not less than that of Mary Borden, his wife.

In this chronicle, written with the insight of a psychologist and the skill of an excellent novelist, the tragic story is told of what happened in France in those dismal days when to herself she was untrue. At one place, when our authoress

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with her twenty-six girls in a motley collection of untrustworthy cars was, with immense difficulties, making for the sea they came to a bridge where an old man and two striplings had felled a tree, placed it across the road and were defending France against the enemy.

When General Spears became British Minister to Syria and the Lebanon his wife divided her time between her hospital and the Legation, thus providing us with a memorable account of an epoch which good Frenchmen will want to forget. Unfortunately the authorities were not all as good as, for instance, General Catroux, of whom, as of many others, we are given a character-sketch as vivid as it is obviously veracious.

Sven Aurén, a veteran Swedish journalist who returned as soon as possible to France after the liberation, regards General de Gaulle as 'that very correct officer,' whereas Mary Borden says that he was 'determined to set his foot on the neck of the Levant regardless of all promises.' His representative in Beirut, Monsieur Helleu, gave General Spears his word of honour that he would do nothing likely to disturb the peace, knowing that various Lebanese Ministers, his fellow-guests at a dinner at the British Legation, would in an hour or two be dragged from their beds by Senegalese and interned in the hills.

There is nothing as sensational as this in Sven Aurén's book, dealing as it does with matters, such as the trials of Pétain and Laval, with which we are familiar. Nevertheless it is good to see those events through the trained eyes of a most competent neutral. It seems that in the pillar arcade of the Hôtel Crillon it was the fifth column which, symbolically enough, was destroyed by a shell. A romantic young Englishman also returned to Paris, saw one of the old, well-known green buses which used to make the circular tour of the town, leaped into it, then noticed that his fellow-passengers were very depressed, and as he wanted to be in a company as gay as himself he

determined to get out. The conductor, heavily armed, prevented him. 'You are all going to the concentration-camp at Drancy,' he shouted. 'No good telling me you are innocent. That is what they all say, all you quislings!' And the romantic young man was at Drancy for a month before he could get out. So he missed the wild rejoicings all over Paris. 'It was quite incredible,' says our Swede, 'what people lost that night.' Watches and pocket-books one can understand, but shoes—how can a reveller lose his shoes? Moreover in the Place de l'Opéra there was found a wooden leg.

There are humorous scenes in Mary Borden's book, but those which remain most permanently in our mind resemble the Levantine hospital where thirty Free French, taken prisoner by the Vichy forces, were left to die of neglect and maltreatment, as they would have done if Madame Catroux, not a special favourite of Mary Borden's, had not furiously interceded. 'One must be a little mad,' Koenig had laughingly said, 'to be Free French'; and Vichy only liked its own brand of madness.

HENRY BAERLEIN.

THE IGNORANT AND THE FORGOTTEN, by Chun-Chan Yeh.
Sylvan Press. 10s. 6d.

Some, but not all, of the nine stories in this book have been previously published in various magazines. Mr. Yeh has done well to collect them into one volume since, although they differ in their themes, the characters are for the most part the same; together they give a wonderfully rounded picture of life in the Chinese countryside. The ignorant and the forgotten of these stories are the peasants of China; terribly poor, exploited by their own people, but never losing their innate sense of humour, how civilized and dignified they seem!

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LINDSAY DRUMMOND

the two peoples. It has been said that China, on account of its civilization, is unconquerable; that any nation which tries to overcome China becomes in time itself absorbed. It is perhaps an extreme, a cultural form of the passive resistance practised at times by Mahatma Gandhi in India; only in China it is used subconsciously, as it were. Intelligent Japanese who served with their army in China have admitted to me that they had exactly this feeling: they felt there never was a chance of imposing their will upon the Chinese; it seemed too much like trying to destroy the very roots of one's own civilization.

Behind the surface humour of these stories there is, in every case, an underlying theme of tragic melancholy. The last of them, called 'Winter Fantasy,' is a love story, and it is told with a beautiful simplicity which could hardly be more effective. On the face of it, it might seem difficult for the Westerner to believe in this story of a young girl, madly in love with her father's page, calmly submitting to marriage with a man to whom she was betrothed at birth but has never actually met. It is, perhaps, even harder to grasp the reasons why, when her husband sends her back to her family on the very day after the wedding, she does not escape with the man she really loves and who wants nothing more than to be with her. If this story had been written by an European it would seem strangely false and emotionally untrue; as Mr. Yeh tells it, it is completely convincing and quite inevitable that it should end as it does.

All these stories are good, but I like particularly 'My uncle and his cow.' The central character is a poverty-stricken old peasant who can neither read nor write. War comes to his village and he is asked

to take up arms, and does indeed make the attempt. But he can make nothing of it, and soon he goes to the commander: "I can't get used to this gun-business, sir," he says, "I simply cannot. My heart is too old-fashioned to learn how to shoot people." Uneducated, ignorant and full of prejudice the peasants of China may perhaps be, but who shall say that they are not truly civilized?

The author notes in a foreword that all these stories, with the exception of one, were written (and in English) during 1945 in various hotels, when he was travelling all over this country on a lecturing tour for the Ministry of Information. It is a remarkable achievement for a foreigner to have written so sensitively in our language in any circumstances; to have done so in the conditions in which Mr. Yeh found himself is quite extraordinary, especially when it is realized that until he came to England a couple of years ago he had never been outside the Orient. Now that he is freed from his official duties it is to be hoped that he will have time to experiment in the longer medium. If these nine stories are a fair sample of his talent, he should develop into a novelist of considerable interest. In the meantime, the present book cannot be too strongly recommended.

JOHN MORRIS.

CAT'S COMPANY, by Michael Joseph. With Illustrations by Clare Dawson. *Michael Joseph*. 8s. 6d.

Here within the pages of a single cover, in spite of the mystery of the subject, would seem to have been collected almost all that can be said of the eternal feline! Cats are indeed strange creatures, such hybrids between domestication and defiance of it, from the days when they were held sacred in Egypt down to our present civilization. Mr. Michael Joseph is, of course, among the most well-known of cat lovers, illustrious for his book, *Charles: The Story of a Friendship*, about his Siamese Charles O'Malley, and for a touching, animal-person-

ality which appeared first in *Time and Tide* and has subsequently been reprinted. Although it is long, and in places redundant, all who love cats—and a real love based upon genuine understanding amounts to a passion—should possess this book. One of its merits is that the writing is sensitive, but not sentimental.

Cat's Company is a new edition of an early book, revised and lengthened (with admirably suggestive illustrations) which owes its appearance largely to a persistent demand from admirers of *Charles*, who found themselves unable to obtain it. As a cat lover I hope that it will win many new readers, for as propaganda for the cat it is both excellent and convincing. I enjoyed specially the chapters "Celebrated Cats and Cat Lovers" and "Cat and Dog," from which I will quote two short passages: "It is generally known that in most parts of the East the cat is respected. 'The tiger who eats from the hand' is the quaint Japanese description. In Siam the cat is acknowledged as a royal animal. The Persians, the Arabs and the Chinese have for centuries respected the cat." Then this:

The dog is, for some, a completely satisfying companion. He is a good, faithful servant, certainly. But in truth he is noisy, clumsy and dirty. He has all the qualities of the peasant.

The cat, by contrast, is an aristocrat; reserved, immaculate, graceful, acknowledging no human master. His friendship is not easily won but it is something worth having. Not for me the facile tail-wagging and boisterous greeting of the dog—although I like dogs well enough. Give me the silent companionship and understanding of the cat, who pleases my eye, does not offend my ear (except on rare nocturnal excursions!) and offers me, not canine flattery, but the privilege of intelligent friendship.

It is doubtful if any dog lover will be convinced, but cats are highly intelligent, without human interference, beautiful, and, though often undemonstrative, deeply affectionate animals.

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JOSEPH BRADDOCK.

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BOOKS ON THE TABLE

IN COMMENDING Mr. Herbert Palmer's new collection of poems *A SWORD IN THE DESERT* (Harrop, 6s.) with his introductory essay "The Present State of English Poetry" this reviewer, in the October number of *THE FORTNIGHTLY*, gave him another surname. Such absent-mindedness was particularly unfortunate because of all the Herberts of her literary and other acquaintance the one called Palmer, wielding a sword for God against the devil, was the Herbert visualized as she wrote. In apologizing to him for tying the wrong label to that distinctive weapon of his, she seizes the opportunity to reiterate praise of his book and hope of more criticism and poetry from him soon.

Turning wheels

No allowance being made for human fallibility in the Nazi régime, German thoroughness was allowed full scope in the keeping of records of all military, economic and political state secrets—a thoroughness which later provided or completed the evidence against Germany's former leaders. In *THE NUREMBERG DOCUMENTS* (Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.) Peter de Mendelssohn has compiled a series of studies based on the relevant papers which set forth in chronological order the whole Nazi policy. Thus in condensed form he tells the same grim story that the Trial itself unfolded. And that anyone bearing the honoured name of Mendelssohn should now be able to place the captured documents in such damning array, is another full circle of the wheel.—An older tyranny is chronicled in *WOODSTOCK*, edited with a preface by A. P. Rossiter (Chatto & Windus, 15s.). The unknown author of this play portrays the Duke of Gloucester's efforts to nullify the weakness or malice of Richard II, the king's instigation of his uncle's murder, his vain attempts to call it off, and the fate which befell his evil favourites. That the playwright owed

his inspiration to some of Shakespeare's early pieces and that Shakespeare owed part of *Richard II* to him is asserted by Mr. Rossiter, against the findings of other students of Elizabethan drama, and he proves his case, and follows the play itself, with copious annotations.—In *HE SERVED HUMAN LIBERTY* (Allen & Unwin, 2s.) R. C. Churchill contends that Swift did just that, even when he was writing "to the Tory order and in compliance with the Tory schemes for bringing Marlborough and the Whigs into disrepute." This provocative essay is thick with quotations from other Swift researches and its point and erudition merit a careful reading. True it is that the Yahoos of *Gulliver's Travels* still survive.

A good patient

All who have secret fears—and who has not?—of prolonged illness and the surgeon's knife and, above all, of hospital should beat down any instinctive shrinking from Wilson Midgley's title *FROM MY CORNER BED* (Chaterson, 7s. 6d.) and plunge into page one (the Radio Doctor's introduction can be read later), whence it will be difficult to put the book down until the author says: "I laugh again" at its end. Under the spell of his calmly cheerful acceptance of the inevitable, his observant eye and his persuasive pen, the horror recedes from the mind and a fugitive wonder, as to whether a hospital ward could not after all be turned into enrichment of experience, takes its place. During the war one used to say rather bitterly that the world was divided into the bombed and the unbombed, 'one' of course being in the former category. But after Mr. Midgley, the division seems rather to be between hospital patients and the rude health bores. All who read this book must be fortified by the knowledge, if only vicarious at present, that pain can be conquered and that long illness can be

endured. As hope is its message, the suggestion offered here that it would make the ideal Christmas gift is not so ludicrous as a first glance at its title might suggest. Also, it is a book that should be in the hands of all governors, dietitians, almoners, and those who are concerned with the nursing shortage, of every hospital. And this goes for the administrators of the future State service too.

'Unconventional autobiography'

To one who has not read any of Sidney R. Campion's preceding books the beginning of *ONLY THE STARS REMAIN* (Rich & Cowan, 15s.) is a shock. But after recovering from the collection of letters by admirers which forms the preface, and other preambles, one becomes used to being referred to *Sunlight on the Foot-hills*, *Towards the Mountains* and *Reaching High Heaven* for details of adventures mentioned here. One grows accustomed also to the nonchalance with which the author stacks yet another great parcel of manuscript on the pile grown higher than himself (he apparently learned no lesson from these failures of his colossal inventiveness), and presently is only faintly nauseated by his last solicitation. The reason for the reader's lessening tension is that, in spite of Mr. Campion, one must admire the energy and pertinacity of the man who began as the poor little newspaper urchin in the streets of Leicester. And, it should be added, one almost comes to love him for his devastating honesty about himself and his limitations as a writer. This take-me-as-I-am attitude is of course one of his many tributes to the wife who was and still is his teacher, secretary and truest friend.

Dumb friends

Are animal lovers poetry lovers too? The quick answer, as one recalls droolings on the perspicacity of cats or manly heartiness about dog companionship, is that pet worshippers, at any rate, can rarely sustain the necessary concentration for the enjoyment of poetry, which is an occupation devoid of sentiment. And,

as Derek Gilpin Barnes very neatly says in the preface to *LORDS OF LIFE* (Rich & Cowan, 15s.), "love of dogs is no excuse for love of doggerel." But those who do not cherish animals for selfish or sentimental reasons, those who "respect and admire creatures which they can neither fondle nor enslave" should at least love the poetry in this book. It is an animal anthology chosen and edited by Mr. Barnes, illustrated by Kathleen Gardiner's engravings, and is confined to the last fifty years' span. Old favourites are here, of Chesterton, Walter de la Mare, Davies, Brooke, Drinkwater and F. W. Harvey. But the amount of lesser-known work by poets whose names are quite as familiar as these, and by others who are almost unknown too, is astonishing and indicates something of the research undertaken by the compiler. His own poem is a fitting climax to one of the most exciting anthologies of recent years.

A model miscellany

Another kind of anthology is the 1946 issue of *NEW WRITING AND DAYLIGHT* (Lehmann, 10s. 6d.). From John Lehmann's own thoughtful essay on the present difficulty of the artist who wants to remain an individual to Laurie Lee's "From a Cyprus Diary", by way of pieces by various critics, poets and artists who include Louis MacNeice, John Heath-Stubbs, Edith Sitwell and Michael Ayrton, the collection shows not merely variety but discernment, discrimination, scholarship and polish. The section on "The Future of Fiction", contributed by Rose Macaulay, V. S. Pritchett, Arthur Koestler, L. P. Hartley, Walter Allen and Osbert Sitwell, is particularly stimulating, for it cuts a path through the thicket of perplexity which surrounds any contemplation of the subject.

Readability

In this symposium Sir Osbert Sitwell says:

... Just as Time is said to be the fourth dimension, because no object can exist with-

out it, in that same relation does readability stand to the novel.

That fourth dimension certainly stands in relation to the volume of short stories and the three novels left on the table. The first, *THAT SUMMER* by Frank Sargeson (*Lehmann*. 8s. 6d.), has a number of vignettes which are extraordinarily effective in their portraiture of men (especially women) and scene. The longer stories have the same economy of build-up—mostly contrived by dialogue. Mr. Sargeson's writing has the tautness of a Katherine Mansfield, and he too is a New Zealander.—Mark Freshfield in *THE STORMY DAWN* (*Faber*. 7s. 6d.) brings the reader a little nearer home. His tale begins in West Africa with two brothers at the mission school and witchcraft never far away. Folu is shrewd, crafty and ambitious to go to England to study law, where his career ends disastrously. The slow, quiet, steady Dinkura, learning to be an architect and to build houses for his village, is despised by the more brilliant brother. The author, while showing great insight and understanding of the African character, keeps a delightful sense of fun in evidence: yet the reader is left uneasy as to whether African schools are fully alive to their responsibilities.

And now to Morelia, which is a "primitive European country at the present time." The book is *A FOOLISH WIND* by Francis Askham (*The Bodley Head*. 8s. 6d.). Hugh Percheron, the Englishman, officially is on a cultural mission but his chief reason for going to Voreda, the capital, is to obtain biographical details about a little-known poet. The adventures he meets in a country recently released from Occupation are closely matched to the realities in the grim aftermath of resistance and underground activity. As old Stepanik says to the Englishman: "we have had two wars to your one." The promise of Mr. Askham's

first novel seems in this one on the way to fulfilment.

Hope deferred

How sincerely one wishes that the same could be said of Elizabeth Myers's *Mrs. CHRISTOPHER!* (*Chapman & Hall*. 8s. 6d.). In October 1943 under another name the undersigned wrote: "Miss Myers is at the mercy of her own powers of description and of her own intoxication with words." Now she seems to be at the mercy of her own passion for improbabilities. These were there in plenty in *A well full of leaves* but a certain naiveté in a first novel of such great and supposedly developing gifts was permissible. The only way to bear the disappointment with *Mrs. Christopher* is to pretend that she is a fairy tale. This way, odd behaviour is less of a stumbling-block to the reader—but does it get Miss Myers anywhere? Moreover, is not her bright power of description showing a tarnish of prejudice? For example: the "prim cocksureness" which "constituted the effect of several years in a grammar school at which he had been admitted by a scholarship." Even more vulgar in thought and form is a sentence on page 31: "He was wearing a tie which informed those in the know that in his time he had been among the leading cricketers at his Varsity." And yet on the opposite page she can write of the streets in St. John's Wood

where the slender lamp-posts leaned giddily and loneliness towards garden walls, pushing their luminous polls full of golden electric light into pallid falls of laburnum and lilac blossom, or glistened, bright and wild, among moist new leaves perched on the boughs like companies of butterflies.

If it were not for prose like this which she seems able to "turn on" at will, one would say that Miss Myers needed the discipline of poetry.

GRACE BANYARD.

Spencer 21/6/50

[Mr. H. S. Town]

[1st June 1946]

amount of success. I consider, Sir, that we in Madras have managed well and have been very fortunate in the handling of the cloth and yarn control in this province."

"MR. SPEAKER:—Yesterday I have not allowed those who have given notice of their amendments^a to speak. To-day I propose to call them one by one."

"M. S. ABDUL MAJEED SAHIB BAHADUR:—Add the following at the end:—

'and on such consideration, the House is of opinion that the draft proposals presented by the Government to the House with regard to the cloth administration are impracticable and unworkable and ineffective to tackle the impending crisis in cloth; and

'giving effect to the said proposals is fraught with dangerous results; and

'such defects as are existing in the present system are remediable without the necessity of substituting the present system by a completely new system as adumbrated by the draft proposals; and

'the present crisis in the cloth situation requires immediate and special attention. It is necessary that a Board consisting of not more than 15 members and not less than 11 be constituted for the province consisting of representatives of the major political parties of the Provincial Legislature with plenary powers to deal with all questions relating to cloth in the province, that the Board shall elect its chairman and that the Board shall constitute advisory committees in the Districts and in Taluks consisting of the representatives of major political parties.'"

KUMARARAJA SIR MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—Add the following at the end:—

'and on such consideration this House is of opinion

1. that the scheme of differential cloth quotas now enforced by the Government of India is not based on any just and equitable principle and that an uniform per capita allotment for all areas in India should be introduced with immediate effect for the following reasons:—

(1) In a hot climate like that of Madras more cotton cloth is required than in Northern India by reason of more rapid wear;

(2) In the areas in Northern India, a large proportion of the clothing of the people has necessarily to be in wool and such supplies of woollen clothing are available to them;

(3) The proportion of mill cloth to the total cloth quota of the area is now the lowest in Madras among the Provinces and States in India and it is but reasonable that there should be, as far as possible, equality of treatment in this respect as between all areas in India.

II. (1) that the quota of yarn allocated to this Province under the All-India Yarn Scheme is grossly inadequate and has been causing serious hardship to the handloom industry as it gives the handloom weavers numbering nearly half a million, work for only ten days in the month and this is the main reason for the serious disparity in prices between handloom cloth and corresponding mill cloth, resulting in prohibitive prices for handloom cloth, far beyond the means of the ordinary consumer.

(2) that this allocation based upon estimates given by the Fact Finding Committee which have been proved to be very bad under-estimates, should be revised on an equitable basis forthwith.'"

SRI P. VENKATESWARLU:—Add the following at the end:—

'and on such consideration, the House is of opinion—

(1) that the draft proposals are inadequate and ineffective to meet the situation;

(2) that to ensure proper distribution of cloth, handloom cloth be also brought under rationing scheme;