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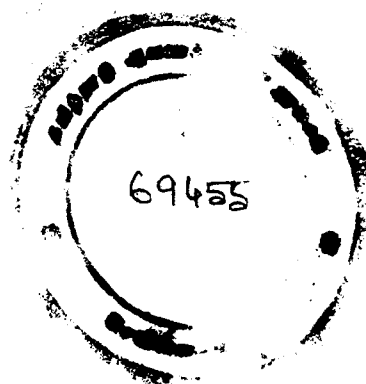
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# THE FORTNIGHTLY

JANUARY, 1947.

## A LANDMARK IN PHILOSOPHY

By C. E. M. JOAD

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S *History of Western Philosophy*\* is by any reckoning a great book. It performs for philosophy much the same office as

Wells's *Outline of History* performed for history by providing the general reader with a perspective within which he can plot the positions and determine the relations of what have hitherto been isolated little patches of brightly lit thought and event separated by environing areas of darkness. He can now see the connections between the patches.

Writing of John Dewey, Russell says that he has never been what might be called "a 'mere' philosopher", and he goes on to speak of Dewey's interest in education and his influence on American educational theory and practice. The remark might well be applied to Russell himself. He, too, has never been content to be a 'mere' philosopher. Nor could his book have been written by one so restricted.

Bertrand Russell has touched life at a number of points and left his mark upon the age. One might surmise that to have specialized exclusively as a philosopher would not in any age have contented him, though specialized philosophy might well be deemed a sufficient occupation for most men in quiet times. But in an age such as our own, an age without creed or code, an age, moreover, in which civilization manifestly hangs upon the edge of destruction, it might plausibly be held that the philosopher should try to exert a practical influence. Such, at least, was the philosopher's duty, as Socrates and Plato conceived it, in a not wholly dissimilar age. They brought philosophy down from the clouds into the market place, seeking to make plain for a distracted generation principles to live by and ends to live for.

Bertrand Russell, as I conceive, has been animated by not wholly dissimilar motives in the writing of this book. He has never been content to write esoteric books addressed only to his own kind. Such a conception of the philosopher's duty would seem to him in a time such as the present to be tantamount to the acceptance of too easy an option, as if one were to drive a car round and round a private track instead of outwards into the traffic.

In thus seeking to break away from the specialism and isolation—and the isolation is the result of the specialism—of philosophy in our time, Russell is returning to an earlier tradition. For as recently as the nineteenth century

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philosophers were not content to be 'merely' philosophers. They were either amateurs, like Mill, or more often men of affairs, like Jowitt and Balfour. It was, no doubt, partly for this reason that in the nineteenth century philosophers exerted upon contemporary life an influence enormously greater than they wield to-day. Bentham and Mill and Spencer, Caird and T. H. Green and Jowitt—these were famous names and men knew them and were prepared to listen to what they had to say on subjects other than philosophy. With the possible exception of A. N. Whitehead, Russell is the only twentieth century English philosopher to wield a comparable influence and to carry on the tradition which confers it.

Speaking of the German Idealist movement, Russell says that "Kant, Fichte and Hegel were University professors, addressing learned audiences, not gentlemen of leisure addressing amateurs," as were for example, the "earlier French and English philosophers." I do not wish to suggest that Russell is "a gentleman of leisure"; but it is, I think, clear that in the writing of this book the audience which he has primarily had in mind is that of the "earlier French and English philosophers" and not that of the "University professors". For philosophy is here represented primarily as a criticism of life offered to those who are concerned to know what great men and women have thought and said memorably about life, rather than to those whose business it is to teach philosophy. For the former, it performs the useful office of enabling them to understand not only what the great philosophers talked about, but why they selected just those particular subjects for consideration at those particular times.

## II

The distinctive purpose of the book is to present the thought of philosopher within the context of the setting of their times. This is because there is, in Bertrand Russell's view, a reciprocal connection between circumstances and philosophy: "the circumstance of men's lives do much to determine their philosophy, but, conversely their philosophy does much to determine their circumstances." Thus, it is suggested that it was *because* he was a Dominican monk whose purpose was "to declare the truth which the Catholic Faith professes" that most of St. Thomas's philosophy is a form of special pleading "There is little of the true philosophical spirit in Aquinas . . . . The finding of arguments for a conclusion given in advance is not philosophy but special pleading . . . ." Examples of such special pleading are St. Thomas's solution of the question, what happens at the resurrection of the body to "a man who never, throughout his life, ate anything but human flesh, and whose parents did likewise" and his arguments for the indissolubility of marriage. Again, it *because* Mohammed "had a strong class feeling that prophets ought not come to a bad end" that he "adopted the view of the Docetics . . . . accor-

ing to which it was a mere phantom that hung upon the Cross." These are comparatively trivial examples; more far-reaching is Russell's division of societies into slave-gentlemen societies on the one hand and plutocrat-industrialist societies on the other, each with its appropriate scale of values. In the former contemplation is valued, in the latter, action. Thus, for Pythagoras, "passionate sympathetic contemplation" which issued in mathematical knowledge was the chief end of man and views which accord contemplation a superiority over action are found both in Plato and Aristotle. Though these are less strongly marked in Aristotle than in Plato, Professor Taylor can yet represent Aristotle's political ideal as "that of a small but leisured and highly cultivated aristocracy . . . . free from the spirit of adventure and enterprise, pursuing the arts and sciences quietly while its material needs are supplied by the labour of a class excluded from citizenship, kindly treated but without prospects." Such an ideal, Russell suggests, is natural enough in a society where there are slaves to do the work and produce the goods. Modern values are different: "In connection with a football match, modern-minded men think the players grander than the mere spectators. Similarly as regards the State: they admire more the politicians who are the contestants in the game than those who are only onlookers."

The change in values reflects a change in the social system: "The gentleman has had a long innings in philosophical theory, because he is associated with the Greek genius, because the virtue of contemplation acquired theological endorsement, and because the ideal of disinterested truth dignified the academic life."

But a society of competitive "go-getters" engaged in manipulating machines has little use for contemplation; it feels that it must act, that is to say, it must alter the position of pieces of matter in space, even if the chief effects of action are, as they are to-day, mainly harmful. Consequently we get modern power-philosophies (of which more in a moment) and modern theories of truth such as those offered by instrumentalism and pragmatism which deny the existence of stubborn facts and think of the external world as something perpetually in the making (by us) rather than as something given to us.

The relation between thought and circumstance is further illustrated by the connection traced throughout the book between the decline of authority and the growth of individualism and subjectivism. Both derive historically from the Renaissance, the effect of which was to substitute for the authority of the Church as the vehicle of direct revelation the interpretation of the Bible according to individual insight and the enthronement of the individual conscience as the guide to right living. "The effects of this change," Russell says, "were momentous. Truth was no longer to be ascertained by consulting authority but by inward meditation." Among the consequences were, first, idealism in theory of knowledge, since by looking within it was discovered that one's own experience was the only reality of which one could be certain. Secondly, sub-



jectivism in morals and aesthetics—to say 'this is good or beautiful' means merely, that 'I, or most men at this time or in this country, or that most men at all times, or that the governing class of this society, happen to approve of it, or derive feelings of satisfaction from it.' Thirdly, the cult of romantic ethics, glorifying the emotions and lauding the hero, as it is expressed by "Carlyle and Nietzsche and the Byronic cult of violent passion of no matter what kind"—this, I should imagine, is the first history of philosophy to contain a chapter on Byron—and, fourthly, romanticism which, according to Russell, "is bound up with this subjective way of judging men, not as members of a community, but as aesthetically delightful objects of contemplation."

For my part, I find the most interesting of all the many connections which Bertrand Russell traces between thought and circumstance the correlation of optimistic philosophies with power and pessimistic philosophies with impotence, that is, with worldly impotence. Plato and Aristotle, he suggests, write about politics and tend to believe that men can be caused to behave better if reasoned with and exhorted, because they belong to governing classes who either enjoyed the actuality or retained the memory of power. When political power passed to Macedon, philosophers turned away from the State and devoted themselves to "the problem of individual virtue or salvation"; hence the cynics, the sceptics and the stoics. "Aristotle is the last Greek philosopher who faces the world cheerfully; after him, all have, in one form or another, a philosophy of retreat. The world is bad; let us learn to be independent of it."

Early Christianity gave an immense fillip to these philosophies of withdrawal and escape, (i) by its conviction that this world would shortly come to an end and (ii) by its insistence that this world is in any event comparatively unimportant and is bound to be more or less unhappy in comparison with the infinitely more prolonged and happier life that awaits us hereafter. Such, at least, were the tenets of the early Christians and they accorded well with the worldly position and prospects of scattered groups of poor and impotent men. But from the fifth to the fifteenth century A.D. the Church was a great political power, at one time the greatest upon the earth. Clerics possessed, as a result, the mentality of a governing class and far from feeling themselves to be exiles in a hostile world had numerous opportunities for enjoying it themselves and improving it for others. Hence, the curious dualism that runs through the thought of the Middle Ages between the official acceptance of an other-worldly philosophy on the one hand and the actual enjoyment of this world's power on the other.

To-day the Church has lost power and the emphasis is once again on the inner life and upon movements of withdrawal designed to enable it to be lived more effectively. Hence, the modern cult of the Yogi which encourages us to seek for salvation within, except in Russia where men in governing positions feel themselves to be on the crest of a wave of social betterment and political expansion, with the result that nothing seems impossible and the Commissar

takes the place of the Yogi. The first attitude savours of sour grapes; the second is liable to the danger of *hubris*.

The most interesting example of the effect of the circumstance of power-possession upon a philosophy is afforded by the power-philosophies of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of which Russell takes those of Bergson, Dewey and William James as examples.

The nineteenth century witnessed a vast extension of man's power over nature, as the result of which the environment of man's life has during the last one hundred and fifty years been changed more radically and more rapidly than during the whole of the preceding two thousand. These changes have mainly lain in the direction of increased control over matter.

During the same period there has grown up, largely under the influence of science, an increasing disposition to think of the external universe as identical with the natural order of events in Space-Time. It was, then, not surprising that when the *natural* order was being rendered increasingly amenable to human control and its workings increasingly subservient to human wishes, the universe *as a whole* should come to be regarded as amenable and subservient. Hence, the power-philosophies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries characterized, as Bertrand Russell points out, by a distinctive attitude to truth and a distinctive attitude to fact. Truth was no longer correspondence between ideas and external facts which were other than and independent of the ideas; truth was what served human purposes and made men happy. Truth was also something that men manufactured by the habit of intensely and persistently believing, acting in practice as if the beliefs were true and finding the results of the actions beneficial. As with truth so with fact. Facts in these philosophies are no longer "brute" and "stubborn"; they are malleable, conformable to human wishes and almost, it would seem, responsive to human desires. Russell quotes as a characteristic expression of both attitudes, John Dewey's theory of "warranted assertability". Dewey holds that a belief has "'warranted assertability',—which he substitutes for 'truth'—if it has certain kinds of effects", if, that is to say, it serves the purpose which led to its being entertained. Russell comments: "If I find the belief that Caesar crossed the Rubicon very distasteful, I need not sit down in dull despair; I can, if I have enough skill and power, arrange a social environment in which the statement that he did not cross the Rubicon will have warranted assertability." The connection between the doctrine of warranted assertability and manufactured facts on the one hand and man's growing power over nature on the other is manifest; for the doctrine is, in effect, only an extension to the external universe as a whole of that control which man has already won over that section of the universe which is the natural order of spatio-temporal events. What applied science had done for nature, metaphysics was invoked to do for reality and theory of knowledge for history.

Bertrand Russell indicts this doctrine on the ground of "cosmic impiety".

The belief in an external universe of unamenable fact which the mind discovers but does not create, has, he points out, curbed man's pride and kept him humble. "The Greeks, with their dread of *hubris* and their belief in a Necessity or Fate superior even to Zeus, carefully avoided what would have seemed to them insolence towards the universe."

"Cosmic impiety" occurs when the human mind legislates instead of conforming to the universe, prescribing to it what it should be instead of adopting a modest attitude to what is. This is the source of intellectual *hubris*, the characteristic vice of our time. I quote Russell in full:

In all this I feel a grave danger, the danger of what might be called cosmic impiety. The concept of "truth" as something dependent upon facts largely outside human control has been one of the ways in which philosophy hitherto has inculcated the necessary element of humility. When this check upon pride is removed, a further step is taken on the road towards a certain kind of madness—the intoxication of power which invaded philosophy with Fichte, and to which modern men, whether philosophers or not, are prone. I am persuaded that this intoxication is the greatest danger of our time, and that any philosophy which, however unintentionally, contributes to it is increasing the danger of vast social disaster.

This seems to me profoundly true. But the moral it embodies may, I suggest, be pushed further than Russell takes it and in two directions. First, the philosophies of Bergson and Alexander—Russell does not specifically deal with the latter—illustrate the same tendency by making reality wholly immanent in the evolutionary process which characterizes the natural order. For them, there nothing is exempt from the flux of change and the process of evolution.

Thus, for Alexander, the cosmic process which in the course of its development throws up consciousness as an emergent quality may proceed to a further stage and produce God or rather a succession of Gods. For in the universe, as these philosophies conceive it, nothing is stable and fixed; there are no absolutes; there is only the developing cosmic process. Therefore God, once achieved, can be overpassed and transcended by a super God. Deity, in fact, for Alexander is an unrealized ideal, representing the level of evolution yet to be reached and stimulating life at the level already reached to rise above itself by performing the office of goal or ideal to life at the already-realized level.

This way of thinking has two corollaries, the first intended, the second, I venture to suggest, unintended: (a) By representing the universe as being all of a piece (all of a piece with the natural order), it makes everything theoretically subservient to man; by including God in the natural process it brings God under human control. (b) By reducing whatever *is* to a single evolving order, the spatio-temporal order of the natural world to which our bodies belong, these philosophies inevitably have the effect of binding up the fate of the universe as a whole with the fate of that order.

For the time being, the time being, in fact, the first decade of the twentieth century, the order in question was, no doubt, doing well enough. It had pro-

duced the vertebrates from the mesozoic reptiles, man from the vertebrates and, so Nietzsche and Bernard Shaw were telling us, was about to produce the super man from man. To the men of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, exalted by the powers which man had won over nature, it seemed that there was no limit to what the *nisus* of an evolutionary universe striving ever upwards and onwards might not achieve. But a nemesis lay in wait both for the evolutionary process and for the philosophies which affirmed its identity with the universe, a nemesis which affords a good illustration of the workings of the Greek doctrine cited in the quotation from Bertrand Russell. According to the second law of thermo-dynamics the spatio-temporal universe was to die, die in the sense that its energy would run down and no further events of any kind would take place therein.

Now, a God who shares in the advance of, is, indeed, evolved by the natural order of the universe, is involved also in its death. Therefore, the purely immanent deities of the power-philosophies are like the universe, the single-level universe, which they animate, under sentence of death. Such is the fate which overtakes all universes whose deity is a mere *anima mundi*, is that is to say, wholly immanent in themselves, just as it is the nemesis which lies in wait to visit its appropriate punishment upon what Russell calls the "cosmic impiety" of the power-philosophies.

It is no secret that the optimism of the early twentieth century has evaporated and has been succeeded by a mood which varies between impotence and despair. It is, no doubt, true that we can control nature, control it, indeed, with ever greater effectiveness. But to what end do we control it? Russell himself has pointed out in another connection that applied science like the power which it bestows is ethically neutral. Its effect is to gratify our desires and to further our purposes. If the desires and purposes are on the whole good and make for human welfare, then the power of gratification and furtherance is also good; if they are evil and make on the whole for human misery, then the power, too, is evil.

Now the ends which power over nature has been chiefly used to subserve are those of destruction in war and robotization in peace. Hence, it is no longer possible for man to take a pride in his domination over nature and skill in devising machines without at the same time reflecting that the end to which nature when dominated is put is that of increasing efficiency in slaughter, while, as for the machines, these are now seen to dominate men to such effect that Samuel Butler's half-serious suggestion that the machines represent the next level of evolutionary development, destined to supersede man who evolved them, as surely as man superseded the animals who evolved him, begins to take on an alarming plausibility.

Thus, the stage of circumstance is set for another change of thought. Once again the external world is seen as threatening, hostile and unamenable. Once again the facts provide an incentive for philosophies of escape. It is not,

I suggest, wholly fanciful to see in the fashionable philosophy of logical analysis, to which Bertrand Russell devotes a final chapter, the distinctively modern version of metaphysical escapism. Mystics and Platonists came to terms with the external world of stubborn fact by declaring it to be semi-real; pragmatists and instrumentalists, by saying that the facts were not stubborn but amenable; logical analysts, by declaring that there are not and never were such things. Considered from the point of view of its excellence as a technique for dissolving the external world of given alien stuff utterly away, logical analysis is superior to idealism and may well challenge comparison with mysticism. The considerations which lead to this conclusion are, however, unfortunately technical.

### III

I propose to conclude this article with some comments on Bertrand Russell's conception of the status of philosophical results. This is clearly set forth at the beginning of the book. Philosophy, he tells us, occupies a sort of No Man's Land between theology and science:

Like theology, it consists of speculation on matters as to which definite knowledge has, so far, been unascertainable; but like science, it appeals to human reason rather than to authority, whether that of tradition or that of revelation. All *definite* knowledge—so I should contend—belongs to science; all *dogma* as to what surpasses definite knowledge belongs to theology.

Although the emphasis here is on *definite* knowledge, as the book proceeds, the qualifying epithet is lost sight of, until by the end of it we come to the uncompromising statement, "whatever can be known, can be known by means of science." The field in which scientific methods are declared to be inadequate "includes ultimate questions of value." Bertrand Russell adds that "things which are legitimately matters of feeling, lie outside its (science's) province," from which it appears that ultimate questions of value are matters of feeling and not of knowledge. Thus, I *feel* Beethoven's music to be better, or more beautiful, or more valuable than the song of the crooner, but I don't know it. As an illustration of this attitude take Russell's treatment of Aristotle's *Ethics*. He says, there are three questions which can be raised about an ethical system:

- (1) Is it internally self-consistent?
- (2) Is it consistent with the remainder of the author's views?
- (3) Does it give answers to ethical problems that are consonant to our own ethical feelings?

If to the first two questions the answer is negative, the philosopher can be charged with "intellectual error"; if to the third, "we have no right to say that he is mistaken; we have only the right to say that we do not like him." In other words, there are no ultimate ethical values which can be known, however inadequately, and invoked to arbitrate between different moral opinions. Questions of morals are questions of taste or, as Russell has it, of feeling and, in the absence of any external standard of value by reference to which it may be adjudged to be superior or inferior, one man's taste or feeling must, presum-

ably, be regarded as being as good or as bad as another's.

If this is the case with the ultimate values of morality, it is also, presumably, the case with the ultimate value of truth. Hence, it is little surprising to find Bertrand Russell declaring at the beginning of his treatment of Plotinus that "a philosophical system may be judged important for various different kinds of reasons. The first and most obvious is that we think it may be true." I have two questions: (i) Why, one wonders, is not the metaphysical truth of a philosophy like the ethical truth of a philosophy just a matter of feeling? (ii) If we can know of a philosophy that it is true, why does not our knowledge constitute an example of knowledge which is both definite and other than scientific? If, on the other hand we can never *know* of a philosophy that it is true, it is difficult to see how the question of its truth can be "the first and most obvious reason" for its importance.

The fact is that, as the book proceeds, it is increasingly borne in on the reader that Russell is unable to sustain his professed view of the nature of philosophical results. Again and again he suggests by implication, that knowledge does exist in regard to doctrines that have been historically maintained by philosophers which is, I take it, a way of saying that we *do* have philosophical knowledge.

In most cases, admittedly, what we appear to know in regard to a philosophical doctrine is that it is mistaken, although occasions do arise when it appears that a doctrine is right. Now it seems to me nonsense to maintain in regard to such knowledge either that it is not definite, or that it is reached by the methods of science.

The truth, as I have remarked elsewhere, is that there is a deposit in Bertrand Russell's thought laid down in his earlier near-Platonic days which accords very ill with the logical empiricism of his later period. In those earlier days he maintained the independent existence of universals. These, long expelled from his logical universe, still like ghosts haunt his moral and aesthetic universes. These vestigial ghosts are, it is obvious, very uncomfortable inmates of Bertrand Russell's present philosophical dwelling. Yet I am unable to see that they have ever been successfully laid and every now and then their discomfiting presence makes itself felt. The ghosts in question are, in general, extra-human facts which are neither spatial nor temporal, of which the human mind can have knowledge which is not obtained by means of science. But the most virulent of them are, I suspect, at bottom, nothing more nor less than the moral and aesthetic universals of traditional philosophy; are, in short, the familiar values, the good, the beautiful, the true.

Consider, for example, in this connection Bertrand Russell's attitude to "the true". Criticising William James, Bertrand Russell announces a principle of veracity which is that we should "give to any hypothesis which is worth our while to consider just that degree of credence which the evidence warrants." Now, the evidence which we are to consider as relevant is not confined to that

of which science takes account. It may, for example, be historical evidence. Why, Bertrand Russell asks, is it true to say that there was such a man as Columbus? And answers: "Because of a certain man of flesh and blood who lived 450 years ago." But this surely is to assert the existence of a fact which is not a physical fact, since it is in the past and Columbus himself is not now living, a fact which belongs not to the order of science but of history. It is with this fact that our belief is declared to be true because it *corresponds*.

The applicability of this criterion of truth is even extended to religion. When a man believes in God, says Bertrand Russell, "he believes in Him as he believes in the existence of Roosevelt, or Churchill, or Hitler—God, for him, is an actual Being."

It is not, therefore, meaningless to say that God exists and it is apparently possible that the belief in Him may be true. Moreover, if it is true, its truth consists in correspondence with a fact, the fact, namely of God's existence. But if God does exist, He is not a physical fact, nor is He discoverable by means of science. These are some examples of the concessions which Russell makes to what I have called his ghosts, by implying that we know facts which are not physical facts, which are not discoverable by men of science, but which nevertheless, exist, if only in order to give meaning to the many statements made throughout the book that our beliefs may correspond with them.

It is, I think, impossible to read such a passage as that on the effects of contemporary "cosmic impiety" quoted above, or to reflect upon the implications of Russell's denunciation of philosophers who allow their conclusions to be influenced by "moral considerations", or who use their "professional competence for anything except a disinterested search for truth"—they are said to be "guilty of a kind of treachery"—without drawing the conclusion that Russell, whatever he may say to the contrary, *does* believe that there is such a thing as philosophical truth, that such truth consists in the discovery and knowledge of facts about the universe, and that these facts are in no wise confined to the sort of facts which are discoverable by science. For it would surely argue a high degree of frivolity to say that a philosopher is guilty of treachery if he does not use his powers for "a disinterested search for truth," while at the same time holding that this search is for something that does not exist or, if it does, can never be known.

I conclude that Russell is right when he tells us that the fallacies of William James "spring from an attempt to ignore all extra-human facts," right, when he holds that these fallacies are part of "the subjectivistic madness which is characteristic of most modern philosophy," but wrong in supposing that such facts can only be discovered by means of science. If they are discoverable by some other means, what can those other means be except the methods of philosophy? From which it seems to follow that there is such a thing as philosophical truth and that it is at least possible that philosophy and philosophy alone may discover it.

## WORLD MIRAGE

BY WILLIAM RYDAL

THE mover of the Address at the opening of the new Parliamentary session—Mr. Henry Osborne—harked back to that flight of fancy in Mr. Bevin's foreign policy speech just a year previously when the Foreign Secretary startled the House by sponsoring the idea of a World Assembly composed of delegates directly elected by the peoples. *Cui bono?* For such a translation into specific—and specious—terms of Tennysonian rhetoric burkes the patent fact that democracy, which presupposes agreement on fundamentals, simply does not obtain in the community of nations. The facts of economic interdependence and strategy in the atomic age imperatively demand some expression of the federal principle, some form or other of supra-national authority. What is clear, however, is that the utopians, with their high-sounding moralities—their comfortable nineteenth century habits of thought projected into the international sphere—are still grossly underrating the strength and tenacity of Leviathan, the almighty "sovereign" State. Less than a fortnight after Mr. Osborne's exhortation Mr. Bevin following the abortive Great Power discussions on 'the veto', was constrained to say, in New York, that Great Britain could not base her foreign policy on the constitution of the Security Council but must fall back on old-fashioned military strategy, that is self-help. And the armaments and conscription policy of H.M.G. do but bear this out.

There we have the measure of the present gulf between glib idealism and grim reality. The proceedings of the Second Session of the First Assembly, following upon the antics of the Security Council, have gone far to discredit the United Nations Organization as a present remedy for the world's discontents. A certain amount of pessimism on this subject, however, may well be salutary if thereby ordinary men and women are compelled to examine more closely the whole conception on which the present Charter is based, instead of chasing after the illusions propagated by the perfectionists.

When, by a vote of forty-six to four, the Political Committee, on November 5, quashed a "ruling" of its Chairman, M. Manuisky—on an amendment to the Security Council's recommendation with regard to new members of the Organization—the Russian delegate blandly announced that the Soviet Union did not consider itself bound by the decision. In other words he stood foursquare on the rights of unabated State sovereignty. It was a less ostentatious but no less explicit formulation of the principle which M. Gromyko had

asserted by walking out of the Security Council's meeting at the time of its decision to maintain the Persian question on its agenda. While such a thing can happen it was unlikely that any debate on the use—or abuse—of the veto could do much good, and there need be no cause for surprise that the five-Power conversations on the subject initiated by Mr. Bevin proved abortive. Nor are the Russians by any means the only nigger in the woodpile. The U.S. Government have made it perfectly plain that they will accept no outside interference in their administration of the former Japanese-mandated islands. Field-Marshal Smuts, when the Assembly voted its disapproval of annexation of South-West Africa by the Union of South Africa, intimated that the incorporation would be taking place just the same. What the Russians have done by their maladroit behaviour, on sundry occasions at the Security Council (and at the Peace Conference), is in effect to expose to the public gaze a feature of all diplomatic negotiation—in the present context of inter-State relations—which, by tacit consent of the practitioners, had remained discreetly hidden.

A great deal of nonsense has in fact been talked about this so-called right of veto of the Great Powers which has been written into the constitution of the Security Council. So long as the United Nations, like the League of Nations, remains an assemblage of sovereign States (Article 2, para. 1 reads—"The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members"), the non-binding character of any Resolution that may be voted is inherent in the whole scheme. International law has indeed consecrated the principle of *pacta sunt servanda*, but it has nothing to say about any procedure of debate and voting in committee. The traditional rule governing international conferences remains that binding decisions can be taken only by unanimous consent. It was precisely because of this persistence in the international domain of the "over-mighty subject"—to which Mr. Attlee some years ago made pertinent reference—that the attempt was made, first at Yalta and thereafter in the Charter of the United Nations, to translate into the terms of peace the leadership of the Big Three which had compassed victory in war. But once again, be it noted, unanimity was postulated—unanimity, that is to say, on the part of the Great Powers: the idea of a decision being reached on any matter affecting vital interests by majority vote did not come into question. M. Molotov was therefore perfectly entitled to affirm, as he did at the Peace Conference on October 14, that "it is not the right of veto which is involved. The question is whether we desire unanimity and co-operation among the great countries, unanimity in which all countries can take part, or whether we are unwilling to develop such co-operation." This is the letter of the law—of Dumbarton Oaks *via* the Yalta Conference (when it was Present Roosevelt who devised the appropriate voting formula, supported by Mr. Churchill) and Article 27 of the Charter elaborated at San Francisco. MM. Molotov and Vyshinsky have left us in no doubt about the Russian position. The British delegate, Mr. P. J. Noel-Baker, in his speech at the plenary session of the

Assembly, went little further when he propounded the theme that members of the Security Council were not there merely to express individual opinions but must all the time seek to comport themselves so as to enable the Council to operate as a corporate body.

What this boils down to is that, within the context of undiminished State sovereignty, any Resolution (other than enforcement measures under Chapter VII) adopted by any organ of the United Nations is without compulsive force: it can amount to no more than a recommendation. And since on every major issue, on security-disarmament, on refugees, on Spain, there exists at present an irreconcilable divergence between Russia and the Western democracies, the United Nations machinery is for all practical purposes at a standstill. In the circumstances all talk of 'world government'—the phrase which recurs constantly in the mouths of Labour speakers (it was included in the rebels' motion)—is nothing but dangerous word-spinning.

"Global" thinking—the new boss-word from across the Atlantic—on the subject of international relations does not stand up for a moment to any honest analysis of the actual facts and processes. Lord Samuel wrote recently\* that Marxism is "sheer emotion dressed up with logic and pretending to be scientific": so liberal doctrine, in this domain, is sheer emotion (or aspiration) dressed up with logic and pretending to be moral. The trouble is deep-seated, extending far beyond the demagoguery of politicians. It springs from the rationalistic or pseudo-scientific convention of denigrating nationalism, the habit of directing attention to that which men, supposedly, have in common, whatever their 'national' labels. It is of a piece with the facile habit of those who think in words rather than actualities, of picking on certain abstractions like democracy, communism or anti-Marxism and building on them castles in the air, without due recognition of the fact that in every country they have a vastly different connotation, in accordance with that country's political maturity—they possess a very different emotional content. H. G. Wells, with his cult of Mankind and his world-conceits, was the arch-offender of our time in this respect. His manifold disciples, and the other lineal descendants of the eighteenth century *philosophes*—good American liberals like Mr. Henry Wallace, for example—obstinately refused to face the plain fact that each national being talks a different language, metaphorically as well as literally, and that it is these qualitative differences, *not* the superficial similarities, that make up the work, wealth and happiness of mankind. It is high time that ordinary men and women were forewarned against this spurious cosmopolitanism, this illusion that there is a common language, a common moral currency of internationalism. (How few indeed, in any nation, have enjoyed that personal experience which alone can provide the basis for a more-than-national consciousness! World citizenship is just an intellectual bubble.) The liberals' prating of the 'common man' is as meaningless, in the international sphere, as much of a

\* *The Spectator*, November 22.

myth as the *homo proletarius* of the Marxists. For the real world in which we live—it cannot be too often recalled—is no Meccano structure devised by the human mind, it is compact of many mansions; each national unit representing a different historical phenomenon, conditioned by geography and climate, each having its own distinctive idiom which can only be comprehended by the initiated, that is those few who have taken the trouble to learn the language, to study its history, its social and psychological attributes.

What, then, are we to do? For we cannot just down our thinking tools and accept for all time things as they are, the persistence of that unmitigated international anarchy of which Lowes Dickinson, that wise old owl, was writing in 1914. (All talk of an imminent third World War, incidentally, is unrealistic in the extreme—it is the inversion, so to speak, of that wishful-thinking which I have tried to expose.) In this, as with so many other phenomena of human development, clarity begins at home.

The *sine qua non* of any improvement in the international outlook is to face the disagreeable facts. Foremost among those facts is Russia, playing a part on the world's stage which she has never played before, representing for suffering humanity a beacon of hope and achievement which it would be folly to deny. One point must be established straight away. The Soviet Union and the problem which it signifies is not Nazi Germany (or Japan) over again, and any policy or psychological attitude which starts from that assumption is misconceived. For, to use an expressive Americanism, the Russians with their Soviet democracy and the well-planned State, have "got something". What constitutes the potency of their appeal is not so much any intrinsic power, military or economic, possessed by the U.S.S.R.—obviously, in terms of physical strength the colossus has been immeasurably weakened by the ravages of war—but the impetus, the *élan vital*, derived from the harnessing to that might of two dynamic forces: a compelling ideology—the Communists have gone a long way towards appropriating the Socialist myth in a majority of European countries, and not only those behind the iron curtain—and a social-revolutionary magnetism entirely appropriate to the twentieth century. As Professor Carr well says in his latest book:\*

Marxism has derived an enormous accretion of strength from the belief that the realization of its prediction is historically inevitable. To have history on one's side is the modern equivalent of being on the side of the angels.

Only, let it be noted, we have to deal with a *belief*, which is not necessarily borne out by the facts. And, in philosophical terms, the contemporary struggle is, as defined by Mr. Arthur Barker in *The Spectator*,† "between the materialist conception of man as an economic digit and that of man as something created by God to run his individual course." In short the Christian ethic is on trial as never before. But it is no use merely pitting faith against faith—

\* *The Soviet Impact on the Western World*. Macmillan. 5s.  
† November 15.

that would amount to lining up for a contest between Kremlin and the Vatican; free men will indeed derive their inspiration from Christendom (as well as humanism) but they will find, and deserve, their salvation by their works.

In political terms what does this mean? It means meeting the Russian challenge by establishing a rallying-point for all who are convinced that the values of Western civilization—namely freedom of the individual, the dignity of man, government by consent (which is the best simple definition of democracy in the Western sense)—can be compounded with a system of social well-being comparable with that which the Russians preach—and practise. And, first of all, there is a psychological adjustment to be made such as I have adumbrated in another part of this article. To descant to the peoples of Eastern Europe on the blessings of Parliamentary democracy as practised in this country—which is the burden of so many diplomatic Notes to Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc., is utterly futile; to prate of 'social democracy', in the narrow connotation of the parties of the Second International is no less otiose. No greater mistake could be made indeed by the Labour party in this country than to hitch its waggon to the paling star of Continental Socialism. Every opportunity should be seized, on the contrary, to establish contracts and, where possible, co-ordination with the Communist and near-Communist masters of Eastern Europe—with Communists and M.R.P. in France. And, particularly, is it necessary to avoid like the plague the sterile policy of anti-Communism: for that reason the majority of our Catholic mentors, though admittedly representing just that community of thought across the frontiers which is desired, rule themselves out of court as leaders for the task to-day.

Before we of the West can usefully establish a *modus vivendi* with the Communist zealots it is necessary to understand the idiom which they affect—and that may involve many hard years in the school of experience; before we can address ourselves to the fundamental problem of collaboration with the Russians, through UNO, in Germany or indeed on any major issue of international politics, we have to constitute, out of a shattered Europe, a spiritual entity that can be the agent of such collaboration.

The task is a prodigious one—and the difficulties are plain. But a beginning must be made. And for guidance we shall go not to the ideologues who immediately lose contact with the *terra firma* of reality but to practical statesmen who have proved that they combine wisdom and practical experience with vision. Among these political leaders of our time four prominent Britons have pointed the way: Mr. Churchill, Mr. Eden, Field-Marshal Smuts, and Lord Beveridge. And the House of Lords, in the debate on a motion by Lord Vansittart on December 3, has made a most valuable contribution. Mr. Churchill's words at Zurich were carefully chosen—though it has pleased the men of little faith, especially in France, to dismiss the speech as an old man's doting. After registering the present impasse of UNO the man who has



been since 1936, let it be recalled, President of the British Section of "The New Commonwealth",—and therefore may be considered to know what he is talking about—went on:

What is this sovereign remedy? It is to recreate the European family or as much of it as we can and to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom. We must build a *kind of* United States of Europe. In this way only will hundreds of millions of toilers be able to regain the simple joys and hopes which make life worth living.

That Mr. Churchill himself is the last person who should set up as leader of a movement having as its aim such a Western Association goes without saying: it would inevitably "*ressembler comme un frère*" the Western bloc directed against the U.S.S.R. which has already acquired such a substantial bogey-value. The danger of such a miscreation has already induced the Netherlands Government to place on record its opposition at this juncture. Lord Beveridge, in his address at Rotterdam on December 2, chose to misinterpret Mr. Churchill's purpose, declaring that European federation, let alone world federation, was not a practical possibility, since federation was "only possible between countries with comparable political institutions and ideals." His plan was nothing more than a "freely-concerted" confederation of the nations of Western Europe. What Mr. Churchill, Field-Marshal Smuts and the others are concerned to do, however, surely is not to draw any blue print for Federal Union or to envisage a United States of Europe properly speaking but to establish here and now a beacon towards which the attention and energies of ordinary men and women who have entered into the possession of the European heritage may be directed: a regional grouping of like-minded nations such as is expressly recommended in the United Nations Charter. This theme of necessary decentralization through regional groups—by way of buttresses to the overall structure—was developed by Field-Marshal Smuts in his Address to the States-General at the Hague on October 11 and again in his speech to the Belgian Parliament on the 13th. What was new in the Smuts statements was the tacit assumption that for obvious reasons France, traditionally the standard-bearer of the European idea, cannot at present be counted upon for leadership and that Great Britain, if possible, or, failing that, countries of undoubted democratic integrity like Switzerland or Holland, should "set the ball rolling by forming a regional group with an appropriate council." And if, said the speaker, political advance was momentarily blocked, it would be well to start with a European economic council regarded as a projection of the Holland-Belgium-Luxemburg customs union. (It is not without interest to remark that the creation of such a body, at the instance of the Devastated Areas Sub-Committee of the Economic and Social Council, has now been approved by the U.N. Assembly.)

Much of the House of Lords debate turned on the place of Western Germany in any such enterprise of European integration. Haunted by immediate

political issues none of the speakers brought out sufficiently the advantage to be derived perhaps from the temporary abdication by France of the leadership that would normally be hers: namely that emphasis can, as it should at this point, be laid on the spiritual and cultural bonds of the smaller nations of the European family, and also the pattern can be sought rather in the peculiar democratic triumph of the Swiss Confederation than in any facile attempt to reproduce the forms of parliamentary democracy which we know in Britain or France. But Lord Vansittart reiterated a pertinent if unpalatable home truth when he said that (as many wise Frenchmen realize), France will not easily become a Great Power again unless she combines with us to make Western Europe a Great Power; Lord Lindsay did well to remind us that the secret of Hitler's appeal, outside his own country, was the promise—and in a measure, the performance—of the economic unification of Europe; and, finally, Lord Derwent, with his eyes on the policy resulting from Russia's heightened fear of contamination, demonstrated that the task of integration was indeed urgent, nothing less than a plain and unescapeable necessity. It was left to Lord Rennell to define significantly the essential area of Western European civilization's community of ideas by a reminder of the historical fact that the *limes* of the ninth century, the line of demarcation drawn by Charlemagne, curiously resembles the line separating West and East in Europe to-day.

The spokesman of the Government, Lord Addison, was perhaps not as forthcoming as one might have hoped. It was perhaps too much to expect a strong lead at a time when any action on the part of H.M.G. affecting the U.S.A. or Russia is like walking on eggs: but the fundamental justification, after all, for taking the lead towards the constitution of a European polity is that for different reasons—Russia because of what we should call the primitive stage of her political development, America because of socio-economic backwardness—the two principal Powers of to-day are precluded from usefully contributing at present to the next phase of human progress. (It may or may not be true, as the Soviet economist, Professor Varga, prophesies, that economic feudalism in the U.S.A. will indubitably result in a violent slump by 1948.) The Socialist rebels, free of such inhibition, had a great chance of showing themselves sensible of the great opportunity now open to this country and which is being missed: the full text of their letter to Mr. Attlee is indeed an admirably critical document. But their case was vitiated by a doctrinaire adherence to "the principles of social-democracy", the assumption that there is such a thing as a specifically "Socialist" foreign policy.

What the critics of Mr. Bevin might have said was, actually, set forth by one of their number, Mr. R. W. S. Mackay, in a letter published in *The Manchester Guardian* on November 18. He reminds us that politically as well as economically Great Britain must cut her coat according to her cloth. She is no longer the centre of the greatest empire in the world. The economic

developments between 1919 and 1939, the two world wars, the grant of independence to India, and our coming withdrawal from Egypt—all these factors and many more have completely changed our position, our power and our commitments. The British Commonwealth, moreover, is not economically self-sufficient, nor it is a political entity capable any longer of playing a world rôle. Britain is in fact to-day just a European State—and it behoves us to formulate a foreign policy accordingly.

Let us be thankful that the Prime Minister, no less than Mr. Churchill, has a complete grasp of first principles in this matter of establishing an effective world polity. He knows as well as any of the blueprinters that the centralizing of force alone will make possible the beginnings of disarmament—that the establishment of peace in a given area requires the transfer of an irreducible minimum of power (military and economic) to an authority superior to that of the single national State. He also realizes only too well that this thing cannot be done in our time on a world scale. With almost uncanny prescience Mr. Attlee saw our problem when summarizing Labour's peace aims in 1939:

There must be acceptance of the principle that international anarchy is incompatible with peace and that in the common interest there must be recognition of an international authority superior to the individual States and endowed not only with rights over them but with power to make them effective, operating not only in the political but in the economic sphere. *Europe must federate or perish.* (My italics.) —*nota bene* Europe, not 'the world'. It is not, of course, a question of setting up an alternative to UNO. We were right in establishing the skeleton institutions of an ordered polity on a world plane; and in the economic and social field much may be—is being—achieved. And we shall certainly be right in maintaining UNO and its organisms at the cost of blood, sweat and tears for our representatives at the Security Council, Assembly, etc.—even though it remains for some years little more than a tilting-yard for diplomatic jousts.

There is no need to despair. Let us give heed to the remarkable wisdom of Field-Marshal Smuts. In his speech to the Congress of American Industry in New York on December 6 he put the issue fairly and squarely between the Americans' individualist tradition and the new gospel of man propagated by Russia, but insisted that the fundamental differences between east and west need not mean anything like a recourse to arms to fight it out. Between east and west, he went on, lies a bridge—another great group which forms a real link between the Communist east and the individualist west. It is for us to build that bridge: and its name is "Europe". In the talk which he gave in the B.B.C.'s Third Programme on September 27, moreover, Field-Marshal Smuts supplied us with the appropriate perspective: in all writing and thinking on this subject it is necessary, as he says, to get our range right, to appreciate the time-factor. In international affairs, more than in any other sphere of human endeavour perhaps, the watchword must be patience, still more patience and patience yet again.

## THE DANUBIAN SYMBOL

BY TIBOR MENDE

TO the Danube's long record as an international problem a new distinction of dubious value has now been added. It has now become the microcosm of the factors producing the contemporary international malaise.

Let us imagine for a moment that world politics could be subjected to analysis of the kind applied to light or chemicals; that its constituent elements could, at any given moment, be projected into a sort of political spectrum. It might well be demonstrated that nearly all the major constituents of contemporary international relations are present in what is generally called the Danubian problem. What are they?

Taking its local implications, the river Danube is one of the great unifying factors offered by nature but rejected by bellicose man. Apart from this geographical factor, the Danube provides a perfect opportunity for joint economic and technical development to the benefit of all directly concerned, but instead it has been turned into an instrument of hostility by those who are only indirectly affected. Thus the Danubian question recently provided an example of the new depths reached in international ethics when it was used as a bargaining counter in the game of power politics. As far as Britain is concerned, the Danubian problem provides an illustration of the dual attitude governing post-war British foreign relations, as Britain upholds a principle in the Danubian area which she is endeavouring to deny in other theatres. Taking a global view, the Danubian problem is becoming a symbol of the changed pattern of power in the world after the Hiroshima explosion. Above all, however, the Danubian problem as a whole is symptomatic of the coincidence of a variety of factors which demonstrate the contemporary tendency towards regionalism.

Before a more detailed analysis of the implications of the Danubian problem is attempted, it will be useful to glance at the actual history of the Danube as an international waterway. The adaptation of the pre-war international agreement to conform with the post-war pattern of power is the formal problem.

With the progressive decay of the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires, the Danube river became a part of that vacuum which had to be filled by the new European balance of power towards the end of the nineteenth century. Since 1856 for the delta region, and since 1920 for the entire navigable course of



the river, two international commissions existed as the local expressions of this new European balance. The chief elements of the situation were the assertion of the national rights of the riparian States; the claim of the western Powers to enjoy equal rights in Danube trade and navigation; and the rivalry of the great Powers for the critical delta area.

The European Commission of the Danube was established by the Treaty of Paris in 1856 as a temporary expedient, to last only two years. Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey were its original members and it was a notable exception to the European principle of riparian control. Upon expiry of the two years it was supposed to be replaced, in conformity with the normal European system, by a body composed of the riparian States only. This new body was to control the whole course of the river from Ulm to the sea. This commission, however, never came into being as the European Commission was never dissolved. Not only was its existence prolonged but its privileges were steadily strengthened until it became the authority which made and enforced the rules of navigation on the stretch within its jurisdiction. Later its jurisdiction was even extended to the cities on the river to which the sea-going vessels ascended. Thus, the Commission, originally a mere engineering organization on the delta, acquired wide authority over work and navigation on the river, independent of the riparian States. The seat of the Commission was at Galatz whence its powers extended to the Black Sea. After 1918 only Great Britain, France, Italy and Rumania remained as its members until the readmission of Germany in March 1939.

Above Braila, international control was established only after 1918. Following the seven months existence of the Danube Command under Admiral Sir E. Troubridge, in May 1919 an Inter-Allied Danube Commission was established under his chairmanship. Its task was to assist the re-establishment of Danubian traffic. Finally, Article 347 of the Treaty of Versailles provided that the Danube system from Braila to Ulm, including its navigable tributaries, should be placed under an international commission to carry on until a final Danube Statute was concluded. This international commission replaced the Inter-Allied Commission in July 1921 with Great Britain, France, Italy and the riparian States as its members. The work of these two Danubian Commissions continued right up to the outbreak of the second World War.

In September 1940 Germany summoned a conference in Vienna for the establishment of a provisional administration for the Upper Danube and, although Russia became a riparian State three months earlier, she was not invited. The Soviet protest and the negotiations which followed led to a Tass communiqué on October 26, 1940, declaring that the U.S.S.R. and Germany, with the assent of Italy, regard it

necessary to liquidate the two Danubian Commissions and to replace them by a single Commission, composed of the States bordering the river and of Italy, whose powers will extend from Bratislava to the sea. The purpose of the Conference which will

meet at Bucharest will be to establish the provisional administration of the maritime Danube from Braila to the mouth of the river.

The British Government immediately protested in Moscow and refused recognition to any new arrangements. Meanwhile, at the Bucharest conference the Soviet Union insisted that the régime for the maritime Danube should be left exclusively to Rumania and herself. Upon this deadlock the conference adjourned indefinitely. Half a year later Germany invaded the Soviet Union.

Until 1918 Germany's interests in the Danube were represented by her Austrian ally. With the renewal of the *Drang nach Osten*, quite understandably, Germany developed direct concern in trade along the Danube though only her Balkan conquests brought Germany in direct conflict with the U.S.S.R. over the delta. Russia is traditionally hostile to international control of the Danube as it originated in her defeat in the Crimean War. Similarly, she has been consistently hostile to rivals in the delta area though for two long periods—between 1856 and 1878 and from 1917 till 1940—she was not a riparian Power. More recently the U.S.S.R. has developed an interest also in the upper reaches in proportion to her increasing preoccupation with security along her western approaches. Great Britain and France attached importance to their membership on the Commissions partly on commercial grounds and partly because it provided them with a political lever in that region. Their present-day concern, and especially that of the United States, is more clearly connected with their interest in the freedom of European and world trade.

As for the riparian States themselves, the Danube plays a decisive rôle in their trade and transport. The port of Vienna handled most of the river trade between north-west and south-east Europe and with 300,000 tons of river-craft Austria possessed the largest river fleet of all the riparian States. Through Bratislava a sizable portion of Czechoslovak trade passed each year and over one-third of all Hungary's transport was carried on the Danube. Yugoslavia, with the second largest river fleet, largely depended for its communications on the Danube. Similarly important proportions of Bulgarian trade went through that country's river ports. Rumania's two major inland ports, Braila and Galatz, handled some sixty per cent. of Rumania's imports and exports. The total Danubian traffic in an average pre-war year amounted to some three-and-a-half million tons. At present, with roads and bridges out of repair, railways only partially reconstructed and with growing interstate trading in the region, Danubian traffic has only increased in importance for all the riparian States.

To-day, neither of the two original Danubian Commissions is able to function but, in the British view, they are technically still in existence.

At the Paris Conference, where the Danube question was discussed in connection with the peace treaties with Germany's former satellites, the United States, Great Britain and France stood for the principle of equality of oppor-

tunity while the Soviet Union and the former riparian allies advocated exclusive riparian control.

Speaking at a plenary session, in connection with the treaty with Rumania, Mr. Bevin said (October 10, 1946): "I want to see the Danube as a great artery of commerce, as free as the sea . . . . I do not wish to see this policy of exclusion damming the broad stream of peaceful commerce . . . ."; and he added: "We cannot but feel that the Soviet proposal . . . . is not only a retrograde step, but a deliberate discriminatory action against their allies . . . ." "It seems, indeed, a little strange," Mr. Bevin continued, "that after all our sacrifices we should be placed in a worse position than we held before the war." He urged the conference to accept the French proposals providing for free navigation on the Danube, its navigable tributaries and connecting canals, and for the calling of an early conference to draw up a permanent régime. The attitude of the United States was summed up by Senator Vandenberg in a commission debate (August 30, 1946) when he said that U.S. interests in Danube navigation were both "temporary and basic". Commerce could not prosper along the river as long as it was at the mercy of various unco-ordinated, restrictive and discriminatory administrations which responded to the local judgments of the eight national jurisdictions through which the Danube flowed. Mr. Gladwyn Jebb, speaking at the same meeting, emphasized the long history behind international control of Danube navigation and insisted that the riparian States should attend a conference to draw up the final statute. "For our part," Mr. Jebb remarked, "we cannot admit that Rumania, who declared war against us in 1941, should by that mere fact be allowed to deny us right which we freely exercised before the war was declared." As a whole, the French have supported these British and American pronouncements.

The Soviet Union as well as White-Russia, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia expressed the opposite point of view with equal unanimity. Their arguments concentrated on the motives of the western attitude, minimizing the importance of historical precedent. Dr. Hajdu, the Czechoslovak delegate, declared (August 30, 1946) that the control of the Danube was a matter for the riparians and his country intended to be "master in its own house". Mr. Kardelj of Yugoslavia "absolutely rejected" the western proposals which "had been adopted in committee by the votes of those countries, situated thousands of miles from the Danube, while all the Danubian countries refused to accept such a decision." He viewed the debate as "a struggle for imperialistic positions" and hoped that these "dishonourable remnants of the past" will be "cleared from the Balkans and the Danube basin."

Mr. Molotov (October 10, 1946) emphasized the changed international background since the 1856 Danube Commission was established and accused the western Powers of imperialist motives in their advocacy of equal opportunity on the Danube. "If you compare Rumania or Yugoslavia with the

position of the United States, if you give equality of opportunity, what will remain of their industries? All these could be purchased by American capital in a short time, which would then become master in those countries." He alluded to the possibility of applying the same principles to other international waterways, among them the Suez and Panama Canals and emphasized the danger of "dollar diplomacy" in backward countries. Speaking two days later at a plenary session, Mr. Manuilsky, head of the Ukrainian delegation questioned the sincerity of the western Powers' advocacy of "free trade" on the ground that Great Britain and France, when they drew up the 1921 Convention on the Danube régime, did not think of inviting the Soviet Union. He alleged that the present policy of the western Powers amounted to the wish to continue "the 1921 line, directed against the interests of the Soviet Union." A few weeks later the Soviet economist Varga, writing in the *New Times*, dealt with the Danubian question. Concluding that only an insignificant portion of the western Powers' trade was connected with the Danubian countries, he posed the question: "Why do Great Britain and the United States wish at all costs to interfere in questions of Danubian navigation? . . . For nearly a century Great Britain has taken part in the Danubian Commission. She does not want to understand that the situation in the Danubian States has changed, that from semi-colonies they have transformed themselves into independent States . . ." As for America: "Some American politicians, dizzy with success, think that they are entitled to interfere as they like in the domestic affairs of other countries. Behind the phrases about freedom of navigation on the Danube and similar demands, is hidden the wish of imperialist circles to arrest the democratic, progressive development of the Danubian countries and to restrict their independence."

Varga also emphasized that "the contradiction between the words of the U.S. representatives, expressing their anxiety for the development of Danube navigation, and their actual activities is strikingly evident." He was referring, of course, to the detention of Yugoslav, Czechoslovak and Hungarian ships by the Americans in Austria and Germany. When the Germans were expelled from the Danubian countries they seized nearly all the river craft of those countries and took them up river. On May 21, 1946, to the accompaniment of unconvincing talk about a "security threat" and acting on instructions from the State Department, the U.S. Army seized 372 of the river craft, while a further 200 to 300 in American controlled waters were to be "demobilized". A State Department official commenting on this seizure of property, a substantial part of which belonged to the U.S.'s former allies, bluntly said that "we have the boats and they have the river, but the boats can be traded for concessions." When one of the States concerned, Yugoslavia, after repeated direct requests to the U.S. military authorities in Frankfurt, asked the UNO Economic and Social Council on August 13, 1946, to examine the question of the confiscations, Mr. Acheson—U.S. Acting Secretary

of State—made the revealing statement that this subject was part of “a very much larger matter—the question of the freedom of navigation on the Danube.” When after innumerable bitter public complaints, the boats were returned to their rightful owners, this unsavoury episode was brought to a close by Mr. Acheson’s admission (November 10, 1946) that the U.S. step was explainable on the ground that “it had been impossible to reach agreement with the Soviet Union concerning free navigation on the Danube.”

So much for the facts of the Danubian dispute. Even such a bare outline should suffice to indicate that something more is involved than the inoffensive passage of small river craft up and down the “Blue Danube”.

Reporting these arguments from the Paris Conference, the Special Correspondent of *The Times* wrote (August 13, 1946):

In opposing the British proposals to grant foreign interests the same advantages that they enjoyed before the war, the Russian delegation have been led step by step to an almost open attack on the capitalist system and a defence of controlled economy. The British, in resisting this attack, found themselves arguing the case of liberalism and free competition.

At the last general elections the majority of the present British legislators have argued before their electors against these principles and were elected on that mandate. Moreover, American objections to the Imperial Preference system are based on precisely the same premises as censure of the planned economic relations which the Soviet Union is instituting in her trading with the Danubian countries. Conversely, the arguments used by Great Britain against the U.S. at the recent International Trade Conference in London, are identical in principle with the arguments employed by the U.S.S.R. and the Danubian States against the implications of free Danubian traffic and trading advocated, among others, by Great Britain. After the experiences of the last decades it is unlikely that, even if acting without any foreign pressure, the Danubian countries could accept the political conditions attached to American financial assistance without corresponding security of American markets, thus compelled to face the renewal of past economic hazards experienced earlier in their dependent rôle as debtors. What the principle of equality offered to them really means they had opportunity to study in the implications of the recent U.S.-Chinese trade agreement.

To recognize the present motives of American financial help no longer needs analytical insight. As Mr. Charles Dewey, vice-President of the Chase National Bank remarked in the debate on the loan to Britain, it was “the only hope of preventing a world-wide movement towards state-controlled trade . . .” And if that hope materializes? It would mean that the European countries, including Great Britain, would become dependencies of the essentially nineteenth century American economic chaos, which can only survive within her independent continental economy in which foreign trading plays only a subordinate rôle.

Sensing the general world-wide desire for planned economy and full em-

ployment, wartime idealism has produced many a plan to approach regional economic problems rationally. Prominent among them were plans for a kind of Danubian T.V.A. holding out the hope of an ordered solution for the urgent needs of that under-industrialized and over-populated area of Europe. As the practical approach only too often lags behind the good intentions inspired by idealism, international investment boards were visualized, offering constructive work for modest returns. The end of lend-lease and the dissolution of UNRRA marked the formal burial of these hopes. Instead one hears of American schemes of establishing a number of Financial Corporations in the Danube Valley under a sort of Control Commission, set up for the whole length of the river and operating with aid from the International Bank as a part of the Bretton Woods plan. Thus, instead of a constructive approach, the intention appears to be to prevent planned economy in a region whose disruptive diseases only a regional economy can cure. Yet, it is precisely from her advocacy of a regionally planned economy that the Soviet Union derives her main strength in the Danubian region. It is a commonplace to argue that in these days agricultural peoples are in perpetual bondage to industrial ones. The Danubian area has, for perhaps the first time in its modern history, passed under the influence of a Power with whose interests industrialization of the region is not inconsistent.

The social significance of the collapse of international free trade, and its symbol the gold standard, was that it opened the way to social transformation within States whose social and property structure was formerly “guaranteed” by the fear of international financial sanctions. The conviction, gaining ground in Britain, that she ought to develop regional and bilateral trading arrangements as a condition of independence and undisturbed social transformation, is parallel with the Danubian States’ desire to achieve *their* social transformation independent of the retarding political conditions usually attached to foreign financial support. By stretching the radius of her economic influence, as a by-product of her security policy, the U.S.S.R. is enlarging the circle within which social transformation and regional interdependence can take root. Penetration within that circle of financial interests opposed to regional planning must appear to her as a threat to her security and the wilful obstruction of the newly-developed ties between her and her Danubian neighbours.

The United States is to-day the only country whose interests commit her to the re-establishment of the nineteenth century universalist conception of free-trade with its inevitable corollaries of slumps and mass-unemployment. The sole alternative to-day is in regional planning. In the emerging pattern of world society Great Britain and the Soviet Union, with their regionalist interests, have a common denominator in their motivating principles. While, in vastly different ways and with equally different methods, they both find themselves in transition towards new, regional forms, the U.S.—for the time

being—stands apart and alone wedded to her utopian conception of the resurrection of a discarded multilateralism.

Liberal capitalism, as a universalist society, stands abandoned by a humanity striving for better solutions. Its whole pattern is so completely shattered and disorganized that in our plans for survival we have to discard or reshape many of its old institutions, rules and instruments. American administered artificial respiration to resurrect this universalism will only deepen the cleavage already existing between the rival ideologies. What it cannot do is to erase from the memories of multitudes the tragic effects of the ideal the U.S. stands for to-day.

We are well on the way towards a new world pattern in which the various pieces of the global puzzle will gradually fall into co-existing regional systems. They may emerge as the next phase in humanity's forward march towards an eventual, future, larger unity. To arrest this transition without providing a workable alternative, or to offer one which can give only temporary succour, is inviting disaster. The Danubian contest is only a side-show, a small symbol of the larger issue.

## BRITAIN AND THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS

BY GEORGE CATLIN

**I**N the history of our times it may well be that the French Elections, which bring the Communist Party so near to power in France, are more important for Europe than the American November election results, which are chiefly important as indicating a decision to come two years hence and as meanwhile stultifying decision in American politics.

Nevertheless the American results received ample attention in the British press, with editorials in all leading journals. It may be profitable, before making any judgment on the future political situation which they condition, to review briefly this comment.

The London correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune* (Paris edition) rather optimistically suggested that the comment had followed Party lines, the Government press being pro-Democrat, and the Conservative and Liberal press being pro-Republican. Even on the evidence supplied by himself this was not the case. The advent of the Republicans to power in the House of Representatives and Senate was received with little less than dismay even in the Conservative press which should have been ideologically favourable. One commentator went so far as to say that, mysterious though the lands beyond "the Iron Curtain" might be, their mystery was not much more astounding than the inexplicable workings of the American Constitution.

It is generally recognized in Britain that, if there is a difference of principle between the Democrat and Republican Parties, nobody knows beforehand what the difference is. Nevertheless the Conservative *Spectator* pointed out that, if divisions of economic principle cross Party lines, the present election results are a victory for elements which will have a policy distinctive from what has gone before. There may not be much difference in principle; but it is that little which makes all the difference.

"The Democrats carry on," said *The Spectator*, "with the removal of price controls with a certain amount of uneasy grumbling. The Republicans would do it with a yell of delight." Coming from a journal of which the Party theme is that controls should be removed in the name of liberty, this makes very odd reading. The British Tory shows himself these days, by comparison with his American brother, as already half a Socialist. It is of course true that Herbert Spencer said that he always was, whereas the American Republican tends to embrace still the theories of Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics*. The pet Russian thesis about the inevitable contradictions of capitalism, showing themselves in

internecine jealousies, almost seems to be justified.

The explanation lies in the economic embarrassment which Britain expects to experience when public negotiations have to comfort the rough and tumble of private enterprise, instead of being a matter for gentlemen's agreements on political grounds between Western governments.

*The Economist* commented, with mixed feelings, that the results marked "the end of positive American leadership." The pro-Government *Daily Herald* bluntly headed its editorial on the American Elections "Bad News." *The Observer* remarked that a semi-Socialist Britain will be praying for the success of this latest experiment in Capitalism, owing to the extent of British dependence upon the American economy. All somewhat prematurely assume a swing towards American isolationism in sentiment, if not in strategy. By these expressions they tend to provoke what they fear.

Mr. Christopher Hollis, High Tory M.P. for Devizes, wrote "America, with her vast productive capacity, can probably ride through another depression. It is far less certain how far we in our wounded condition can do so . . . There is little chance now of any effective reduction of American tariffs, and without such reduction there is no obligation on us to reduce preferences." Mr. Hollis, as much as any Marxist, clearly anticipates boom followed by unemployment in America.

All commentators indeed reassure their readers that there will be continuity of foreign policy in the United States, and that Mr. Truman has successfully avoided the catastrophic error of President Wilson. The uneasy doubt which they express is whether foreign policy can be discussed successfully in detachment from a financial policy which may alienate world public opinion.

One of the shrewdest comments came from Professor D. W. Brogan, in the independent *Observer*. He writes: "We have to begin again, and it is to be hoped that Downing Street is hastily considering who can be found to talk to Republicans in something like their own language or, at least, to listen to them without too much doctrinaire impatience." He is alone in acutely pointing out that in nothing was Mr. Truman worse advised than in anticipating unemployment at least so soon after the war. It was "a prophesy that was ludicrously wrong and left the President's face red, but brought no answering blush to the cheek of Mr. Secretary Wallace, chief spokesman of this view."

*The Manchester Guardian*, reflecting upon the deadlock to be anticipated during the next two years, somewhat smugly commented that the British system provides "a better reflection of the popular will and a more efficient instrument of government." That the American system, which deliberately prefers no action by Government to wrong action, exemplifies a system of checks, perhaps dangerous in the stresses of our united modern world but especially beloved by the Liberal and Whig philosophers in a more spacious age, escapes the notice of the *Liberal Guardian*.

No lesson is drawn by either Liberal or Tory press from the Republican

victory for the benefit of the domestic situation in Britain. Such lessons are apparently not for import. Liberals and Conservatives alike should by rights be drunk with pleasure about this victory of the old *bourgeois* ideas, but they certainly are not. Rather they wait on the brink like men expecting a cold douche as they dive into the unknown. Admittedly it is disconcerting to note that Mr. John L. Lewis, as much as the American Chamber of Commerce, has his own interpretation of *laissez faire* or "No Government in business."

One reflection which seems to have escaped general notice is the pity that Wendell Willkie, whose internationalism was never in question, was not elected as Republican President in 1940—in which event the prospects of continuity of policy, domestic and foreign alike, would be far more rosy. On the whole the British Government of the day was so far bewitched by the magnetism of the then occupant of the White House as to have done less than justice to Willkie. Some regrets are, however, now expressed that the prospects of Governor Stassen are not brighter.

If the British Government finds itself tarred, in American opinion, with the brush of pro-Rooseveltism the fault, through lack of foresight, is its own. Mr. Taft or Mr. Bricker will probably give it small comfort although Britain, unlike France, is not likely yet to embrace the waiting Slav comrade with indiscreet and uncritical fervour and with memories of the old *Entente*.

The Democrat defeat was explained in the Conservative *Sunday Express* as more "an explosion of resentment than an approval of Republican policy." President Truman pleased neither the Right Wing nor the Left. *Time and Tide* saw the vote "not so much one for the policies of the Republican Party as against the Democrat lease of power."

Certainly there is an odd irony that the democratic love of change which simultaneously put Conservative Mr. Hoover out and Radical Mr. Roosevelt in in America, put Radical Mr. Macdonald out and Conservative Mr. Baldwin in in Britain; and likewise, almost simultaneously, put Mr. Truman in effect out in America, and Socialist Mr. Attlee into the place of Mr. Roosevelt's wartime colleague, Tory Mr. Churchill, in Britain. It has a sobering effect on the enthusiasm which sees one set of solutions appealing to democracy the world over.

The Left-Wing *New Statesman*, prophesying a slump "of 1921 dimensions," took as moral that an America in which "liberal voices will be stifled" must be left to its fate; but that as touching the slump, "we must redouble our efforts to cushion a Socialist Britain from its impact." The ever judicious *Times* wrote editorially, with more caution: "A bi-partisan policy is only made possible by holding a delicate balance between opposing forces, and it will be the national consequence of the electors' choice that this balance . . . will tend to incline rather more to the Right."

It would perhaps be nearer the truth to say that the Elections are understood in Britain as a repudiation of the Roosevelt policy and an endorsement of that of Senator Vandenberg. Superficially a rebuff for Russia and a foretaste of a

'toughening up,' actually it is no small embarrassment for countries rather nearer to Russia than the United States. Unless the ensuing policy is pursued with subtlety it is likely to cause much difficulty to Mr. Bevin and equivalent encouragement to his Left critics.

If, having reviewed the British Press comment of the moment, we now take a broader view, certain considerations will emerge.

The first is that almost all commentators assume that the Democrats are peculiarly Anglophil, at least by comparison with the Republicans. This is an illusion unwarranted by the history of the two major parties—and, moreover, to-day a dangerous illusion.

Even Dr. Brogan, usually so excellently informed if often unduly dogmatic in judgment, does not in his comment adequately allow for the historical record of the Republican Party which, while fairly consistently cautious in its support of abstract internationalism and the Atlantic Charter philosophy, has, perhaps by compensation, pursued a policy less critical of Britain than the Democrats until the accession of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Mr. Hoover was attacked by the Democrats as too pro-British to be trusted.

Woodrow Wilson stood stiffly on the universalist solutions of the Covenant in international affairs. On the record he was not especially pro-British. The satisfactory Washington Naval Agreement which was really decisive for Anglo-American relations in the new era, and which decided that parity and co-operation should be substituted for competition and rivalry, was carried through under the Harding Administration and by the diplomacy of Charles Evans Hughes. Mr. Henry Wallace, in his recent exposition of a detached international policy, and Mr. Elliott Roosevelt are here in the lineal succession of the Wilson tradition.

In view of the words of Mr. R. H. S. Crossman and his fifty-six co-signatories to the effect that the only alternative to an ideologically Socialist foreign policy is "an otherwise inevitable conflict between American capitalism and Soviet Communism in which all hope of world government would be destroyed," there is something ironic in Mr. Elliott Roosevelt's complaint in *As He saw It*:

We (the Americans) vacated the vitally important rôle of operating as a mediator between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, the only two nations whose security interests clash to-day.

That President Franklin Roosevelt was above all competitors the friend of Britain is a firmly established part of the Roosevelt myth overseas. It was, of course, the case that he was an intimate friend of Mr. Churchill's and that this happy personal relationship deeply influenced policy—although Elliott Roosevelt's book shows that even this can be exaggerated.

In point of fact, it was Willkie, not Roosevelt, who advocated in 1942 a total social and economic union of the States and the British Commonwealth, including interchangeable citizenship. This fact is so little known that it is worth quoting. The advocacy occurred in an interview given in January, 1942, to

the *Sunday Express*. Mr. Willkie then proposed:

1. An economic and social union of the United States and the British Empire, which in effect will constitute a bond of brotherhood linking the English-speaking peoples of the world.
2. The abolition of all immigration barriers between countries comprising the British Commonwealth of nations and the United States, giving to holders of American passports in any part of the British Empire and of British passports in the United States the full value of citizenship.

It may indeed be said that Wendell Willkie was no typical Republican, and that the Willkie-ite ex-Governor Stassen of Minnesota is unlikely to get the Republican nomination. Frankly I regard Mr. Stassen as the ablest candidate that the Republicans have and as the man with the most vision of any in the Republican ranks with whom I am acquainted. It will be fatal for America if the Republicans, in this perilous period, put into the White House another Coolidge, to cite no living statesman. One may take some comfort from the fact that Willkie himself was a most unlikely candidate for the nomination, with all the odds against him. Nevertheless he obtained it. Moreover no area of the country has been so consistently Republican as the Middle West, and that it is in this Middle West that Progressive Republicanism is dominant.

However, just as nowadays Democrat Presidents seldom come from the Solid South, precisely because its pro-Democrat vote can be counted on under all circumstances, so states such as New York, Ohio and California will play more part than the Middle West or even Illinois in the Republican selection. Even so, and if it be admitted that Willkie expressed views far bolder on Anglo-American relations than any other of his Republican colleagues, nevertheless the tradition of the Republican Party is, as distinct from Democrat universalism, pro-British and Western. This is amply borne out and documented by Mr. Forrest Davis, in his excellent book *The Atlantic Community*, with its brilliant historical review, as well as by Walter Lippmann in his brief and lucid *U.S. Foreign Policy*.

The idea that a Republican-shaped policy will be anti-British is one of those beliefs that, unwarranted in itself, is yet likely to be self-fulfilling. Much the worst American policy for the world will be no policy at all. It is this which is what really has to be feared. The next worst policy would be one of an uncalled for Anglo-American misunderstanding. It is as foolish for the British to lament over Mr. Truman as for the Americans to feel that all was over with Britain when Mr. Churchill fell from power. What economic deal Britain gets from the Republicans will largely depend upon how Britain relates itself to the Republicans.

It may, of course, be said that Britain does not welcome a Western or pro-British policy in America but only a universalist plan or, in the alternative, the middle-of-the-road policy of a Western European bloc. It may be true that the sheet-anchor of our international relations should be that of giving support to the United Nations Charter and to the rule of law. But circumstances may



well so develop that UNO policy has only limited applicability. Mr. Bevin gave warning in late November that he had gravely to consider whether, in the light of Russian alternative views, he could any longer recommend the British people to trust unqualifiedly to the Security Council for its security.

A Western bloc or 'middle way,' which meant only British leadership of Belgium and Holland, is (as *The Observer* has pointed out) not very encouraging. One that included France and reconstituted (as many, like Mr. K. Zilliacus, would like) the Triple Entente could immediately become an anti-American bloc along with M. Thorez, with Britain in the first bombing line. It would be suicide to repudiate the proffered hand of friendship, even were armed neutrality considered as an alternative. It may well be that taking it could cause the realistically-minded Slav bloc to reconsider its intransigence in UNO matters, and its periodic tendency to revert to Lenin's description of the Geneva assembly as a "den of thieves" with which no self-respecting Marxist could collaborate. Indeed the Byrnes-Bevin policy has already led here to much salutary reconsideration. If, however, the hand is taken by Britain, it must be in honest friendship and not with cards up the sleeve. And if it is taken there must be as much genuine determination, as Dr. Brogan very shrewdly implied, to understand sympathetically the West, shaped as the electors have decided by a large democratic majority that it shall be, as to understand the East.

In the present misunderstanding there is a strong note of irony which may easily become tragedy. Its character is indicated by a shocked letter from an American correspondent in *The Times* endeavouring to explain what he meant by that American tradition of liberty so magistally expounded by de Tocqueville, with his brilliant comparison, a century ago, of America and Russia as the two future great Powers of the world. We may say indeed with Professor Harold Laski, in his article on "The Meaning of the U.S. Elections" (*Palestine Post*, November 10, 1946):

What H. G. Wells called the "raucous voices" are now baying with an intensity hardly heard since the fantastic days of the Liberty League. And the pattern is an ugly one. For while its main framework is supplied by the demands of business, it attracts to its side every sort of interest which seeks to arrest the progress of reform...

Not least, there is very real danger in the recent institutionalization of military and naval power. The authority of the Combined Staff to go over the heads of the two Secretaries and operate under the direct authority of the President creates the real danger that there will be lacking that continuity of civilian control over service castes which is fundamental in a democratic society. And that authority is the more dangerous because the nature of modern war brings the soldier and the sailor into relations with big business the results of which in the absence of strong civilian control, were shown in their naked simplicity in Nazi Germany.

Or we may say that the words of de Tocqueville (*De la Démocratie en Amérique*, II) still hold true: "Pour atteindre son but, l'Américain s'en repose sur l'intérêt personnel, et laisse agir sans les diriger la force et la raison des individus. Le Russe concentre en quelque sorte dans un homme toute la

*puissance de la société."*

To *The Times* American correspondent it seemed incredible that anybody should doubt that America believed in liberty and freedom from the shackles of control; or that the Republican victory showed the gratifying uprising of the American people against the first beginnings of the servile state. To others in Europe this victory seemed the triumph of anti-Soviet reaction; and, because such, therefore proto-fascist and tainted with Nazi ideas. It is difficult to grasp that it is the same political phenomena that both sets of observers are discussing. There seem to be no connections between the two descriptions. The astonished American writing his letter of Cobdenite Liberal explanation in *The Times* and Professor Laski seem to live in two different worlds with different languages where the same words mean opposite things.

The explanation is that both observers suffer from a common fault and a very un-Anglo-Saxon one. They suffer from the fault of the doctrinaire. Many Americans have not yet realized that there is a doctrinaire Cobdenism just as there is a doctrinaire Marxism—and that the one is no more realistic than the other. There is a fetish of 'getting rid of controls,' not because of the observed results, which are by no means always too good, but for *a priori* reasons. There is an obstinate unwillingness to admit that the issue between public enterprise and private enterprise is a pragmatic one of the well-being of the common man; and that the odds are that a mixed economy is best—to admit that even British conservatism had had to accept the notion of 'strategic planning' (a somewhat militaristic word for industry), and that even 'strategic planning' has to get down to detail somewhere.

Americans have been so lucky—first so isolated and then so powerful—that they have been the last to feel the pressures that apply to an over-crowded, over-fearful and war-devastated humanity. It may be that this over-crowding will cease; that our problems will be of man shortage, not unemployment; and that what will be required is not nationalization, but internationalization, to secure international socialism and civilian control, as distinct from national socialism and military control. But these reflections carry us too far. For the moment the first need of the Republican Party is to abandon economic dogma and to revise party doctrines in the light of the human situation of 1946. If it does not, then Mr. John L. Lewis, whatever starvation he may spread in Europe, will be regarded, at least by Communists, in Europe as a hero. It is perhaps unfortunate that it is not France, where M. Thorez so acclaims him, but Germany, which directly suffers the effect of his action. There must be a patent relation between the liberties of which the Republicans talk and the security of the common man within the framework of law and control. The total abandonment of controls is probably not the method to make manifest this relation in a world which still has to campaign for peace by some of the same organization by which it campaigned for war.

Beyond these different views lies the real America which Cobdenite and



Marxist see through their respective spectacles—according to the one an up-standing Republic of men of enterprise; according to the other a reactionary pluto-oligarchy menacing the world with schemes for monopoly. Here is a land which enjoys individual freedom, even to the point of licence of 'strong against weak, even to the point of what Lincoln called "liberty according to the wolves' dictionary." Here is one of the few lands of what used to be called "conditional anarchy," where the Government is regarded as public enemy number one, and where Hampden-like men resolve that the power of the State "has increased, is increasing and must be diminished." Here, in however distorted and anarchic forms, the principle is still maintained that the total of individuals take priority over the State. This may be a chaotic force, actually lowering the standard of living of the people at home and abroad—or it may be an emancipating force such as no police state, with its political prisoners digging canals for the greater military security of the sacred régime, can ever possess. And it should be remembered that, if the party of McKinley and Harding, then also the party of Lincoln, the Emancipator, and of Willkie, the apostle of One World, was the Republican Party. Its party chiefs have gravely to consider how it shall appear abroad; and those abroad have to consider how they will relate themselves to it.

## AIR POWER IN ACTION

BY DOUGLAS COLYER

WHEN the Wrights built the first heavier-than-air craft and flew it at Dayton, Ohio, just forty-three years ago, the world was quick to grasp some at least of the potentialities of this triumph over gravity and the next few years saw tremendous strides in the building of flying machines and the production of suitable engines to propel them. But there can have been few people at that time who foresaw the possibilities for destruction which the Wrights' triumph had put into men's hands and which within little more than a generation would bring European civilization to the brink of ruin.

In the years between 1903 and 1914, most of the first-class powers formed aviation corps to aid their surface forces in the collection of intelligence concerning enemy dispositions. Under the compulsion of the war of 1914-1918, powerful air arms developed out of these modest reconnaissance forces and the war ended with the chief belligerents in possession of air fleets containing a number of specialized types of aircraft designed for the various functions which they were called upon to perform. Yet, looking back upon the first World War, it is clear that the use of air-power was a haphazard business and that the aircraft was regarded as no more than an ancillary to the surface forces.

The period following the war was, therefore, one of acute controversy. There were those who argued, with a good deal of justification on the evidence of the past, that aviation as a military weapon could produce the best results only if it were used at the behest of the commanders of the surface forces, on the land or on the sea. On the other hand, there were those, like the Italian Douhet, who believed that aviation had made all but air forces obsolete and foresaw the wars of the future being decided by air action alone. Time and experience have shown that the truth lies between these two extremes.

Technically, the extension of warfare into a third dimension has altered its character tremendously. It has solved a number of problems and has posed many new ones. There can be few reasonable men who would still cling to the belief either that air forces are merely the ancillaries of surface forces or that air forces have rendered surface forces unnecessary.

But it is in the nature of warfare itself that third dimensional war has made a fundamental change. The period of limited wars has gone for ever and, in its place, has come the era of conflict between whole nations, in which every

individual, man, woman and child, is exposed to attack and the struggle becomes one not between the armed forces of the belligerents so much as between the stamina and the industrial potential of the warring nations. Whatever may be the future developments in the types of weapons employed, the 'total' character of war will remain as the direct result of the increased range given to projectiles by the conquest of the air. The war through which we have just passed has made clear once and for all the implications of modern warfare.

While the victorious nations were groping towards an understanding of the problems of air warfare, the losers in the war of 1914-1918, whose military air force had been outlawed and destroyed, were busily engaged in building up a healthy civil aviation and closely following the controversies between the rival schools of thought regarding the rôle of air forces in modern war. For years prior to the rise of the Nazis to power, German officers and technicians were attending courses at military aviation establishments outside Germany, while their leading designers were turning out military aircraft in foreign countries or experimenting at home with types which were the direct predecessors of many of their most successful fighters and bombers of the 1939-1945 war. Though many of these activities were well known to a number of non-Germans they were treated with good-humoured tolerance by a generation unwilling to face the possibility of another war. But, in retrospect, it is clear that there were many in Germany, even in the years immediately following defeat, who were determined that when the chosen hour struck the Fatherland would make another, and this time a successful, bid for the domination of the world.

When, therefore, Hitler judged, correctly, that the time had come when he could afford to cast off his last pretences of adherence to the air clauses of the Versailles Treaty, he had ready to his hand a well-established aircraft industry, directed by a bevy of brilliant and experienced designers and a corps of well-trained officers and technicians to man their products. At the head of his newly-exhibited *Luftwaffe* was his second-in-command, Hermann Goering, a fighter ace of the last war and a man possessing both vision and drive, together with a number of less solid qualities. Under Goering were two men well suited to the task in hand, Milch, the organizer, who had been director of the *Luftwaffe*, and Udet, the brilliant pilot and technician, who had designed and constructed a number of aircraft and was later himself to win the world's speed record for Germany.

This trio built up the *Luftwaffe* into an instrument of war which, with the help of Goebbels' propaganda, struck terror into the hearts of foreign governments prior to the outbreak of war and came within a short distance of giving Germany the victory once the conflict was joined.

The story of its successes and blunders and of its final extinction has been told by Wing Commander Asher Lee in his book *The German Air Force*.\*

\* Duckworth. 21s.

For a long period during the war, Wing Commander Lee was head of the German section in the Directorate of Operational Intelligence at the Air Ministry and his book is written with the passionless sincerity of the trained Intelligence officer. It is a fascinating story which he has to tell, a story of near-success turning into hopeless failure for reasons over some of the most important of which the *Luftwaffe* had no control. He has told it well. Most important of all, he has made his very readable account of the German Air Force's official life available to students of military history in time for the lessons to be of practical value to those who must plan the post-war air forces of the nations.

What, then, are the causes of the failure of the *Luftwaffe* to prevent the defeat of Hitler's Germany, for that air power could have staved off defeat and pointed the way to victory, there is no room for question? My reading of its history leads me to two conclusions.

First, that the *Luftwaffe*, specifically designed for a short term rôle—the support of the German armies in a series of short, sharp attacks, which were to give Germany control of Europe—was never able to re-orientate itself to the long war of attrition which circumstances forced upon it.

Secondly, and as a result of the first cause, that the megalomaniac ambition of Hitler forced upon it a task greater than any air force in the world could have sustained, to fight on three fronts against constantly mounting opposition, from a base almost continuously subjected to savage assault, directed with particular emphasis upon its own sources of supply of aircraft and fuel.

When the *Luftwaffe* entered the European war in 1939, it possessed, in addition to its greater strength, another advantage over the air forces to which it was opposed. During the previous three years, selected units had been gathering operational experience in the Spanish Civil War. In this laboratory, most of its operational types had been thoroughly tried out in combat and many of its commanders and pilots had had practical experience of operating aircraft in the field.

Its first operations in Poland, against a gallant but ill-prepared foe, served to confirm the truth of the lessons learned in Spain and to foster its belief in its invincibility. Its performance in the series of *blitzkrieg* operations which carried it through Denmark to Norway and, via Holland and Belgium, into France, threw into relief its fitness to fill with success its allotted rôle of smoothing the forward path of the German armies, though it failed to stop the evacuation of the British army from Dunkirk, in face of the opposition of the Hurricanes and Spitfires of the Royal Air Force.

It was the Battle of Britain which first revealed the essential weakness of the *Luftwaffe* as a balanced air force, based upon an industry capable of maintaining it in all conditions of warfare. Faced with the losses imposed upon it by the British Fighter Command, the *Luftwaffe*, designed for quick victories, with the greater part of its goods in the shop-window, found itself hard put to it to

repair its losses and had to call off the battle.

Thereafter, again and again, we come across the picture of a *Luftwaffe* starved in one theatre to bolster up another; then, by a tremendous effort, restoring its first line strength, at the price of even the most modest backing behind it. There was often even apparent expansion, by the simple expedient of renaming squadrons with higher numbers. A corollary to this stringency was the inability of the aircraft industry to produce in any significant quantity the new types of aircraft of which the need was clearly indicated, from time to time, by developments in the type of operations it was called upon to perform. The industrial economy of the *Reich* was hardly ever able, after 1940, to scrap a proved aircraft and begin production of another on a major scale, with the result that, throughout the war, the old types which figured in the 1939 *Luftwaffe* turn up again and again in amended versions and new rôles. Udet's preference for the comparatively light, twin-engined bomber, deprived Germany, throughout the war, of the heavy four-engined bomber which, in British hands, spelt such havoc to the Fatherland and would have made the ordeal of this country so much harder to bear, had it been operated against us in numbers in 1941, when Germany already possessed in the relatively efficient Condor 200 a prototype from which an adequate four-engined bomber could have evolved. At the very end of the war, had the Germans been able to operate in abundance the jet-fighters in which they were well ahead of us, the *Luftwaffe* might have been able to achieve a last hour come-back which would have seriously prolonged the Allied task.

In the light of present knowledge, then, the German Air Force's defeat in the Battle of Britain was the writing on the wall which foretold Germany's ultimate collapse. The victory won through the devotion of the British Fighter Command in 1940 meant more than the preservation of these islands from invasion, though, had they fallen, the whole fabric of opposition to German dominance would have fallen with them. But, given the survival of Britain, the end was certain, though we should be hardly tried before it was achieved. One wonders if there were those in Germany who read the signs aright on the day when they decided to call off the *Luftwaffe* from the attack; if such there were, Hitler himself was certainly not among them. Nor, as Wing Commander Lee remarks, though the German Air Force had had its first taste of defeat, did the taste stay long in their mouths.

By the beginning of 1941, they were off on another Valkyrie ride, this time to make their *Fuehrer* master of the Mediterranean and all the surrounding lands. During the spring and summer of that year, they played a vital part in German successes. But, with Hitler's invasion of Russia in June, they began upon that period of attempting to be strong upon three fronts at once, which lasted until their final collapse, with the attempt becoming more and more unsuccessful with every month that passed. Thereafter, the *Luftwaffe* effort in the Mediterranean died gradually away into fitful efforts to assist the Army

in its losing fight against the ever growing Anglo-American effort and occasional attempts to damage the convoys which were bringing supplies or reinforcements.

For the Russian campaign, Goering concentrated fully two-thirds of his Air Force in its traditional rôle of support of the land forces in what was clearly intended to be another rapidly successful *blitzkrieg*. But the conditions in which it was called upon to fight were very different from those in which it had gained its successes in the West. Instead of the fifteen aircraft per mile front which it had been able to mount in its earlier campaigns, it was now strung out with only two aircraft per mile on a front of more than fifteen hundred miles. Not only were the odds against it in the air much heavier, even allowing for the inferior quality of the Russian aircraft types at the outset of the campaign, but the problems of supply and maintenance became so complex as to tax even the organizing ability of the German logistical services. That they were able to cope with these problems in winter conditions in Russia through two years of war, disposes of the much publicised gibe against German rigidity and inability to improvise.

From now until the end, the *Luftwaffe* was committed to its three-front war and its story becomes one continuous tale of rapid compromise, of switching from one expedient to another in face of mounting dangers, until the whole edifice collapses under blows too heavy to withstand.

Already, by the summer of 1941, Germany was faced with a serious problem in the defence of the Homeland. The British Bomber Command offensive against the *Reich* was already beginning to assume proportions which demanded a heavy subtraction of fighters from the battle-fronts for purely defensive purposes. The mounting scale of attack by night, calling for the formation of more and more night-fighter squadrons, was complicated in 1942 by the beginning of the daylight attacks of the American 8th Air Force, with the consequent diversion of day-fighter squadrons to home defence.

By 1943, the main concern of the *Luftwaffe* chiefs had become the air defence of Germany and the rôle of the air force had changed full circle from that of offensive action in support of an army advancing victoriously from success to success, to one of defensive fighting to protect the communications and industry of the home country against hordes of heavily-armed bombers which aimed their worst blows against the sources of power on which the life of the *Luftwaffe* depended. The provision of even a minimum of support and protection for the troops on the ground now became a secondary consideration and the production of aircraft centred preponderantly on defensive fighter types. Training within a perimeter in which every flying school was pin-pointed and periodically attacked, became a hazardous performance and was largely restricted to the production of fighter pilots, who were fed into operational units at a dangerously early period and were, in any event, of inferior quality by earlier standards and in comparison with the flying crews which the Allies

could call upon in abundance from their infinitely greater resources.

The production of long-range secret weapons to take the place of bombers was embarked upon in an attempt to keep up a semblance of offensive action and for propaganda purposes, though it must have been evident to those in a position to judge that they could have no effect upon the issue of the conflict. It is questionable whether the considerable diversion of manpower and material to the manufacture of the V weapons was justified, though, on the other hand, much Allied bombing effort was expended on the launching sites and was therefore not available against more lucrative targets.

The invasion of France in June 1944, found the *Luftwaffe* in no condition to influence the event one way or the other. Though, for a period, the daylight defences of the *Reich* were denuded of fighter aircraft, the force available to oppose the Allies was negligible in comparison with the massive armada which the British and American Air Forces put into the air. In bombers, the German force available was puny and the huge convoys of Allied vessels lying within easy reach provoked but the feeblest of responses. Even the temptation of the Dakotas dropping parachutists and the long lines of glider tows in the airborne operation for the capture of the crossings of the Maas were hardly interfered with by the German fighters, whose futile efforts to break through the Allied fighter wall had taken the heart out of them. Such losses as there were, came almost entirely from the anti-aircraft guns.

As an offensive weapon, the *Luftwaffe* had shot its bolt, but in defence of the homeland, it could still show fight and, in the late summer of 1944, it looked as though the jet and rocket-propelled fighters might enable it to stage a come-back against Allied bombers. That it failed to do so is attributable to the small numbers in which the new fighters were available, to the inexperience and lack of training of the pilots and to the overwhelming strength of the Allied forces which by now nothing could deflect.

And so, the twilight faded into darkness and the end came for the *Luftwaffe* and for Germany. Hitler's Third *Reich* had lasted little more than a decade and this, too, was officially the life-span of the air arm which he created, though it had been incubated for fully another ten years before it saw the light of day as a military force.

It is now the duty of the Control Commission to see that every vestige of it is destroyed and that Germany is denied access to the upper air. For, this time, we have learned the lesson that, in aviation, the possession of a commercial aviation industry is more than half way to the creation of a military air force. It is not without significance that the Junkers 52, built as a civil transport aircraft, proved itself in war to be one of the most versatile military aeroplanes, as bomber, transport, glider-tower and parachute-dropper.

Whether it will be permanently possible to keep Germany from possessing aircraft is a difficult question. In a world in which air transport will play a progressively more important and normal part, it is not easy to see how a

nation, which it is in all our interests to make once more self-supporting, can be denied the use of the air. It may be that, when the time comes for a decision, the art of war will have entered upon a new phase in which the military aircraft as we know it will be as obsolete as Nelson's *Victory* would be in a modern fleet.

Have we seen the last appearance in war of air forces as we have known them during the two wars in which they have played a part? Are fighters and bombers to become merely museum exhibits? Are civil transport aircraft, even when jet propelled, to disappear from the sky, to give place to giant rockets, which will cross the Atlantic in forty minutes? Will atomic rockets, despatched without the formality of a declaration of war, gain rapid decisions in the wars of the future? What can be said with certainty is that we have in our hands at this moment sufficient scientific knowledge to change fundamentally all our previously held ideas about transportation and to make war so devastating that another world conflict could end only in the elimination of civilization from the world.

How near the German Air Force came to imposing the will of a megalomaniac on the world, Wing Commander Lee has told us in his book. Let us take to heart the moral which General Carl Spaatz, Commander of the United States Strategic Air Forces during the war and now Head of the Army Air Forces, points in his Foreword:

Soldiers, sailors and airmen have to fight the wars, but it is the people, the civilian people of all nations, who have to provide the armed forces. It is the people who have to equip and support them. It is the people who mourn the casualties. It is the people themselves who have to sustain, perhaps even more than soldiers, the actual bomb blows of the future now that air power has irrevocably altered not only the nature of war but the potentiality for existence of every person on this earth.

It is the civilian people who must decide and then make the effort to assure that air power is henceforward to become the servant of man and not the scourge it became in the hands of the German Air Force.

(Air Marshal Douglas Colyer, C.B., D.F.C., has been an Instructor at the R.A.F. Staff College, an Attaché in Paris, Director and later Director General of Personal Services at the Air Ministry, A.O.C. No. 15 (Coastal) Group, Assistant Chief of the Air Staff (Policy) and Head of the R.A.F. Delegation in Washington.)

## PHYSICAL PLANNING

BY R. H. WRIGHT

IN a statutory sense, physical planning is a new-comer. It arrived so recently as 1909 as a junior partner with the subject of housing; it was limited to planning in towns, and even so to "land which is in course of development or appears likely to be used for building purposes." It was not until 1932 that the scope was widened so as to justify the title of "town and country planning," and the power to prepare a scheme was given to all urban and rural authorities. There was power of combination, and county councils could be invited to take part in a joint committee. There was also a power given to the Minister of Health (who was then in charge centrally) to enforce combination of authorities, but generally speaking executive powers remained in the hands of the urban and rural authorities, and planning, such as it was, went on area by area.

It was, however, in the light of post-war ideas, a negative sort of operation designed on the assumption that all land was likely to be subject to development, by which was understood building development, and that the function of the statutory powers was to control development in the interest of "protecting existing amenities." As this state of affairs overlooked the need for the agricultural use of suitable land, the result was the preparation of a rash of zoning proposals directed to the end of building development, properly safeguarded in point of density, space about buildings, and other "protection of amenities." It has been calculated\* that by 1937 the amount of land which had been zoned for housing in schemes that had reached an advanced stage of preparation (considerably less than half of the schemes which were actually being prepared) was large enough to accommodate a population of nearly 300,000,000 additional people.

The war has brought about many radical changes of ideas, and if planning has taken on a new aspect, and the newspaper reader begun to be interested in a subject once considered abstruse, it is because of the general review of social affairs occasioned by the war and in particular of the enforced interest in planning or redevelopment necessitated by the destruction caused by enemy action. And speaking broadly, the word "redevelopment" gives the key to the statutory changes of the post-war era. The limitation of planning to a negative control has taken a turn, especially by reason of the powers given by Parliament in 1944 under which it seems the process will be for the local authority to

purchase for redevelopment large areas whether by reason of extensive war damage or of bad lay-out and obsolete development, retaining the freehold and granting leases up to ninety-nine years' duration to facilitate development by private enterprise, where possible. Side by side with this significant change has come a greater concentration of authority in the interests of some uniformity or determination of principle in planning administration. The Minister of Town and Country Planning had only to give a reminder of his 1932 powers of compulsion and large combinations of planning authorities began to appear all over the country, or on the other hand powers were handed over by local authorities to the county councils. Without doubt, the results have been good and new efforts are being put forth to frame plans for wide areas, free from the former almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of co-operation between one local authority and another.

There remains the old bogey of compensation, which has dogged the efforts of planning authorities all along and has deterred them time after time from imposing a zoning or carrying out a proposal which has appeared to be in the interests of their constituents. As the Uthwatt Committee\* pointed out, in dealing with "floating value":

Potential development value is by nature speculative. The hoped-for building may take place on the particular piece of land in question, or it may take place elsewhere; it may come within five years, or it may be twenty-five years or more before the turn of the particular piece of land to be built upon arrives. The present value at any time of the potential value of a piece of land is obtained by estimating whether when development is likely to take place, including an estimate of the risk that other competing land may secure prior turn. If we assume a town gradually spreading outwards, where the fringe land on the north, south, east and west is all equally available for development, each of the owners of such fringe land to the north, south, east and west will claim equally that the next development will "settle" on his land. Yet the average annual rate of development demand of past years may show that the quantum of demand is only enough to absorb the area of one side within such a period of the future as commands a present value.

Bearing in mind the excessive zoning of land for building development, previously referred to, it is easy to appreciate the spurious enhancement of land values and the formidable nature of the potential claims for compensation which faced the local authorities in the execution of their powers; and the concentration of function which has recently gone on is no answer to this. Though planning functions have been handed over, liability for compensation remains largely where it was, and the introduction of new measures into Parliament to deal with the compensation problem, deferred from the last session but promised for this, can lead to the removal of this haunting fear in the way of the active exercise of development powers. It has to be remembered that fundamentally the owner of land is entitled to deal with it as he thinks fit. The development of the byelaw system in the middle of last century imposed one

\* Report of the Committee on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas (1942), page 41.

\* Final Report of the Expert Committee on Compensation and Betterment (1942), page 14.

check, and the coming of planning legislation brought another, but subject to the checks the principle remains, and within limits any interference with it attracts compensation, deterrent perhaps more for its uncertainty than otherwise.

In speaking in the opening words of this article of the newness of planning, care is taken to limit that statement to a statutory sense. It is as long ago as 1898 that that surprising man, Ebenezer Howard, a clerk and shorthand writer by avocation and a planner only by hobby, devised or developed the idea of the garden city in order on the basis of the communal ownership of the freehold to provide for the limitation of towns to a manageable size, for the control of their development along acceptable lines, and for a healthy association of town and country on lines of mutual respect. His ideas were copied, though with some departure from principle, throughout the world, though strangely enough they ran close to being forgotten in his own country, until with the post-war revival of interest in planning they were re-issued, in revised version, in the New Towns Act of 1946.

The central theme is the setting up of new communities, with populations whose desirable numbers are suggested at the figure of 60,000 or thereabouts, and with a proper balance of houses, shops, industry and other requirements to cope with such numbers, in order to provide an outlet for the gross overcrowding of our big cities. (One may note in passing that while the Howard scheme involved the purchase of freehold for both the town site and the agricultural belt around it, it was decided by Parliament that only the town site need be acquired under the new Act and the surrounding territory could be protected from undesirable development by the ordinary processes of planning legislation). It is in line with the principles of the new Act that the Minister has rebutted the claims of the big cities to "over-spill" their surplus populations in new towns of their own creation: the new communities must be properly mixed in point of classes and income-levels; the powers of the Board of Trade must be called in aid to settle industry of the right type and extent and above all the new community must be free to work out its own destiny, free, autonomous and responsible.

In this context, it is a matter of some perplexity that the Local Government Boundary Commission finds itself assailed with applications from the large towns to be made larger, spilling over into the countryside, presumably on the ground that they are supplying the necessary social services, or that only they are in a position to do so. It may very well be that the powers of the Commission (a compact of principles established before the war and some of them very old) are not extensive enough to have regard to new planning thought, and one is struck by the apparent contradiction between the activities of the Commission and the testimony of powerful ministerial voices which occasionally break silence on the subject of local government reform. The smaller authorities continue to lose their functions, police, fire

brigade, hospitals, health services, ambulances, education, transport, electricity, gas, with rumours of the flight of others, all in spite of the insistence on easy contact between representative and constituent and the importance of local responsibility. There is room for the rumoured project of regional authorities, but not combined with emasculated local authorities; and in any case if, as stated, county boroughs are an obstacle to local government reform, how is the Commission on its present powers to deal with the extension proposals before it, and how will they fit in with regional areas, not to speak of modern town planning principles?

In this welter of conflicting ideas, one turns with pleasure to a study of the comparatively simple and insulated problems of Worcester as depicted in the book *County Town*.<sup>\*</sup> Worcester is in the happy position of being the unchallenged provider of services for a large surrounding area of southern Worcestershire and a strip of adjoining Herefordshire, defined in the book as its "area of influence". To that extent the authors of the survey have had a straightforward task before them and the city, on the other hand, can congratulate itself on being able to draw on the services of a gifted team of investigators, led by Professor Florence, from the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science of the University of Birmingham. The final chapter of the book gives some suggestions for redevelopment of the city, carefully screened as being not official, but the great part of its pages are devoted to an extensive survey of the facts and activities of life in Worcester.

It is an outstanding example of preparation before planning, and there is much wisdom in the advice that "survey should be a continuing process in the life of a community, a stocktaking of resources and conditions that allows the citizen to have a comprehensive understanding of the life and activity in which he participates. After this stocktaking should come revaluation of current practices and conditions in the light of new techniques, material, and cultural standards. And from this revaluation should result the physical plan for redevelopment."

The authors begin by seeking to determine Worcester's "area of influence"; describe the physical conditions of the area of survey, and analyse the population trends, the city's industrial structure, local and complementary transport, linkage with the countryside, the housing problem, the provision of health services, public utilities and amenities, shopping provision and needs; requirements for the development of education, and in preparation for the final proposals the present zoning and social grouping. The book gives an indication of the immense amount of research which must needs be undertaken all over the country to compass the proper planning of town and countryside and the location and development of new towns. Not only so, but dealing with the attraction of new industries and acknowledging the call of national require-

<sup>\*</sup> A Civic Survey for the planning of Worcester by Janet Glaisyer, T. Brennan, W. Ritchie and P. Sargent Florence. John Murray. 21s.



ments, it makes clear the necessity for a master plan.

How otherwise can sound decisions be taken on the proper use of the strictly limited acreage of this island, and the distribution of its industrial power? We look to over-all planning to prepare the way for the vital rôle which, as everyone now realizes, agriculture must play in the national economy, to carry electricity and other amenities into the countryside in an endeavour to arrest its depopulation, to preserve to agriculture the best soils, to site and delimit the proposed national parks, to give us a system of motor roads, to make the most economic use of our coal reserves, to arrange the best strategic and economic dispersal of factories and, let it be said, to make proper provision, and no more, for army training areas. The idea of a master plan has once been rejected, but it is quite surely on the way.

*(Mr. R. H. Wright is Town Clerk of Surbiton.)*

## SCHOOL MEDICAL SERVICE

BY GEORGE DE SWIET

THE first Elementary Education Act while introducing compulsory teaching in 1870 was framed without due regard to the health problems of school children, and the state of complete indifference in this respect, amounting to neglect, on the part of the authorities continued until 1899, when the passing of the Board of Education Act granted at least permissive powers to deal with defective and epileptic children. This initial stirring of public conscience, though limited in its extent, was the first shy step on the road of progress which was destined to be slow, for the next move did not follow for almost a generation. It was not until the Acts of 1914 and 1918 that we saw vague powers converted into stern duty on the part of the appropriate authorities to provide special schools for the above mentioned types of pupils. It is true that in 1906 provision of meals was enacted along with systematic medical inspection of all children, and a medical department as well as clinics were established. But only in 1944 did the Education Act put a duty on all local authorities to provide, or to secure, all forms of medical treatment—except domiciliary medical service and the care of infectious diseases including tuberculosis.

Furthermore, treatment towards which heretofore parents were obliged to contribute financially has—under this most outstanding recent enactment—become entirely free. It is now necessary for all school nurses also to possess such qualifications as are required from health visitors, since it is their duty to visit the homes of school children. It is obvious that all this has immensely widened the scope of the service and increased the responsibility of the authorities. The 1944 Act lays down that routine medical inspections of children are to take place at specified times only slightly differing from the former practice: after entry, in the last year of primary school (ten plus) and in the last year of school (thirteen plus) and at such other times as may be determined by the Minister or the Authority with the Minister's approval. Besides these specified times, special references by teachers, parents or school nurses and re-examinations are to be made. Moreover, as from April 1, 1945, every local education authority acquired the power to examine medically every child from the age of two onwards.

It is noteworthy that while medical inspection is now compulsory—treatment (however desirable) can be declined by parents, which right, it is hoped, will be but rarely exercised. As if in order to counteract this optional therapy

clause becoming a retrograde step, the authorities are given great latitude to develop medical treatment schemes in the following: orthopaedic work, child guidance, treatment of speech defects by specially trained therapists, miscellaneous clinics for rheumatic children, nutritional defects, orthoptic therapy for squint and various paediatric clinics. Thus under the 1944 Act each authority is compelled to provide, or to secure, fully comprehensive arrangements for medical treatment of children who attend the county schools. Yet it is quite obvious that this expansion will, for several reasons, have to proceed hand in hand with the development of the much bigger plan—the National Health Service under the Ministry of Health. It is of more than symbolical import that the office of Chief Medical Officer of both these ministries is vested in one and the same man and that the Chief County Medical Officers are also Chief School Medical Officers.

The new Act introduced some new terminology and classification. Expressions, like "mentally" or "physically defective", which were in common use for many years have disappeared from official circulation in favour of the new terms: "educationally sub-normal" or "handicapped". Along with this nation-wide desire for changes in nomenclature we witness a more careful sub-division of these "handicapped children" into various categories, while at the same time greater elasticity is allowed in the organization and the curriculum of ordinary schools so as to allow children with defects to be treated in them, such as the "partially sighted", "partially deaf", "mal-adjusted", etc. There are, of course, special arrangements for the blind, the deaf, the diabetic, the epileptic and those with speech defects. But segregation proceeds even further, and it recognizes the delicate and the hungry child, the ill-housed and ill-clad child and provision can and must be made by the authorities for children who need board and lodging and even clothing, if necessary.

Small wonder that the 1944 Act was universally acclaimed as a great measure by people of all political parties, and, indeed, nothing less than a great measure would suffice in this case. The hugeness of the task performed, for instance, by nurses alone can be inferred from these figures: as the result of fourteen million examinations for verminous condition 500,000 children were found infested. After this few would deny that nurses get to know the social background of the pupils better than anyone else, except the family doctor who has the unique knowledge of the family history besides. School children represent a seventh part of the whole population. In October 1945 there were roughly five million children in primary and secondary schools, while at the same time there were only 724 school medical officers. It appears certain, therefore, that the family practitioner must be included and consulted more and more in the future, as the requirements of the new Education Act are implemented.

Yet the implementation is encountering now considerable difficulties owing

to shortage of staff and equipment. There is also insufficient accommodation in special schools, particularly for the "educationally sub-normal" cases. Recent statistics showed that out of 23,000 residential cases only 3,000 sub-normal ones found a place in special schools. Unless such shortages are speedily overcome much of the effect of the power granted to us will be lost. But progress can only be retarded by the continuing lack of international harmony on the one hand and economic unrest on the other.

Yet it was a great wonder to many observers that the health of the school child did not suffer more than it did through the upheavals of the last war. One is inclined to believe that the evacuation and consequent temporary severance of old family ties had often a beneficial effect on the physical and mental development of the young. Meanwhile those children who were undergoing prolonged treatment in hospitals under the emergency medical service, for one reason or another, often had teaching brought to them in the wards so that their education did not suffer unduly.

While there is a serious lack of buildings, of doctors, dentists and nurses it is gratifying to note that there is no lack of public funds. These seem to be amply available as compared with men and materials. The London local education authority is well able to spend many millions a year and is freely voting considerable sums of money on projects intended to enrich the lives of school children and to ensure their well-being. Also, frequent and generous increments are granted to the staffs. And, since it is customary to draw comparisons with our cousins on the other side of the Atlantic, it can only be flattering to us to hear that the medical service for the child of school age is the weakest link in the chain of public health practice in the U.S.A.

Assuming that the necessary requisites will be gradually coming in, what of the guiding principles on which to build up a modern school medical service? One of them must surely be the belief that the best results will be attained when inspection and treatment are carried out with the fullest co-operation of the child-patient; while enlisting the pupil's intelligent collaboration has, of course, also immense educational values. Of great help in these matters may be found the thesis that all children are very much like ourselves, only more so, in every way—except that they are handicapped in respect of their height, their strength and their general experience of life, quite apart from the other specific handicaps dealt with before. This conception of a "handicap" rather than "defect" or "inferiority" would greatly assist in arriving at a better understanding of child psychology both of the normal as well as of the abnormal types. And, if constantly kept in mind, it would bridge the gulf between them and us by making the relations easier, more natural and confidential. It would develop in the young a sense of dignity instead of one of humiliation. One may, for instance, find it practicable to admit them to a mutual control system designed to check up on those instances where we have failed to practise ourselves what we preached to them. And who could tell

whether these (admittedly not infrequent occurrences) have not well-nigh ruined many a child's character?

I had occasion—in a small way—to test this theory recently on a large gathering of healthy young children whom I was asked to address at a council school on Empire Day. My listeners, who belonged to all ages from seven to eleven, were visibly impressed by the unconventional approach and the unexpected invitation to participate in the great work of personal hygiene on equal terms with parents, teachers and doctors. I encouraged them not only to remember that it is in their interests to carry out all the instructions which they must have heard ever so often regarding ventilation, fresh air and exercise, dental care and the right choice of dietary, but that they should also remind their immediate contacts of the necessity to do likewise. The genuine interest and sense of gratitude this awakened in the young minds could be observed in the children's faces. They seemed to say: Well, here is someone who speaks to us differently, more as equals and not as half-wits, for which we are truly thankful.

Many physicians and surgeons, too, will have to step off the lofty pedestals from which they talk down to the grown-ups. Because the same reasons for a change of front obtain here as well. The co-operation on the part of the patient, be it old or young, on which so much of the success in treatment depends, is itself dependent on the amount of understanding, that is of that intelligent kind of interest which, if properly enlisted, is of a lasting value both to the individuals and to the community. Yet the old theory, that of keeping the patient in ignorance, died very hard and, in fact, is not quite dead in some parts to-day, notably in hospitals, and especially with reference to children. Much of this is, no doubt, due to the time factor, time being in short supply in these places. Hence an additional ground for reducing the number of patients per doctor, thus enabling the medical advisers to spend a little more time and energy on explaining as many aspects of the case as possible to its owner.

What holds good with grown-ups does so even more with children who learn and observe things so much faster. Older children ought to be allowed to participate in the treatment of younger children, applying dressings, administering medicines, preparing special dishes. It is surprising how many of them suddenly betray an inborn talent in this respect which, if stimulated, may lead to nursing or even doctoring later on. An inclination may become a profession when spotted early and dealt with sympathetically. In these days of a grave shortage of nurses the love of looking after the sick will, of necessity, have to be inculcated very early into our girls and kept alive by new methods. The idea recently mooted in connection with child welfare, namely the employment of girls in the later 'teens as child-minders or sitters-in while the parents leave their babies in the care of these young adepts in mothercraft, cannot but be regarded as a move in the right direction. For, from

looking after healthy infants to nursing sick ones there is but one step, which, if made attractive, may lead us—the Local Health Authorities—out of the dilemma we are in concerning the unprecedented shortage of nurses, midwives, hospital domestic staffs and so on.

Seeing how rapid is now the growth of various lines of treatment which attack familiar though until recent years insufficiently cared for abnormalities, and what vast staffs will soon be required in order to carry out some of the modern methods which demand prolonged and individual attention to each single case (and how much more so in children than in adults!), it would appear rather doubtful whether the complexity of the school medical service will allow it to remain in the hands of the Ministry of Education for very long. Voices are being raised already in favour of an entirely new government department charged with the sole duty of child welfare. This may be largely under the impact of a few newly-uncovered instances of revolting neglect and cruelty. But even when public indignation has subsided there could be a strong case made for a transfer of this health service where it properly belongs, to the Ministry of Health, to which all remaining medical services should be handed over. Such a proceeding will become irresistible as and when the housing side of this dual ministry undergoes devolution.

The principle of integration of which so much has been heard of late whenever the work of doctors is mentioned is unfortunately still offended against by more than one State department, inasmuch as they all adhere strenuously to another more potent principle: what we have—we hold! Half a dozen of them have medical sections and they mean to keep them in the face of the new Health Act and its maker. Meanwhile, what medical practitioners have for years been asking for in vain is a continuity of medical records without which there can be no continuity of treatment. Should they want to piece a case together which presents some diagnostic difficulty, there ought to be a full dossier automatically following each individual whether he be a hopeless chronic invalid or a perfectly sound person, or only appeared to be so. The resulting simplification would benefit doctor and patient alike.

I know of at least one medical practice in which patients are issued with cards containing some essential particulars of their medical history and treatment which enables them, if they should require attention away from home, to obtain it without any loss of time from any hospital or private doctor on production of the card.

Would it be too much to ask that each child on leaving his or her school should be supplied with a brief record of physical ailments and psychological make-up as noted during school years? This would become a valuable introduction to such subsequent medical records as the (now insurance and later State) practitioner is or will be required to keep. Particularly if, as the new Act implies, the latter is encouraged to continue his studies and

even, if so inclined, to specialize in some branch of medicine. Here again his fancy may take him along either a well-trodden path of recognized specialities or he may choose to develop something new. Under the new Acts, both the Education one of 1944 and the National Health Service one of 1946, more practitioners will handle children of school age in larger numbers than ever before.

To show the speed with which expansion is taking place in this field of our activities it would be enough to point to the latest developments in the care and treatment of the so-called cerebral palsy or spastic cases resulting from head injuries at birth, of whom there are thousands in this country, but who until recently did not receive anything like the attention they are getting now, when special registers of them are being prepared in various big cities, specialists are being trained in the new method of re-education (largely brought over from America) and a new special council has been called to life to organize the campaign under the leadership of eminent members of the profession. And the result of all this much overdue fuss will be that many unfortunate cripples, often quite wrongly dismissed as idiots, who from time to time appear in the street and attract attention with their peculiarly disorderly gait and grimaces, will at last be recognized as amenable to correction and endowed with surprisingly sharp intelligence. But, of course, the earlier the treatment—the better the results.

Equally fruitful could be our labours in the vineyard of child guidance (where amazing effects are often achieved) if we were allowed to see defective characters, faulty behaviour, etc. before the end of the fourth year of age, for that is the best time for their re-making. One can speak here of "cures-while-you-wait" which have to be witnessed to be believed. But the treatment is exhausting to the one who gives it; hence only a few cases can be dealt with in a day by one person who must of necessity spend himself (or herself) the more, the bigger the result. However, looking at it from the sociological point of view, no work could be called greater.

And, finally, there is opening before us a vast new field, as yet but meagrely investigated, of psychogenic factors and their rôle in the causation of diseases as well as in their treatment, which is no less significant in children than it is in adults. One is forced to believe that in studying this subject we have yet to travel some distance before we can feel contented with our knowledge and with the practical results of the art of medicine, but especially when dealing with children of school age on whom the future of humanity so largely depends.

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## THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE

BY B. M. G. REARDON

IT would be instructive to attempt a detailed comparison of the state of what is called organized or institutional Christianity as it exists among us at the present, after the catastrophe of two world wars, with what it was at the close of the Edwardian period or a little earlier. Statistics of course would afford us a certain amount of reliable guidance. We should, for example, observe the falling-off in the numbers of the clergy themselves. In 1911 the figure stood at 20,086, to a total population of thirty-four millions; in 1938 it had sunk to 17,139, in a population of 38.4 millions; and to-day it is lower still. This fact alone finds some explanation for the now evident decline in the personal influence which the clergyman, especially in the town parish, is able to exercise. Yet how far statistics supply us with a really accurate picture is open to question. Thus, out of every hundred children born sixty-seven are baptized at Church of England fonts; but who would venture to suggest that the proportion of the population so represented constitutes, in any other than a barely nominal sense, the laity of the Established Church? We get nearer the truth when we discover that out of the same hundred children only nine continue, after Confirmation, as Easter communicants, while those who regularly attend Holy Communion at their parish churches are in fact far fewer than this.\* In these matters one is again and again thrown back upon one's own generalized impressions. The present writer feels for his part obliged to accept the more rather than the less pessimistic view of the existing state of things which the available figures may be understood to indicate. A recent estimate computes that no more than from ten to fifteen per cent. of the people have close associations with a Christian church of any denomination; that twenty-five to thirty per cent. attend a place of worship on outstanding occasions, for example, the national 'day of prayer' during the war; and that of the rest forty-five to fifty per cent. are merely indifferent to religion in all its forms, while the remaining ten to twenty per cent. are more or less hostile. Of these figures it is pertinently enquired whether the failure of the Church to attract or its failure to repel is the more alarming feature.

The publication by the Church of England of the Report of its Commission on Evangelism reveals that the ecclesiastical authorities are by no means un-

\* The approximate number of confirmed members of the Church of England at the present time is over 7,000,000, the number of Easter communicants for the twelve years 1925-1936 being an almost stationary figure of two and a half millions. See the pamphlet *Confirmation To-day* (1944), issued under the auspices of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, p. 58.

aware of the extent to which the Christian tradition in this country has become enfeebled and that they are gravely perturbed by it.\* "There can be no doubt," say the authors, "that there is a wide and deep gulf between the Church and the people . . . . The evidence of chaplains and others in close touch with all three (fighting) Services, and with munition factories, may be accepted as conclusive. They testify with one voice to the fact of a wholesale drift from organized religion."† Whether the various means suggested for the rehabilitation of Christian institutions are likely to be of much effect only time will decide. Many of the proposed methods are already familiar, such as the parochial mission, and are in principle sound and salutary; others, like the use of religious films, are more novel. But that in the years immediately ahead of us there will be anything in the nature of a revival of religion in the old-fashioned sense is, it is to be feared, sufficiently doubtful.

The problem which faces the denominations to-day differs in a number of important respects from that which faced the Victorians. The Victorian age posed a mainly intellectual, even an academic, problem. Darwinism, the *Essays and Reviews* controversy, the case of Bishop Colenso, the agnosticism of Thomas Henry Huxley and Mr. Bradlaugh, were very live issues among the educated—and churchgoing—classes. I will not say that our contemporary difficulty is not also ultimately an intellectual one, a problem of theology. But it is raised in a new context and by other facts. What Dr. Karl Mannheim calls "the crisis in valuation"‡ which the circumstances of our age have brought about is the result of an immense social revolution. The Victorians—although this social revolution had been foreseen and indeed was under way long before the turn of the century—were concerned with the task of adjusting, as far as seemed possible, the inherited scheme of Christian belief to the new conceptions of nature and of man and human history to which science in its several branches had given rise. Yet to us the controversies, once so momentous, on Genesis, on verbal inspiration, on eternal punishment, have hardly more current interest (and perhaps less) than, say, Hobbes *versus* Bramhall on free-will. Unbelief nowadays—and its ubiquity, especially among the young, the brochure on the conversion of England does not seek to minimize—arises not, primarily, from the incredibility of creeds: the recent 'return to orthodoxy', of which Mr. C. S. Lewis's admirable popular tracts are no doubt a significant mark, implies that the divorce of reason from tradition is not as complete as a sometimes eccentric 'modernism' has been apt to assume. It springs rather from the divergence of the socio-economic order presupposed by or at any rate coincident with most forms of historical Christianity from that

\* *Towards the Conversion of England* (1945), published by the Press and Publications Board of the Church Assembly.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3. "The most depressing reports come from large industrial cities, and from that wide and heterogeneous belt of population which sprawls round London and includes about one-sixth of the total inhabitants of England."

‡ *Diagnosis of our Time* (1943), ch. ii.

which is emerging in the contemporary world. In other words, the familiar symbolism of Christian belief is not felt to be relevant to the condition of man and society which industrialism, the totalitarian state and repeated world war have all combined to bring about. The determining factor in life, it is felt, is not God or Providence, in the shape of some vast superhuman personality, but the prevailing economy. The compulsion of circumstances and events, the coercive power of current fads and fashions, impose an authority which evokes neither trust nor respect; while for many minds the evidences of man's inhumanity to man in its twentieth century setting have rendered the postulate of a cosmic moral agency quite unintelligible.

- It is not surprising therefore that churchmen would fain show that Providence has a social conscience. This newly awakened, or rather should we say newly stimulated, motive is illustrated by the movement whose watchword has been 'Liturgy and Society'. C.O.P.E.C., the 1937 Oxford World Conference of the Churches, Malvern in the war years, may all be said to mark a fresh orientation of enlightened Christian thought. "The social mission of the Church," we are told, "is (not) confined to the enunciation of vague and unhelpful generalizations. Of such, the world has grown justifiably tired." It means, on the other hand, "that human issues ought to be judged by Christians primarily from the standpoint of a Christian doctrine of man and society, with a full and realistic recognition of the situation of man at a given time and point in history, and the possibilities open to him there."\*

The conditions which the modern believer must take account of have affected all denominations, although, it may be, Roman Catholicism, as the most rigidly institutional form of Christianity known to history, reveals fewest signs of disintegration. The gulf which, it is realized, has now widened between the entire body of the Christian denominations and the 'outside', secular world has, one might venture to think, done more even than community of Christian belief and experience to bring home to the churches the folly of their continued separatism. But it is pertinent, in view of such a document as *Towards the Conversion of England*, to enquire further to what extent the authority and influence of the national church—the ideal of which has ever been that of continuity and comprehensiveness—have weathered the storms of recent years.

Generally speaking the effects of the war upon the religious outlook and habit of the people have been detrimental. I do not say that the conditions of war have necessarily proved a fresh and successful assault upon faith. Or to put it rather differently, the problem of belief, in the Christian meaning of the word, has not become any the greater as a result of new obstacles raised by discoveries—as to either man's nature or the process of his history. It was really no more easy to believe in God, in a universal moral providence and purpose,—

\* *The Church and the Planning of Britain*. The Report of the Social and Industrial Commission of the Church Assembly, 1944, p. 3f.

and it is the *moral* aspect of faith which must continue to make the chief appeal to the modern religious mind—in this year 1947 than in 1939 or even in 1914. What the world wars have demolished, along with so much material wealth, is the secularist dogma of human perfectibility and its accompanying visions of a historical utopia. But the Christian dogma of man has of its very nature left no room for disillusionment at the prospect of renewed demonstrations of human sinfulness. The main traditions of Christendom, Catholic and Protestant, have in more or less degree regarded human institutions, human civilizations, whatever their intrinsic worth and promise, as ultimately 'under judgment of God.' History, on the Christian view, is (in the phrase of a notable contemporary thinker) "an ever-increasing cosmos creating ever-increasing possibilities of chaos."\*

But among the practical consequences of the war is a loss of regard for the institutions of that past whence, in our short memory, global wars have come; and those institutions include the churches. Further the more elaborate and authoritarian organization of society, with its unrelaxing pressure upon the individual, has been made on a purely secular and at times anti-humane and mechanical basis. The climate in which the spiritual in man may grow is thus become more rarefied and ever more distant from the habitat of 'common man'.

In many ways the Church of England has felt these repercussions the most severely. It is still the representative English church. A distinguished group of Anglican thinkers has persistently held, in contradistinction to the 'Catholic' theory of the Tractarian movement, that the Church of England is the people of England on their religious side, and that by virtue alone of this especial status can the national church be judged. The ideal is not unworthy. But it is intelligible only on the assumption that the people of England are Christian in some profounder sense than could possibly be urged to-day. Anglo-Catholicism, in spite of its highly questionable 'branch' theory of catholicity, has taken a more frankly sectarian view of what the Church's position actually is. It has, that is to say, always regarded comprehensiveness—though a principle which it has never scrupled to invoke when expedient—as a dubious merit. But the place and function of the national church is not properly to be found in what its rather vocal Anglo-Catholic section alone has had to say about it. The Church of England is probably the broadest body in Christendom, yet it has on that account lacked the cohesion, the binding minority-consciousness, of dissent, whether of the Protestant or the ultramontane kind. It may be argued that narrow credal dogmatism of any sort has been long ago exploded, but it is abundantly clear that the characteristic 'broadness' of Anglicanism has been able to do little to arrest that dissolution of religious sentiment which has now become so obvious and to which no previous century can offer a real parallel. The popular response to the calls for national prayer does not, it is to be feared, prove any-

\* Reinhold Niebuhr, *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics*, p. 108.

thing to the contrary, but suggests rather that the Church of England is sometimes perilously near to being the shrine less of faith in a supernatural order than of the more flourishing spirit of nationalism.

There are, as the figures show, fewer clergy to-day than a generation since. Yet even so the shrinkage in their numbers is not proportionate to the decline in 'practising' church members. The fact has to be recognized—and the sooner the clergy as a body examine and confront its implications the better—that the parish churches both in town and country are very nearly empty. Those who do attend are noticeably not the younger parishioners. We need not suppose that churchgoing is any infallible measure of a people's spirituality or ethical maturity; countless instances might be adduced from Biblical times down to our own of the 'vain oblations' of a merely perfunctory and conventional religious observance; but it is a good general guide. It does suggest that modern man finds that 'religion' in its large organizational or political character has no interpretation to offer him of his own experience of life, and no imperative which he can imaginatively grasp and obey. That his conclusion is justly drawn is not, without drastic qualification, to be allowed. Modern man is not at all the open-eyed innocent, thirsting only for truth and justice, which after the sentimental manner of the day he is too often depicted to be. Nor indeed is the historic theology of the Christian Church, as embodied, for example, in the work of our own Hooker and given liturgical expression in the Book of Common Prayer, so hopelessly out-dated as liberal opinion too readily concludes. But that the Church does not 'get' the people is obvious enough, whatever the reasons. Ironically, this loss of influence—though the Church of England never has, at any time, meant much to the industrial masses—goes hand in hand with a great increase in its organizational activities. Yet another and very significant example is afforded by the precipitous decline of clerical influence in education.

And what of the personal standing of the clergy? They are generally poorer than were their Victorian predecessors; but an enforced poverty has no necessary ascetic value, nor is inability to pay bills a stimulus to the parsons' piety. Their prestige, even in country districts, is almost certainly lower. It would not be true to say that they are unpopular; but it would be no more true to say that their opinions are particularly valued or their example esteemed. The supernatural power of faith is not always discernible in their lives; there is a dogged sense of duty; often a rather motiveless enthusiasm; but—and the laity perceive it—too little imagination or spiritual insight. Their standards, their mode of life, are not obviously different from that of the community in which they find themselves. And their pathos is that they are cognisant of their failure. Nor is it much otherwise in the case of the episcopal bench. The bishops enjoy more eminence than influence. The utterances of a few are freely but not always wisely reported in the public press. That they do not 'lead' the nation in all things spiritual and moral none probably realizes so



well as do they themselves. The great regard paid to the late Archbishop William Temple is only the exception which proverbially proves the rule. The Church has found his loss irreparable.

Is there then no remedy for this nerveless and frustrated condition of things? The Commission on Evangelism believes that there is, and devotes the bulk of its valuable report to constructive proposals. There is however no single answer. The malady is of too complex a nature. The majority of the people will not become Christian in any other than a nominal way until they have gone through the Christian experience, and that experience requires as its conditions feelings of personal moral responsibility and of personal defect, as well as a sense that human life charges us with a problem which is not even bounded, let alone solved, by our concern for material or social needs and such provision as we can make for them. The Christian experience is not of uniform character; it may begin with the individual or it may begin with the group; but in any case by some realization of, in William James's expression, "the wider self through which saving experiences come." At present the wider self is the political community, though the saving experiences are so far mainly proleptic. In other words, Christianity must again become, what it was in the earliest centuries and indeed in all the more vital phases of its history, a medium of salvation. Until that occurs Christian institutions will be

... no longer wings to fly  
But merely vans to beat the air

The air which is now thoroughly small and dry.\*

All the same the problem has its narrower aspects, and suggests some more immediately practicable lines of solution. Let it be recognized, for example, that the National Church, still by law established, has long since ceased to represent the nation on its religious side. Its national character is largely a formality. And before it can begin anew the task of converting the people of this country it must acknowledge its real position and discard the great anachronism of the State Establishment. We may allow a smile when we think of Disestablishment as Dr. Hensley Henson's King Charles's head. But who, on confronting the realities of the situation, will not endorse his often repeated arguments as largely true?† Those who, like Canon Charles Smyth,‡ maintain that establishment secures to the Church a 'position of vantage' wherefrom to instruct the State as to the implications of the Christian moral outlook surely fail to realize that what else would be a sound enough principle—and in principle establishment is to be admitted—is nullified by the radically trans-

\* T. S. Eliot, *Ash Wednesday* (i. 35-37).

† "When we examine closely the present relations of Church and State, we find that they represent a survival from a state of society which has wholly passed away: that the assumptions on which they were shaped, and by which alone they can be defended, have failed: that they are now confessedly anomalous, and must be justified, if justified at all, on grounds of practical advantage: that these grounds are no longer sufficient, if, indeed, they ever were sufficient, to sustain the grave violations of spiritual principle which the Establishment involves." (*Bishoprick Papers*, p. 94).

‡ See *Religion and Politics* (1943).

formed circumstances in which it must now be applied. The State Establishment, with the existing mode of patronage, even the parochial system itself, belongs properly to an age and an order which were Christian by virtue of a commonly accepted belief and code of morals. To-day there is the widest indifference to Christianity in all its visible forms. But there is little actual opposition, and the fact that most men distinguish, however crudely, between 'Christianity' in its spiritual and moral essence and the churches with which they are familiar, is of itself some reassurance that the age has not lost all sense of value and proportion. 'Official' Christianity—such things as the Abbey and St. Paul's, Convocation, public school religion, military parade services, even certain occasional offices in the Prayer Book—exists as a façade to the secularism that is now dominant; but it cannot conceal its incapacity to exercise much effective power, certainly not the power of a self-sacrificing heroism, upon men's lives. The Church of England must free itself of the old latitudinarian error that its function is only to sanctify the people's natural virtues, and of the no less misleading doctrine which would attach to the historical Christian organization claims that cannot by any moral test be substantiated. *Ye must be born again.* Christian institutions have a great task in the world which lies before us. But in their present condition they cannot fulfil it. The Church of England, from the nature of its historical destiny, is cast in the mould of an age which has gone by. The ensuing years will show whether it has it in it to recreate a new experience, a new life, and hence a new authority over the minds of men.

## THE POPULARITY OF DETECTIVE FICTION

BY G. F. McCLEARY

### FROST

BY ALICE HARWOOD

SO cold it is the spirit faints,  
Yet beauty's here for him who sees;  
The long, wan shaft of sunshine paints  
A purple shadow on the trees  
Chiselled beneath a sculptor's hand  
In purest marble, stately frieze  
Posing, a silent statue-band  
Remote in time's eternities.

The netting on the tennis-court  
Is diamond-latticed white as snow,  
Like casements from which ladies sought  
The silver knights that passed below,  
With eyes upraised and pennons flown,  
As vanquishers from battles fought  
On scorching sand-dunes crisply blown  
More than five hundred years ago.

Pity the swans, their plumage grey  
Against the whiteness of the lawn  
That fronts the frozen river; they  
Are stiff as sentries, more forlorn;  
Yet sensing dumbly in a dream  
Themselves in spring, their cygnets born,  
Afloat like argosies downstream,  
Blanched, moonlit freight, from dusk till dawn.

IN a B.B.C. radio discussion last July some harsh things were said of detective fiction. It was accused of fostering a sympathetic interest in crime and criminals, and a love of bloodshed for its own sake. One speaker even went so far as to place detective fiction among the influences that had brought about the rise and development of Hitlerism—a movement which, he said, he had studied in Germany and against which he had tried in vain to warn his fellow countrymen.

This surely was a hard saying. One thinks of the blameless Dr. Watson and the great detective he has immortalized, with whom, under the motherly care of Mrs. Hudson, he lived for many years a happy domestic life in her lodgings at 221B Baker Street. One thinks also of the humane methods of Lord Peter Wimsey, Father Brown, Dr. Thorndyke, M. Hercule Poirot, and other famous and high-minded detectives. It is difficult to look upon such popular favourites as factors in the building up of the Hitler régime; but it should be said that the speaker who condemned detective stories admitted that he did not read them.

The speaker on the other side, himself a distinguished writer of detective stories, took high ground in defence of his craft. He claimed, in effect, that detective fiction is an influence making for righteousness; for in it virtue is always triumphant; justice is done; the wrong-doer is invariably found out and punished. He held also that the detective story fulfils one of the main functions of literature—to entertain the reader. Here, however, he was met with an objection from a third speaker, who deplored the tendency of modern readers to prefer books of mere entertainment to the rich intellectual sustenance awaiting them in the works of, for example, Shakespeare, Dickens, Chaucer, and Dante. He did not, we may assume, intend his listeners to infer that entertainment was not to be found in those works; for he surely knew that when it comes to sheer "entertainment value" no specialized writer of detective stories approaches within measurable distance of the creators of Falstaff and Sam Weller. It is curious that none of the speakers reminded the radio audience that Dickens wrote two detective novels: *Bleak House* and *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*.

All the speakers were agreed, however, that, for better or worse, detective fiction is enormously popular. Its practitioners write for a public vast in extent and insatiable in its appetite for their writings.

Detective stories are far from being a product of the twentieth, or the nineteenth, century; they have their origin in the far-away past. In the Apocrypha we are told of the feat of detection by which Daniel convinced King Cyrus that the Babylonian idol, Bel, which the king provided with a huge daily ration of meat and drink, was "but clay within and brass without, and did never eat nor drink anything." One day, after the ration had been set before Bel, Daniel's servants, in the presence of the king alone, strewed ashes throughout the temple, and then went out and sealed the door with the king's signet. In the night, the seventy priests of Bel with their wives and children entered the temple through a secret door and, as part of their daily routine, consumed Bel's ration. The upshot is best told in the majestic language of King James's translators:

In the morning betime the king arose, and Daniel with him. And the king said, Daniel, are the seals whole? And he said, Yea, O King, they be whole. And as soon as he had opened the door, the king looked upon the table, and cried with a loud voice, Great art thou, O Bel, and with thee is no deceit at all. Then laughed Daniel, and held the king that he should not go in, and said, Behold now the pavement, and mark well whose footsteps are these. And the king said, I see the footsteps of men, women, and children. And then the king was angry. And took the priests with their wives and children, who showed him the privy doors, where they came in, and consumed such things as were on the table. Therefore the king slew them, and delivered Bel into Daniel's power, who destroyed him and his temple.

The technique of detectivism that depends upon drawing inferences from minute observations—the technique with which Sherlock Holmes so often amazed Dr. Watson and solved many problems—is exemplified in Voltaire's romance, *Zadig*, published in 1747. When Zadig was asked by certain officers of the King of Babylon whether he had seen the queen's dog and the king's horse, which had both been lost, he described the animals so accurately, though he said he had never seen them, that he was accused of having stolen them and sentenced to be flogged and banished to Siberia. Hardly had the sentence been pronounced when the animals were found; and though the sentence was annulled, Zadig was fined 400 ounces of gold for having said he had not seen the dog and horse when it seemed obvious to the judges that he must have seen them. Being then permitted to state his case, he explained so conclusively that he had deduced the appearances of the animals from the marks left by them along their route of escape that, although some magi declared he ought to be burnt as a sorcerer, the king remitted the fine and the 400 ounces of gold were returned to him, minus 398 ounces retained as legal expenses. Concluding that it was dangerous to be well informed, Zadig refrained from reporting that an escaped prisoner had passed under his window, for which offence he was fined 500 ounces of gold. After thanking the judges for their leniency, according to the Babylonian custom, he said to himself: "Grand Dieu! . . . qu'il est difficile d'être heureux dans cette vie!"

The father of modern detective fiction is Edgar Allen Poe, who in the years

1841-45 published five detective tales in which may be found the sources of much that is characteristic of later detective fiction. In the first of the five, *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*, which appeared in 1841 in *Graham's Magazine*, a Philadelphia monthly then edited by Poe, a standard of detective story telling was set which, according to G. K. Chesterton, "has never been definitely and indisputably surpassed." The detective, Auguste Dupin, is an amateur who holds the detective police in poor esteem. He succeeds where they fail; he notes significant details that escape their scrutiny; and he brings to bear upon the observed facts a power of analysis and deductive reasoning utterly beyond their capacity. His exploits are recorded by a friend who is a fellow occupant of the house in which they live together in Paris, and whose admiration for Dupin knows no bounds. Are not these familiar elements in later detective stories?

In 1852 the craft of detective fiction writing was made glorious by the appearance among its practitioners of the mighty genius of Charles Dickens. In that year *Bleak House* was published, the first of Dickens's books written under the influence of Wilkie Collins, with whom he was closely associated in the later years of his life, and who in 1868 brought out that supreme masterpiece of detective fiction, *The Moonstone*. Inspector Bucket, one of the most popular of detectives, who plays an important part in *Bleak House*, was drawn from a living model, Inspector Field, a member of the detective force established by Scotland Yard in 1842, of whose work Dickens wrote five articles in the early numbers of *Household Words*.

In 1862 the vogue of the detective story was widely extended by Miss Mary Elizabeth Braddon, whose *Lady Audley's Secret*, her second novel, was published in that year and quickly became a best-seller in many languages. In this book, the detective work is done by a briefless barrister, who is moved to attempt the solution of the mystery of his friend's disappearance by his interest in his friend's sister. He begins by compiling a statement of: "The facts connected with the disappearance of George Talboys, inclusive of facts that have no apparent relation to that circumstance." He was so proud of this heading that he began to think he ought to have pursued his profession instead of dawdling his life away as he had done; and it is satisfactory to learn that after he had married Miss Talboys he made a reputation at the bar in the great breach of promise case of *Hobbs versus Nobbs*, "wherein he convulsed the Court by his deliciously comic rendering of the faithless Nobbs's amatory correspondence."

The next outstanding contribution to detective fiction was the work of Emile Gaboriau, who in 1866 achieved international celebrity with *L'Affaire Lerouge*, the first of his long series of highly popular detective novels. In his star detective, Lecoq, Gaboriau created one of the most interesting and famous of sleuths, and brought him into one book after another. Readers of Stevenson's *New Arabian Nights* will remember that the study of Gaboriau

was recommended to the Rev. Simon Rolles by Prince Florizel of Bohemia. Mr. Rolles, not knowing how to dispose of a stolen diamond of immense value, and wishing therefore to instruct himself in life, made bold in his club to address Prince Florizel, of whose identity he was completely ignorant, but whom he judged from his appearance to be pre-eminently a man of the world, and ask whether a knowledge of life could be acquired from books:

"By life", he added, "I do not mean Thackeray's novels; but the crimes and secret possibilities of our society, and the principles of wise conduct among exceptional events. I am a patient reader; can the thing be learnt in books?"

"You put me in a difficulty," said the stranger. "I confess I have no great notion of the use of books, except to amuse a railway journey . . . Yet stay", he added, "have you read Gaboriau?"

Mr. Rolles admitted he had never even heard the name.

"You may gather some notions from Gaboriau", resumed the stranger. "He is at least suggestive; and as he is an author much studied by Prince Bismarck, you will, at the worst, lose your time in good society."

In 1876 Gaboriau's countryman, Fortuné Du Boisgobey, whose real name was Castille, leapt into fame with his *Les Mystères du nouveau Paris*, the first of his numerous *romans de policier*; and two years later Miss Anna Katherine Green, of New York, brought out her first novel, *The Leavenworth Case*, which soon achieved world-wide popularity. Many other successful detective novels flowed from Miss Green's prolific pen. She had a large public in this country; and it is said that when the eminent English jurist, Professor A. V. Dicey, visited America in 1898 and was asked what he most wished to see, he replied: "The home of the authoress of *The Leavenworth Case*."

Thus, in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century the popularity of detective fiction had been firmly established. A vast and highly receptive public awaited men and women who could write good detective stories and publishers who knew a good thing of that kind when they saw it. Famous detectives had been created, whose exploits enthralled the young and old of many countries. But none had achieved the celebrity that makes a man's name a household word and a class name; so that if one says a certain man is not a "Solomon" the meaning of the saying at once becomes apparent. None had said things it would be difficult to quote without immediately revealing their origin. But the stage had been set for the appearance of such a celebrity; and in the fourth quarter of the century he appeared.

He was called into being in the winter of 1885-86 by a young doctor, who was then conducting an unremunerative general medical practice at Southsea, but a few miles away from where Stevenson, at Bournemouth, was writing *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. The young doctor, whose name was Arthur Conan Doyle, presented his detective in a book entitled *A Study in Scarlet*, which, after being refused by many publishers, was bought outright for £25 on October 30, 1886, and appeared fourteen months later—fourteen months later!—as Beeton's Xmas Annual for 1887. In his book

is recorded the first meeting of the detective, whose name is Sherlock Holmes, with Dr. John H. Watson, which took place in the chemical laboratory of the ancient and revered hospital of St. Bartholomew.

There are certain meetings that have been rich in consequence to the human race. Of such is the introduction of James Boswell to Samuel Johnson on May 16, 1763, in the back-parlour of Thomas Davies's book-shop in Russell Street, Covent Garden, where Boswell, then twenty-two years old, had been drinking tea with Davies and his wife. When Johnson entered, Davies introduced Boswell, who, knowing Johnson's strange prejudice against the Scots, entreated Davies not to divulge where he came from. It was in vain. "From Scotland," said Davies. "Mr. Johnson," said Boswell, "I do indeed come from Scotland; but I cannot help it." "That, Sir, I find," retorted the Sage, "is what a very great many of your fellow-countrymen cannot help."

The meeting of Watson and Sherlock Holmes was also fraught with blessings to mankind. Boswell and Watson had, indeed, much in common. Both were rapt hero worshippers. Each gave up the best of his life to chronicling the sayings and doings of an extraordinary man; and so made himself immortal. Watson's hero, Sherlock Holmes, is the most popular detective that has ever appeared in fact or fiction. His fame transcends the barriers of language, race, and national frontiers. He enthralled young and old, high-brows and lowbrows, the learned and the illiterate, idle schoolboys and diligent university dons. His lightest sayings—"You know my methods, Watson"—may be cited anywhere in full assurance that their origin will at once be recognized. The lustre of his fame has conferred immortality upon some otherwise undistinguished police officers and numerous criminals and their victims; and also upon his biographer, Dr. John H. Watson, who, however, shines on his own account, having much in him for which we may well be thankful apart from the service he has rendered to mankind in chronicling the exploits of Holmes.

Since the appearance of the great Sherlock, detective stories have multiplied exceedingly, and among their writers are men and women who have achieved distinction in other fields of literature. Some have produced good detective tales; others have been less successful. An eminent essayist, playwright, or writer of what in transatlantic parlance may be called "straight novels" does not necessarily succeed in detective fiction. It is difficult to imagine Sterne producing a good detective story in spite of his enormous command of the pen. Stevenson, however, could have done it. If you are doubtful, you have only to read *The Pavilion on the Links*, which Conan Doyle declared to be "one of the great short stories of the world."

To achieve success in detective fiction, it is not enough to be skilled with the pen; it is necessary also to be master of the technique of the detective story, which is said to be as specialized and difficult as the technique of playwriting. The masters of the technique are few. And no wonder. There is

first the difficulty of thinking up a good plot. It is rumoured that the author of one of the most brilliant of detective novels allowed many years to go by before he published his second contribution to detective fiction, simply because he was long unable to construct a plot that would survive comparison with the high standard set in his first book. Then there are the difficulties of developing the plot; of creating interesting characters; of giving the necessary clues without giving away the mystery; of setting out the facts in a way that never allows the reader's attention to flag, and does not call upon him to bear in mind masses of detail, such as plans showing the arrangement of rooms and so forth. Some stories are so over-loaded with details that only by considerable application can the course of the narrative be followed. And there is the difficulty of presenting an effective upshot. How many promising stories have we not read that petered out in a "most lame and impotent conclusion."

But the vast public that reads detective tales is not very critically minded. One of the most devoted readers of such tales I ever knew was a learned Scotsman with an international reputation as a theologian. He preferred good detective tales to bad, but any tale with a detective in it appealed to him. There is much detective fiction that does not reach a high standard of excellence; and some tales seem to have been written hastily on a sellers' market for what Stevenson called "the dibbs." Not that there is anything deplorable in writing for the dibbs—unless it results in the production of inferior work. Did not Stevenson himself, the most fastidious of artists, confess that he wrote *The Pavilion on the Links* for the dibbs, of which he was then in sore need? In 1879, when in San Francisco, he sent the manuscript to Henley to be "placed", saying:

It is the dibbs that are wanted . . . . Dibbs and speed are my mottoes. Do acknowledge the *Pavilion* by return . . . . I have no copy except of one or two places where the vein would not run. God prosper it, poor *Pavilion*! May it bring me money for myself and my sick one, who may need it, I do not know how soon.\*

It is satisfactory to note, however, that in detective fiction it is, generally, the best work that gets the widest circulation.

The popularity of the detective story is easy to understand. It almost invariably has a happy ending, and, like the crossword puzzle, it offers a problem that calls forth a pleasurable and a not too exacting mental activity. A lazy reader need not make a very determined effort to solve the problem; he may be content to follow the flow of incident and await the detective's solution and his account of the steps by which he reached it. Then, detective fiction deals with events. Most people like stories in which things happen. They do not much care for authors who, as J. M. Barrie put it, devote a volume to a lady's reasons for passing the cruet, and find it hard work to compress into three volumes all they have to say "about a lady and gentleman who agree

\* *The Pavilion on the Links* appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine*, then edited by Leslie Stephen, in the second half of 1880, when it was read by the present writer for the first time.

not to become engaged." Most people are not interested in being told, at length, what an undistinguished artillery officer thought after an unidentified lady had kissed him by mistake in a Russian country house. They prefer the method of O. Henry, who tells us not what his characters think, but what they do. When Robinson Crusoe sees the print of a naked foot upon the sand it is not so much what he thinks about it that interests us as what he does about it. In detective fiction it is important to know how to deal effectively with footprints. Much may be done with footprints. For example:

"One false statement was made by Barrymore at the inquest. He said that there were no traces upon the ground round the body. He did not observe any. But I did—some little distance off, but fresh and clear."

"Footprints?"

"Footprints".

"A man's or a woman's?"

Dr. Mortimer looked strangely at us for an instant, and his voice sank almost to a whisper as he answered:

"Mr. Holmes, they were the footprints of a gigantic hound."

Detective fiction shows no sign of waning popularity. On the contrary, its popularity seems tending to increase. It evidently satisfies a need of our modern world—a world not too abundantly supplied with sources of satisfaction. In all sections of the community there are innumerable readers quick to respond to the call of the detective story, which may be summarized in seven words written by the most popular of all writers of detective fiction: "Come, Watson, come! The game is afoot!"

# THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

## COWPER AND FLYING MACHINES

By W. FORBES GRAY

COWPER, most domesticated of poets, preferred a secluded life so much that, by his own confession, he "would not change conditions with any saint in Christendom." None the less he found it pleasant to "peep through the loop-holes of retreat," to see "the stir of Babel and not feel the crowd." No reader of Cowper's delightful letters, in which so high a standard of epistolary virtue is maintained, can fail to be impressed with his avid interest in public affairs and the frequent shrewdness of his observations regarding them.

Considering his antecedents, nothing perhaps is more remarkable than the enthusiasm Cowper displayed in what were really the beginnings of aviation. In his correspondence for the years 1783 and 1784 the poet recurs to the subject again and again, the explanation being that during this period the earliest experiments with the flying machine were taking place. In November 1783, Stephen Montgolfier, in company with the Marquis d'Arlandes, made the first aerial voyage across Paris, remaining in the air for twenty-five minutes.

When Cowper heard the news he was elated, and summoned the Rev. William Unwin to rejoice with him. "The balloons prosper," wrote the poet, "I congratulate you upon it. Thanks to Montgolfier, we shall fly at last." And in an epistle to the Rev. John Newton he indulges in a vision of the future.

"The time, we may suppose, is at hand . . . when these airy excursions will be universal, when judges will fly the circuit, and bishops their visitations; and when the tour of Europe will be performed with much greater speed, and with equal advantage, by all who travel merely for the sake of having it to say, that they have made it."

Doubtless this was written ironically. Yet the poet prophesied better than he knew.

From 1783, and for some time thereafter, Cowper's letters testify to his absorbing interest in the art of flying as practised with the balloon. "My mind," he informs Newton, "is frequently getting into these balloons, and is busy in multiplying speculations as airy as the regions through which they pass . . . The invention of these new vehicles is yet in its infancy, yet already they seem to have attained a degree of perfection which navigation did not reach till ages of experience had matured it. . . . Nothing within the reach of human ingenuity will be left unattempted to accomplish, and add all that is wanting to this last effort of philosophical contrivance."

Besides being strangely prophetic, Cowper exhibited theoretical knowledge of the problems connected with flying that, in the eighteenth century, might well be regarded as astonishing. "Every fowl of the air," he tells Newton, provides a pattern: "Wings and a tail, indeed, were of little use, while the body, so much heavier than the space of air it occupied, was sure to sink by its own weight, and could never be held in equipoise by any implements of the kind which human strength could manage. But now we float; at random, indeed, pretty much, and as the wind drives us; for want of nothing, however, but that steerage which invention . . . may be expected to supply."

While substantially sound as regards the mechanics of flying, Cowper is ludicrously astray in anticipating the consequences likely to accrue if and when man became as familiar with the air as he is with the sea. The poet propounds the question as to whether aviation when full-blown will prove "a mercy or a judgment." Unhesitatingly

he plumps for the latter, supporting his view with the most preposterous of reasons. "If a power to convey himself from place to place, like a bird, would have been good for man, his Maker would have formed him with such a capacity," whereas, "he has been a groveller upon the earth for six thousand years, and now at last, when the close of this present state of things approaches, begins to exalt himself above it. So much the worse for him. Like a truant schoolboy, he breaks his bounds, and will have reason to repent of his presumption." Apparently it did not occur to Cowper that there can be no breaking of "bounds" where the inventive faculty is concerned, and that there is nothing presumptuous in man making the most of his endowments.

Cowper submits a second reason, even less cogent than the first, why man's conquest of the air will prove a divine judgment. "With the exercise of very little foresight it is easy to prognosticate a thousand evils which the project must necessarily bring after it; amounting at last to the confusion of all order, the annihilation of all authority, with dangers both to property and person, and impunity to the offenders." In fact Cowper is so resolutely opposed to any exploitation of the air that he vows that were he "absolute legislator" he would "make it death for a man to be convicted of flying, the moment he could be caught." Furthermore, the poet is of opinion that it would be "no murder" to bring the audacious airman "down from his altitudes by a bullet sent through his head or his carriage." Cowper is indulging no facetious mood; he is to all appearance in dead earnest.

But in Cowper's day, and for long after, aviation had not advanced beyond the balloon, which was hardly even dirigible. In this form of flying machine he took delight, though rather inconsistently, since he feared developments that would lead eventually to "the confusion of all order, the annihilation of all authority," being contrary to the divine purpose. In August 1784, he hears with pleasure that an intimate friend is making a balloon "to fly upon the wings of ignited spirits, and will therefore, I suppose, be sent up at night." Cowper saw its ascent from Emberton Meadow, and records his impressions in an epistle to John Newton. "Thrice it rose, and as often descended . . . In the evening it performed another flight at Newport, where it went up, and came down no more. Like the arrow discharged at the pigeon in the Trojan games, it kindled in the air, and was consumed in a moment."

And while conscious of the risks balloonists ran, Cowper could yet write to Joseph Hill (December 4, 1784):

"I envy those happy voyagers, who, with so much ease, ascend to regions unsullied with a cloud, and date their epistles from an extra-mundane situation. No wonder if they outshine us who poke about in the dark below, in the vivacity of their sallies, as much as they soar above us in their excursions. . . . Their vocation is to see fine prospects and to make pithy observations upon the world below."

Cowper's envy of the "happy voyagers" is, however, tempered with discretion. While they soar to heights one trembles to think of, and survey the earth from situations hitherto unknown to mortal man, the poet prefers to remain below, for with him it is a matter of "creeping" rather than of flying, and he wishes to carry with him "an unbroken neck to the grave."

Still there is no flagging of Cowper's interest in aerial navigation. When he learns of the pioneer aeronaut Blanchard, along with Dr. Jeffries, crossing the English Channel from Dover to Calais in circumstances of almost unparalleled danger, he is greedy for particulars of the wonderful exploit. Blanchard's performance took place on January 7, 1785, and a week later the poet is imploring William Unwin to tell him how tragedy was averted. Cowper writes:—"I have been crossing the Channel in a balloon, ever since I read of that achievement by Blanchard. I have an insatiable thirst to know the philosophical reason, why his vehicle had like to have fallen into the sea, when, for aught that appears, the gas was not at all exhausted. Did not the extreme cold condense the inflammable air, and cause the globe to collapse? Tell me, and be my Apollo for ever!"



**THE PROBLEM OF WAR IN 19th CENTURY ECONOMIC THOUGHT**, by Edmund Silberner. Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. 20s.

Dr. Silberner's extensive and interesting survey of the views of nineteenth century economists on war in its relationship to economics brings out two facts: firstly, that the problem of war, was, on the whole, given little systematic attention—probably because in that relatively peaceful period following the Napoleonic wars there was little reason why it should exercise the minds of economists in any particular fashion; secondly, that in so far as they dealt with the problem, most authors, with the exception of the protectionists (among whom the German historical school must be included), believed that the disappearance of war as a social phenomenon was bound to follow from its economic harmfulness and could, with the progress of enlightenment, be expected to occur in the near, or at least in the foreseeable, future. In retrospect, this belief appears childishly ingenuous. These optimists went so far as to dismiss—with the exception of Gustave de Molinari, a Belgian liberal—the necessity of a specific organization for the maintenance of peace. In a different fashion and for different reasons, the Socialists were also optimists in that they believed that the coming of socialism would by itself result in the abolition of war.

The protectionists were pessimists. In keeping with the general logic of their doctrine, they were mostly inclined to stress the inevitability of war; in particular was this the case of the German historical school (Roscher, Knies, Schäffle, Schmoller). It is, indeed, this belief in the inevitability of war which explains in large measure their defence of protectionism. Already in 1841, their forerunner, the German Friedrich List, had written: "War has called into existence the modern systems of protection"—a statement not so surprising from an ardent German nationalist who became the

spiritual father of Friedrich Naumann's *Mitteleuropa*, the forerunner in 1915 of Hitler's *Neue Ordnung*. But List, at least, professed theoretical attachment to the idea of world peace which he believed would result from a world federation possible only when protectionism had removed economic inequality between the industrial have, and the agricultural have-not, countries. As Dr. Silberner shows, this profession has no deep logical connection with his general economic doctrine. It has all the airs of an after-thought conceived *pour dorer la pilule*.

Dr. Silberner, who formerly taught economics at Geneva University and is now in the United States, has produced a valuable book on a subject which, surprisingly, has hardly been surveyed before in systematic fashion. Its extensive bibliography, which includes many little-known publications, is in itself of the highest value. One may hope that the author will, at some future date, extend his survey to the first half of the twentieth century and that he will then examine a problem which the reviewer believes requires re-examination in the light of the full employment experiences of World War II. That is the problem of the economic destructiveness of war. While a precise balance sheet would be difficult to establish, some useful figures are available. They do not necessarily endorse the view predominantly held until lately that the balance sheet is of necessity economically negative, or may at least compel a distinction between a loss on the capital side, and a possible gain on the income side. The purely economic aspect of war is one thing, its social and human aspect another. And from the economic angle, it may not be true, after all, that "war does not pay."

R. P. SCHWARZ.

**GERMAN YOUTH: Bond or Free**, by Howard Becker. Kegan Paul. 18s.

Mr. Howard Becker, Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin,

has made a useful contribution to The International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction by this study of German youth tendencies based in part on his experiences "roaming" with the *Wandervögel* in Germany in 1923, and on wide reading of the literature of that subject backed by further visits in 1934-35. He describes with sufficient sympathy to indicate insight their romantic revolt against conventional standards of society and sets himself to answer the question: how did these rebels—or a great part of them—come in time to be attracted to the banners of the authoritarian Hitler Youth organization?

The author analyses at first the myths that lay at the heart of the *Wandervögel* with many reproductions of the "Pluck-Fiddle Jack" series by way of illustration, and describes the way its leader Karl Fischer acquired "*charisma*" as leader of the trend for escaping from the "culture of the sofa" to a kind of life "where youth could regain its birthright." In part two he shows how economic insecurity and the craving for the inspiration of a leader through times of crisis and desperation was shrewdly exploited by the Nazis with the bait of opportunities for power and cunning appeals to emotion and fear. Alternating description with personal narratives reconstructed from documents, refugees' reminiscences and other sources he depicts the methods by which Baldur von Shirach forced myriad youth factions into the common mould of the Hitler Youth, though even there non-conformist elements still agitated below the surface.

There will be English readers who will smile at the enormous array of footnotes as the typical machinery of American scholarship but one may well be glad that the author has undertaken the task. "This little book," he reminds us, is informed by "an exploratory purpose, and that only. The eventual structure will be the work of many hands." He stresses that the book was virtually completed before he himself joined the

American Office of Strategic Services organization in wartime. It is clear that his experiences with O.S.S. enabled him to confirm the relevance of his assessments to subsequent developments amongst German youth, although he was necessarily precluded from utilizing here information derived from his wartime services.

In chapter eleven, headed "Premonitions", mention is made of student revolts in wartime against the Nazi régime, including the Catholics and even such lawless "dead end kids" elements as the gangs calling themselves the Edelweiss Pirates and similar blood-and-thunder titles. The very names recall Hitler's own admiration for Karl May, German equivalent of Fennimore Cooper, whose tales of redskins and cowboys, he felt, encouraged the cunning and ruthless resource which needed to be encouraged in German youth. Indeed, elsewhere in these pages, the possibility of the Edelweiss later fomenting trouble against constructive German elements under the Allied occupation is also anticipated.

Without dilating upon the private enormities of Nazi leaders the author shows how such reputations of immorality, perversity, etc. or, alternatively, attributions of asceticism, helped to arouse loyalty through self-identification or wishful self-fulfilment amongst different sections of the German population. The sexual aberrations that recur among such youth groups find mention here without overmuch elaboration. And does the author point the way out of such a quagmire?—the reader may inquire.

The author is probably wise to have avoided pronouncing some all-embracing panacea of hope and, at least, he sensibly shuns the formal logic of the schoolroom when investigating such an inchoate subject as German mentality. For instance, he refers to the antipathy for Jews engendered in the German mentality by their association in thought with metropolitan culture and detached internationalism. Logically, it would be

obvious to point out that many German Jews were fanatical patriots for the Fatherland; and as for their being boulevard-minded, "asphalt", in Goebbels' phrase (so true of himself!), I can remember encountering Jews among the wandering students at Freiburg University in 1923, who likewise loathed city sophistication. But one is not dealing with facts but with much more potent myths which sway German mentality and, on closer inspection of anti-Semitism, the mentality of people in other countries as well.

BERNARD CAUSTON.

**A SHORT HISTORY OF JAPAN,**  
by A. C. Sadler. *Angus & Robertson.* 21s.

**THE FUTURE OF JAPAN,** by  
William C. Johnstone. *Oxford University Press.* 10s. 6d.

These two books give a full survey of what Japan was under her own guidance and what she may be under the Allies'. Japanese history is for the most part very dull. There are no written records earlier than the eighth century A.D. and even after the founding of Nara and Kyoto when, under inspiration from the Augustan age of the Tang dynasty in China, Japan's polity first took a definite shape, it is difficult to see the wood for the jungle of court and daimyo treasons, stratagems and spoils. Intent on facts rather than romance Professor Sadler has rather overloaded his pages with difficult names and petty intrigues which may daunt less erudite readers. This method, however, produces a concise and valuable record of events since the Meiji Restoration, on which Professor Sadler purposely did not enlarge in view of the vast number of available books on this period.

But crime and intrigue apart, Professor Sadler shows two Japanese characteristics which stand out conspicuously.

First is that high culture and love of beauty and order which seem so strangely inconsistent with Japanese cruelty in war. Verse-making was a very early passion

of the Japanese; in the arrangement of flowers they are unapproachable; Kyoto is one of the loveliest cities in the world, inhabited by craftsmen in silver, bronze, lacquer and porcelain who have no equal. In the second place, the Japanese have undoubted genius for constitution-building. Prince Shotoku, Nobunaga, Yoritomo, Iyeyasu and Ito were statesmen of the first class; and although Western democracy may frown upon their methods, it could, with advantage, study some clauses in Shotoku's Constitution which with other interesting documents Professor Sadler gives in a series of appendices which should not be missed.

These characteristics are specially worth remembering now that Japan's future lies so largely in the Allies' hands. Writing before the end of the war Mr. Johnstone anticipates with extraordinary insight all that General MacArthur has had to do for the stamping out of militarism. An interesting (though now academic) summing up of the arguments for and against retaining the Emperor comes down rather heavily against Hirohito. Mr. Johnstone may now agree with Admiral Nimitz that "we were lucky to have the Emperor there" to give the command for instant surrender, which happily falsified Mr. Johnstone's anticipations of violent resistance to the Allied occupation. What Mr. Johnstone did not foresee was Russia's entry into the war. The efforts of the Communists to get hold of the enormous trade union movement (intentionally stimulated by General MacArthur in order to develop the democratic spirit) are not a pleasant sign.

Mr. Johnstone shows that in some ways Japan has actually gained by defeat and he thinks that she will develop into a comfortable middle-class State like Sweden, thriving on light industries. Shorn as she is of her empire, without money or materials, the notion that Japan can start again on the rampage within any measurable future is ridiculous. There still appears to many observers

too much demand for prolonged occupation and control. The West has tried many different methods with the Japanese, first cheating them over the gold exchange, then, in turn, coercing, patronizing, and execrating them. Nobody seems to have thought it might pay to treat them as human beings. The rejection of their request for the principle of racial equality to be included in the League of Nations' charter, and the American Immigration Act of 1923 had more to do with the late war than is generally suspected.

O. M. GREEN.

**SAINTS AND STRANGERS,** by  
George F. Willison. *William Heinemann.* 15s.

The legend of the Pilgrim Fathers dates, apparently, from 1769, in which year members of the Old Colony Club of Plymouth, New England, agreed to celebrate the landing of their forefathers. Their information about these first settlers was then rather vague. Most of what is known about them was contained in a manuscript memoir (which no one consulted), written by Governor Bradford and entitled 'Of Plimouth Plantation'. And hardly had the Pilgrim legend begun to grow than this manuscript disappeared from a private library in Boston. This was during the War of Independence and the darkest American suspicions about Anglican Bishops were amply confirmed when the manuscript eventually turned up at Fulham Palace in 1855. In the absence of this important document legend could grow without hindrance, and grow it did, reaching unexpected heights in the bicentenary of 1820. Even so, the annual celebration might have remained a local affair had not a greengrocer at Rhyl in North Wales used a Boston newspaper to wrap up a customer's purchase. The newspaper contained an account of Forefathers' Day, as observed in 1824, and it was on this slender foundation that the customer, Mrs. Hemans, based her celebrated poem. The word 'Pilgrim' does not seem to have been in general

use before about 1850, but the story had before then become an accepted part of American mythology. Inconvenient facts since brought to light have been treated firmly on the declared principle: "We much prefer established error to novel truth."

The painstaking author of *Saints and Strangers* admits at the outset that it is useless to strive against mythology. What every American schoolboy knows must be accepted, for all practical purposes, as fact. But he attempts to set on record, for those who are interested, such additional facts as are capable of proof. His book, although not the first of its kind (as his valuable bibliography shows) is a thorough summary of what has been done. It is well written, well documented and well arranged. If occasionally tedious, it is because the people of whom he writes can fairly be so described. Apart from that inevitable fault, Mr. Willison errs only in occa-

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sional confusion between what is known and what is merely supposed. When, for example, he describes how the *Mayflower's* "anchor went down with a rattle of chains", one is tempted to propose a search for the chains in question—which, if found, Mr. Willison would be certainly entitled to keep. In dealing, however, with events in Holland before the *Mayflower* sailed, and events at Plymouth after she had arrived, the author is on firmer ground and his story merits every respect.

Taking the current legend that a group of Puritans fled from Lincolnshire to Holland and thence, in search of religious liberty and social equality, to New England, Mr. Willison has no difficulty in showing its falsity. They were not, to begin with, Puritans; and any English movement to celebrate the anniversary of their departure would be at least as misconceived as the American fuss about their landing. Of the passengers in the *Mayflower* only three came originally from Scrooby and only forty-one altogether from Leyden. The remainder (sixty-one out of a hundred and two) were not 'Saints' but 'Strangers'—a miscellaneous lot of people sent out—as were the 'Saints' themselves—by a Joint-Stock Company in London. The aim of the Company was a profit, which was never made. The object of the emigrants was to improve their lot, which some succeeded in doing. Freedom for separatist worship had nothing to do with it, for it was a freedom which the 'Saints', when in Holland, already had, and which the 'Strangers', from England, did not want. The *Mayflower*, finally, was supposed to be bound for Virginia and there is a certain mystery about how she came to visit Cape Cod at all.

It is curious that the author, having learnt to disbelieve the nonsense he was taught in school about America, still apparently believes the nonsense he was taught in school about England. In one paragraph the reader is left to suppose

that Sir Thomas More died a Protestant Martyr, and in another he is assured that the Elizabethans never swam. But these are trifling flaws in a book about New England and are only quoted as showing that the author, in exposing one myth, is still the victim of another. Taken as a whole, this is an admirable and useful work. The early settlers have long deserved something better than pietistic sentiment, and here at last they have it.

C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON.

#### FOUR STUDIES IN LOYALTY, by Christopher Sykes. Collins. 12s. 6d.

Christopher Sykes has been variously compared to Saki, Sir Max Beerbohm and Harold Nicolson, but a glance at what is common to these three reveals their peculiar virtue as the possession of a quality which does not lend itself to comparison. In this Christopher Sykes resembles them, for he is an original writer of great distinction. But he is not like them, or indeed any other writer.

The four studies are linked to each other in that each is dominated by loyalty to an idea. The first three are of individual characters, while the last describes the French among whom the author was dropped by parachute behind the German lines in 1944. It is designed as a mark of gratitude to depict the single character impelling those among whom he lived, surpassing in strength the "evil mass-character of the Germans."

The first and perhaps the best is of the author's great uncle and namesake, whose niche in life was that of boon companion to Edward VII when Prince of Wales: in loyalty to this snobbish rôle the Christopher Sykes of that era gave up everything after a life of degradation, which never lost its fidelity to the path chosen; "As your Royal Highness pleases" was his invariable reply, even when soda-water was being pumped over his head. The memory of the friendship between the Prince and this

sweet-tempered man of fashion would be fittingly preserved after his death by a clock over the stables! It is a brilliant sketch but hardly less so is the second in the book, that of Bahram Kirmani, a Persian rogue, linked chronologically with the first portrait by "their having shared the same world of pomp and pleasure for a brief space." The idea to which this fantastic adventurer in his turn was loyal was that he was a scholar of Balliol, an Oxford man: it was quite false, but the accounts he was able to give of Oxford and fashionable England in his alleged day are completely convincing.

Loyalty is perhaps a strange word to apply to the ideas which enriched the lives of these two curious figures, but in Bahram's case loyalty to his early ideals of Oxford kept him from assisting the Germans during the war. A Balliol man would not do such a thing. "I well remember George Curzon saying to me . . ." was one of Bahram's openings.

The third portrait is of Robert Byron, but it is more ambitious than the others and does not altogether fit into the same setting. For it is more than a portrait in being an attempt to rescue the name of a beloved friend from oblivion.

There are some writers the lucidity of whose expression in their choice of words and arrangement of sentences makes it a delight to read whatever they write, whatever it is about. Christopher Sykes may be unhesitatingly classed among them (Bertrand Russell and Lord Moran in *The Anatomy of Courage* are examples), but the trouble about them is that the style is so felicitous that the reader is carried on, even against his will, often in danger of being quite uncritical of the matter expressed. There is just a suspicion that this is what happens to the reader in this third portrait—so much longer than the others—an inescapable feeling that less might have been said with more effect. It is a small complaint to make against such a fascinating book.

J. F. BURNET.

#### THE CULT OF POWER, by Rex Warner. John Lane, The Bodley Head. 7s. 6d.

The true allegorical writers of the past such as Bunyan, Dostoevsky or Franz Kafka, were all prophets of literature who depended for their enduring inspiration on a deep moral concern for man and the mystery of his earthly predicament. Mr. Rex Warner is an accredited member of this company of myth-makers; he fits precisely into this tradition where life is illuminated by symbol and suggestion, as readers of *The Professor*, *The Aerodrome*, and *Why Was I Killed?* will know.

Though the eight essays in this book cover a wide choice of subjects from the opening essay on "The Cult of Power" and that "On Reading Dickens", to the longer "Dostoevsky and the Collapse of Liberalism", unity is not sacrificed to variety, for the novelist-poet, writing

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in a more personal medium, is pursuing the same task of elucidation and explanation. Literature, as Mr. Warner defines it, "is always, in one way or other, an affirmation of the future or the past against the present; it dies stone-dead if, from servility or stupidity, it begins to glorify the existing state of affairs as though they were changeless and immortal." So, in his desire to arrive at truth Mr. Warner turns to the past for enlightenment, to Dickens the apostle of humanity and the social critic; to Dostoevsky who saw so clearly into the dark future. Also he comments on the necessity of studying the classics in order to avoid falling into the error of creating a superstition out of the growing respect for science. Man himself is what matters; and the writer, if he would serve in the restoration of human faith and self-respect, must know something of what has been and scan the future in eager anticipation of the new pattern.

In regard to the basic question of spiritual and cultural change, this artist's own development is of particular interest. For him the greatest problem of our time is the reconciliation of the scientific revolutionary spirit with those other human aspirations which find their normal expression in religion, art and morality. Mr. Warner started out as an enthusiastic Marxist accepting art as a form of propaganda. Gradually, however, his views were modified; he did not feel drawn to outward forms but to those personal convictions that seemed to beat in harmony with the pulse of the time.

Still sympathetic to the Marxist conception of history, Rex Warner still believes also in propaganda for revolution; but it is a revolution of ideas, a personal responsibility in which the citizen must evolve for himself new standards and create his own sense of unity in an age bereft of both.

More than any other English writer this one has succeeded in establishing imaginative contact with those forces that shape mankind for a new era of co-

operation. His view is a long-term one and not necessarily optimistic; but beyond the revolt of individual against neighbour and community, of nations against the international society, he sees not only an ethic of world-brotherhood but a state of society wherein men work for this ultimate ideal. With the fervour of a moralist and the restraint of an artist, Rex Warner labours to point out that in man is the riddle of the universe to be discovered.

E. W. MARTIN.

**LONDON IS INVINCIBLE,** by Dorothy Hood. *Hutchinson.* 21s.

Few if any of the twenty-odd thousand books written about London contain so much information, historical and anecdotal, as does this book.

The author was reared in the secure and leisured Victorian age but it is not only the past with which she is concerned. She writes of London to-day still bearing the scars of the German air onslaught.

Her readers are invited to a personally conducted tour from Chelsea in the south-west to Aldgate in the east and from Paddington in the north-west to the Thames and the Palace of Westminster. This breathless pilgrimage goes from street to street and her rich store of memories and researches illumines both the ugly ruins and surviving buildings with historical or legendary interest.

Miss Hood is a buoyant personality not at all depressed by the present destruction, for she recounts with relish the previous fires and plagues which have afflicted the city. From the pages of Pepys and Stow she shows the effects of such happenings on the minds of contemporary Londoners and their efforts to overcome such disasters. Because the present generation had only contempt for Hitler and his works she is convinced that London will again emerge triumphant. For in that contempt she sees once more the true strain of the Londoner revealed—a people proud of its city and heritage.

The value of the book is considerably enhanced by the inclusion of thirty-four excellent reproductions of early prints of London. Two slips are noted: it is I think fairly well established that the site of the old St. Stephen's Chapel is now occupied not by the Houses of Parliament but by a connecting lobby, and it is many years since the Continental trains started from Charing Cross Station, Victoria (and, rarely, Cannon Street) having supplanted it for that purpose.

Quite apart from its readability this book will be treasured to-day by all lovers of London and by succeeding generations as a valuable reference and guide.

HERBERT T. BANYARD.

**MEMOIRS OF AN AMATEUR MUSICIAN,** by Edmund H. Fellowes, C.H. *Methuen.* 10s. 6d.

The name of Canon Fellowes is so well known among musicians for the pioneer work he has done in the revival of English music of the Tudor period that one is apt to forget that he is an amateur musician. While a fellow cleric and another amateur musician, the late Canon Galpin, was pursuing his researches into old English musical instruments, Canon Fellowes gave us first his monumental edition of the English Madrigal School and books on English Madrigal Verse, followed closely by the works of the Lutenist Song Writers. These editions are not mere antiquarian transcriptions of the old part books, but are coloured by a lively appreciation of the needs of present-day singers.

The man who was to accomplish these great tasks began his musical life as a violinist. Among his earliest experiences were regular visits to the orchestral concerts at the Crystal Palace under August Manns, and to the "popular" chamber concerts at St. James's Hall with the Joachim Quartet. It was Joachim himself who encouraged Fellowes's early efforts and advised a professional training and career.

Although this course was not followed, Fellowes entered fully into the musical life of Oxford and gives an interesting account of the Oxford Musical Club and the Musical Union during his residence. After clerical appointments as a curate at Wandsworth and as Precentor at Bristol, Dr. Fellowes began in 1900 his long association with St. George's Chapel, Windsor. A chapter is devoted to the many State ceremonies in which he has taken part.

In 1927 Dr. Fellowes toured Canada with a choir formed of the Gentlemen of St. George's Chapel and the Choristers of Westminster Abbey, and this was followed by a number of lecture tours of Canada and the U.S.A., which brought many interesting experiences.

These memoirs reveal the author as a man of wide interests. Almost as much space is devoted to the world of sport—rowing and tennis—as that of music; and in the field of research, the study of heraldry and genealogy goes hand in hand with musicology.

This book will be read with interest by those who remain of Canon Fellowes's contemporaries, and the earlier pages present a good picture of some aspects of English life towards the end of the nineteenth century. But one cannot help feeling that the book has suffered a little through haste in its preparation, some pages reading like a series of diary notes rather than a continuous narrative. One hesitates to criticize an author of Canon Fellowes's seventy-six years, and wishes that the publisher's reader had been more helpful.

EDGAR HUNT.

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## BOOKS ON THE TABLE

THE NEW YEAR begins most enjoyably for this section of THE FORTNIGHTLY, for every one of the books now on the table deserves more than its mathematical allocation of space—a seventeenth part of three pages—already reduced, alas, by this felicitation. In WAR OR PEACE? (Oxford University Press. 3s. 6d.) Lionel Curtis refrains from a wholly pessimistic answer. After reviewing past mistakes he reaches his ideal of an international union which would in time become a world commonwealth of democracies. An impressive warning is contained in his explanation of the current fatalism. Everyone

has been so concerned with efforts to settle the treaties of peace that no further step has been taken to deal with what all thoughtful men agree is the fundamental cause of war.

—But machinery for peace-making there must be, and Louis Dolivet in THE UNITED NATIONS (Phoenix. 6s.) supplies as Trygve Lie says in the preface, “a highly interesting and understanding view” of UNO. The book defines for the layman the functions, powers and aims of “civilization’s last chance” and its appendices alone should make it a standard work of reference.

### Orange, crescent and star

How one democracy has set about its post-war recovery is told in ORANGE ON TOP by A. Royalton-Kisch (A. W. Sijthoff’s Publishing Co., Leyden. Dutch fl. 3.50). The chapters are in the form of letters to specialists in various spheres in Great Britain, for examples, to a town planner, a Member of Parliament, an artist, an industrialist, describing the appropriate conditions in Holland. This absorbing story of the Dutch people and their tenacity of purpose should be more readily accessible to readers in this country. The numerous photographs are particularly fine; in fact, when the dust jacket is removed, the complete recuperation of Holland’s printing trade is here proclaimed.—If only affairs in Palestine were as uncomplicated; M. F. Abcarius gives the Arab point of view

in PALESTINE (Hutchinson. 12s. 6d.) but fails to convince, in spite of a readable and documented account, that his case is as fool-proof as he believes. Mr. Bevin’s plight as the inheritor of this problem demands the sympathy and forbearance of both sides. The mandate is a heavy burden; surely it is time that a sovereign Power be found to place the conflict of Jew and Arab before the United Nations.

### Personal approaches

“Having wandered through the length and breadth of Palestine,” as Doughty wrote in *Arabia Deserta*, his preface to the second edition of this masterpiece may now be read in THE PERSONAL NOTE, an anthology of first and last words from Chaucer to Keats compiled by H. J. C. Grierson and Sandys Wason (Chatto & Windus. 7s. 6d.). Sir Herbert Grierson hints of the pleasure the making of this book gave to him and his partner, a pleasure that is passed on in full to the reader. All these pieces, mostly the preludes to well-known works with a few epilogues too, are able to stand alone in merit (the preface is of course the author’s last thoughts) and Coventry Patmore’s, for instance, should be framed and placed on the desk of every poet now writing.

—Probably the late John Laird derived a more sober pleasure from his PHILOSOPHICAL INCURSIONS INTO ENGLISH LITERATURE (Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.). Though not easy to read, the book should be within reach of all students of such diverse characters as Shakespeare, Defoe, Pope, Isaac Watts, Sterne, Wordsworth, Shelley, Dickens, Browning, Hardy and Bridges, for the Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen brought to light here many more facets of their work than the ordinary lover of literature could find for himself.

### Britain’s “pictorial genius”

Michael Ayrton, too, brings his trained eyes and mind to the subject of

BRITISH DRAWINGS. Perhaps a little on the defensive about nationalism in art, he but shows a proper aversion to using a bad word. While tracing the history of British drawing from the tenth century he displays erudition with charm. From what he calls “the desert” after the dissolution of the monasteries, through “the resurrection” in Hogarth, he brings his willing reader to “the ascendancy” of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, only to plunge into “the decline” of the Victorian era where he finds the torch kept alight, on the whole, only by the social commentators. Happily, he sees a “second resurrection” shaping from the ‘nineties. Messrs. Collins, who always match the quality of text and illustrations in their “Britain in Pictures” series (4s. 6d.) have now more than maintained (their standard in both media.

### Fun at school

And now two books which have grown from more orthodox scholarship. MOONLIGHT AT THE GLOBE (Michael Joseph. 9s. 6d.) is an essay in Shakespeare production, based on a performance of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* at Harrow School, by Ronald Watkins, with detailed drawings by Maurice Percival, and introduced by the headmaster. The stage was arranged in the Speech Room to resemble the Globe Playhouse. Shakespeare at Harrow must at least be as exciting as he is at the Old Vic.—WHEN WE’RE AT SCHOOL (Witherby. 8s. 6d.) was “written by over thirty of us: ages 10 to 13½. Illustrated by three of us: ages 13½ to 15.” The new boy says: “Altogether I found out that it was not so bad to be in a boarding school” and, what with art and science societies, parliament, puppet shows, newspaper, printing press and this book, we can see what he means.

### Father to the man

An unhappy little boy is the subject of Wallace Fowlie’s RIMBAUD (Dobson. 8s. 6d.). As his first verses “are his last and the only ones he wrote” the author seeks to find the psychological link

between childhood and the great poetry he produced. He wrote nothing after the age of twenty and this “myth of childhood” is painstakingly pursued back through the expression of the art which Mr. Fowlie truly says “remains a supreme example if quest and flight, of blasphemy and prayer, of innocence and hell.” Unfairly, as so often happens to the man whose childhood was marred, it is hard to like Rimbaud himself.

### Birds and flowers

The innocence of FLOWERS OF MARSH AND STREAM (King Penguin. 2s. 6d.) by Iolo Williams with drawings by Noel Rooke, is undefiled. Water colour or ink, the illustrations have all a delicacy which combines with a text adorned by judicious quotation to make what may be called, with no denigration, a tender book. Garden lovers will be astonished, perhaps pained, to see how similar are the aristocrats of border and rockery to these shaggier ancestors.—A NATURALISTON LINDISFARNE by Richard Perry (Lindsay Drummond. 15s.) takes us to the vast and varied bird population of Holy Island; as FORTNIGHTLY readers know, Mr. Perry is at home with sea birds. He devotes the first part of this book to a history of Lindisfarne, which provides an admirable background for his 256 species (listed with notes at the end) and introduces the general reader gradually to the intensities of bird watching that follow; the many photographs enhance the book’s attractiveness.

### Country peace

THE WEB OF THE YEAR by C. M. Mason (Hutchinson. 9s.) goes back to nature in all its phases. The announcement that this is a “£10,000 United Nations Literary Competition Selection” should not be allowed to daunt the reader, who will find a collection of essays divided under the headings of the four seasons, all pervaded with a keen love for the countryside, for quietness, for beauty. The author communicates his happy spirit throughout, even when he is defending the vegetable garden against “flower snobbishness,” the



drabness of winter (to a Londoner!) and the "unruly English climate" (ditto!). His chapter headings are so enticing that they should not be kept exclusively for the index and the beginning of each essay. Like Lamb, this should become a much-thumbed book but, unlike Lamb, you cannot flick over its leaves and be caught up by the line at the top of every page.

### Flouting fashion

The note at the beginning of *WRITERS OF TODAY* (Sidgwick & Jackson. 8s. 6d.), edited by Denys Val Baker, says: "it has become a literary fashion to classify writing and writers into various schools or movements." Yes indeed, and too much pushing of their subject into a fixed mould by those critics who have hastened to be in the fashion has stultified their work and naturally wearied those who seek guidance. It is refreshing therefore to come upon this volume which binds its twelve writers into no coterie and whose guardians are united only by a personal interest in their subjects, who are thus assessed as individuals. From the general impressions left from reading the book two immediate ones arise: Aldous Huxley's decline as a novelist and the growth of Edith Sitwell as a poet.

### As in a glass

The verse in *POEMS FROM NEW WRITING* selected by John Lehmann (Lehmann. 8s. 6d.) reassuringly makes good his claim in the foreword that "this anthology may turn out to be a peculiarly interesting poetic mirror of our time." The dates are pregnant with happenings of course—1936-1946: Spanish war to world war—and should have left writers with little enough space to see their own reflections. Of the poems which come near to verse journalism A. S. J. Tessimond's "England," W. H. Auden's "Refugee

Blues," Walter Allen's "Colliery Country" and Stephen Spender's "In Memoriam" seem to be first-rate examples. Donald Bain states the case for the modern war poet in eight terse lines, and C. Day Lewis writes:

Death's cordon narrows: but vainly  
If I've slipped the carrier word

and states the case for all poets. Omissions, of course, there are (John Heath-Stubb's has a sad poem in memory of his friend, Sidney Keyes) but the translations from European poets in various countries are especially welcome. Enough is here to be able to say of most of the writers, as John Lehmann in "The Sphere of Glass" puts it,

... they were poets, and content  
Sharing the one deep-vistaed way.

### Family affairs

Two novels, which start off very agreeably as uncontroversial stories of the kind which used to be called "light," both develop into histories of some social significance without losing their bloom. Published by Hutchinson they are *ENGLISH MAIDEN* by Frank Swinnerton (10s. 6d.) and *WESTOVER* by Richmal Crompton (9s. 6d.) The first is concerned with Sally as girl, wife and mother and the vicissitudes which come to her through marrying "the son of the house." The simple village child learns in her late 'twenties to control and make prosperous a great publishing house and Mr. Swinnerton's skill is able to persuade that this is credible.

The scene of *Westover* is a country house which has been "converted" into flats and the situations grow around the interlocking lives of the occupants. Both books should give unalloyed pleasure to that very large number of people who still hanker for "family" tales and even yet feel that unselfishness is worth reading about.

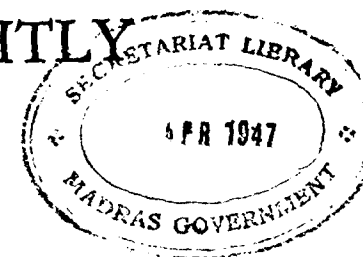
GRACE BANYARD.

## THE FORTNIGHTLY

FEBRUARY, 1947

### WHY MEN STRIKE

BY PETER F. DRUCKER



THE most urgent need of domestic policy to-day, in all industrial countries, is to work at the causes of labour conflict, their diagnosis and control.

We cannot even escape any longer into the complacent belief of an earlier generation that a radical change in the legal structure of the economy such as the "elimination of the capitalist" will abolish or even significantly mitigate labour conflict. It is no accident that we no longer talk of the conflict between capital and labour but of that between management and labour. For we know—from first-hand reports of Western engineers working in Russia under lend-lease, as well as from official Russian publications themselves—that the industrial manager in the Soviet Union, although he does not have to worry about union trouble, faces pretty much the same labour relations problem as his colleagues in capitalist countries. And the first and biggest problem which has been confronting European socialism in nationalizing industries, in Britain as well as in France and Czechoslovakia, has been the conflict between the government as manager and the workers. This conflict is obviously rooted in conditions, relations, and policies general to modern industry and technology rather than specific to this or that "system". What we need is not an ideology but a science—a new science of industrial peace.

The new science—or art—of industrial peace (like politics, it is both) is still in its infancy. Our ignorance still covers a much larger area than our knowledge. Also, we have concentrated our attention on manufacturing industries and have rather neglected industrial relations in the numerically more important distributing and service trades. But—largely unnoticed by the general public, lawmakers, managers, and union leaders alike—we have amassed during the past quarter century a very considerable amount of knowledge and experience about the nature of human relations in industry; and we have acquired at least an elementary understanding of the proper policies to make the worker not only contented but eventually an active partner and citizen in the industrial community.

The first conclusion is that the causes of labour conflict and unrest are almost always to be found in concrete policies and in objective conditions, not in somebody's villainy. The second is that wage rates are rarely an important cause of labour trouble in industry. And the third general conclusion is that there is no one cause of labour conflict.

But there are a few important causes one or more of which—though in

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greatly varying proportions and in constantly shifting weight—can usually be found at the bottom of industrial conflict and labour unrest. These main sources of trouble, listed in purely arbitrary order, are:

- (1) Managerial unfairness (or the appearance of managerial unfairness) in the handling of contractual relations: especially in the treatment of grievances, in the establishment of wage differentials between different jobs, in making plant rules and in changing them, and in promoting and firing workers.
- (2) The physiological and psychological effects of certain types of assembly line work.
- (3) The tendency throughout industry to organize work and pay scales in such a way as to set the individual worker against his fellow workers or to isolate him from them.
- (4) The economic insecurity of the worker.

While these causes are by no means always predominant or even always present where there is labour trouble, they are so general and are responsible for so much of the conflict, bitterness, and resentment that any industry that should succeed in eliminating them, or at least succeed in reaching the point where management and labour can work together on their elimination, would have built a firm basis for normally good industrial relations. And every one of these causes can be tackled successfully, at least in part.

Of these four prevailing causes of labour conflict, the most general one and the one about which the workers themselves are the most vocal, is the resentment against unfairness (real or fancied) on the part of management in the day-to-day handling of its contractual relations with the worker: working rules and their changes, firing and lay-offs, promotions, the establishment of wage differentials, and the settlement of grievances. These matters take up the bulk of practically every union contract. With respect to every single one of these points the unions have gained almost all their specific demands. Occasionally, as in the establishment of the unqualified seniority basis for promotions, they have gained more than is compatible with the best national interest. Yet on the whole, the resentment against managerial unfairness in handling these matters is to-day as great as it has ever been.

The fault is very largely management's—and it is a fault of elementary political intelligence. Management, especially the subordinate local managers of plants and divisions, have chosen this area as the basis for guerrilla warfare against the unions. They tend to turn every single question of agreement interpretation into a test of strength. Actually nothing is less likely to weaken the union or to strengthen management's authority than this policy of pin-pricks, for every single such case is of direct and vital importance to an individual worker. Management's prevailing attitude can only confirm the employee in his belief that the union alone protects him from managerial unfairness and tyranny; and it also puts a premium on union pugnacity and irresponsibility.

The solution is to take the whole problem out of the area of conflict. This can be done only by admitting the workers to full and equal partnership and

responsibility in all decisions that come up under the union agreement or under the rules of the plant.

The joint management-worker committees in many of the plants meet regularly whether there is something to decide or not. This makes it possible to iron out many difficulties before they ever become grievances, and to discuss changes in working rules well in advance of a decision. It also makes the normal contact between management and workers' representatives a friendly one—in sharp contrast to that in most companies, where management and workers' representatives never meet except to fight something out.

Another important point is that grievances must be settled immediately. If not disposed of within five days they go automatically to appeal; and the five-day rule applies to the appeals boards as well. This provision forces managements to take grievances as seriously as the worker does.

In every case the key to a successful solution is recognition on the part of management that these decisions are of such overwhelming importance to the individual worker, and to the workers as a whole, that they can be taken only with the joint participation and responsibility of the workers' representatives.

If the worker's resentment of managerial unfairness in the handling of agreement matters is his most vocal grievance, his deep resentment against the prevailing type of assembly-line work is as a rule hidden even from himself.

In traditional mass production there are three things that cause severe disturbances. First, the worker is confined to one motion: a fact which results in fatigue, in physiological and neurological damage (tics, headaches, deafness, neuritis), and finally in a numb resentment. Secondly, the worker is chained to the speed and rhythm of the slowest man on the line and is not allowed to work at his own speed and rhythm; the result is again fatigue and irritability, nervousness, and jerkiness. Finally, the worker never does a whole job, never makes anything that he can identify as his own personal product; this leads to lack of interest and to a deep sense of frustration.

These dissatisfactions are not inevitable results of following the principles of mass production. They result, not from its basic concepts, but from the unthinking use of the human being as if he were a machine tool designed for one purpose only. But, needless to say, this is a gross abuse, or misuse, of that wonderful, multi-purpose tool, the human being; and like all abuse of tools, it results in low productive efficiency and in shoddy work. The traditional assembly line is simply a piece of poor engineering judged by the standards of human relations and output.

During the war we learned—by necessity, not by design—not only that the orthodox assembly line is not indispensable, but that it is very often a highly inefficient way to apply mass production principles. We were forced to mass-produce a great many products, such as bombsights, which for technical reasons could not be handled on the orthodox assembly line. In other cases, the available labour supply made it impossible to use the orthodox methods. Thus

engineers were forced to think about the fundamentals of mass production, rather than to copy traditional methods blindly; and the results of this first critical analysis were amazing.

Mass production rests on three principles: the breaking up of a complex, skilled operation into its component elementary and unskilled motions; the synchronization of the flow of materials with human operation; and the interchangeability of parts. Of these only the first matters here. In the traditional assembly line each of the elementary motions is performed by a separate worker; the intellectual process of analysis is laid out *in space* with each separate analytical step represented by a separate worker. This would have been the right—in fact, the only right—method if the work were done by single-purpose machine tools, such as a reamer or a trip hammer. But it makes no sense if we use people to do the work.

The right method, as we found in literally hundreds of instances during the war, is to lay out the assembly in *concept* rather than in space. This means that we still go through the breakdown of the operation into elementary motions. But instead of having each motion performed separately by one worker, a whole sequence of motions is performed one after the other by one worker.

At Cadillac in Detroit, for instance, completely unskilled and industrially inexperienced Negro women made a high precision aluminium part for aircraft engines; each one turning out a finished product. Every girl worked by a chart which showed in three parallel columns what to do next; what to look for before doing it; speed, temperature, etc.; and what the step accomplished. The worker still did nothing but unskilled motions which were easy to learn; in fact, it took no longer to train these women than it would have taken to train them for orthodox assembly line work. But every girl did a whole operation which brought into play one muscle after the other, thus giving the whole body a chance to rest and a chance to develop a working rhythm. Also each girl could work at her own speed and could vary the speed, in itself one of the best means of combating fatigue. And each worker produced an entire product with all the satisfaction that goes with it. As a result, there was not only a highly satisfied and happy labouring force; there was also an extremely efficient one which produced more than could have been produced on the orthodox assembly line.

It is not likely that the lessons learned during the war will soon be applied wholesale to peacetime production. In the first place managers, very understandably, went straight back during reconversion to the old methods which they knew and understood, instead of experimenting with new ideas. Also, there are certainly some operations—the final automobile assembly line would be one—where the new methods could be applied only with great difficulty, if at all. The main obstacle to the large-scale application of the new method is, however, that we still lack a sufficient theoretical understanding of its

principles.

If the traditional assembly line method creates emotional and physiological disturbances because it violates the simple truth that man is a being rather than a machine tool, the even more general tendency to organize the worker's work in such a way as to put him apart from, or in opposition to, his fellow workers violates the equally basic truth that man is a political being. No one finding in the whole field of industrial relations is as well-documented as the one that men spontaneously, and by their nature, work in groups and that any policy or organization that disturbs or tears apart the team is bound to cause severe trouble. Yet of all the major causes of labour trouble, this is the one that managements pay the least attention to—probably because the workers themselves are so rarely vocal about it.

In the autumn of 1943 I visited two tank engine plants in two neighbouring Mid-western cities (let us call them Indianapolis and Dayton, though these are not the real names). Both plants were run by the same company and they produced identical goods, prepared and laid out by the same engineering department. Yet they differed markedly in their performance. The Dayton plant—an old ramshackle building hastily converted to war use—did a superb job, regularly exceeded its production quota, had a very low labour turnover in an area with a rapidly shifting working population, and had a low absenteeism rate, a low accident rate, and generally satisfactory labour relations. The Indianapolis plant—brand new and specially built for this war job—worked rather poorly with a productivity one-sixth less than Dayton, plenty of labour turnover, too many accidents, and pretty badly strained labour relations. What baffled the engineers most was that every single manipulation was done faster in Indianapolis—yet the end result was less output.

There was but one difference between the two plants. In the new plant in Indianapolis all details of the worker's job had been worked out in advance by an ultra-progressive management; all he had to do was to follow instructions. In Dayton there had been no time to do that. Management had done the over-all engineering and had worked out the general layout of each operation; but it had had to leave the actual details to be worked out by each group of men among themselves and with their foremen. Management—by necessity, not by choice—did not interfere as long as the production quota set by its engineers was reached and surpassed. The superintendent who showed me around in Dayton apologized all the time for what he called the lack of neatness; for no two aisles did the job in quite the same way or at quite the same speed. In one group the same man would always hold the cylinder block while the cylinder heads were put on by four others; in the next group the men would rotate, etc. In Indianapolis, on the other hand, everybody did the same job in the same way at the same speed.

But Dayton was a "happy plant"; Indianapolis was miserable. In Dayton every single group of men insisted on showing our party how they did the

job. There was a friendly rivalry between the aisles, the atmosphere was unhurried and easy-going, and the men talked to one another while they worked. In Indianapolis everybody was far too busy to look up from his work when we passed by. They hardly talked to one another for fear of falling behind.

It took the bosses some time to find out that it was precisely the "lack of neatness"—supposedly so deplorable—that was responsible for the good showing of the Dayton plant. And it took even longer to introduce the Dayton methods in Indianapolis; both the local managers and the workers resisted it at first. But a year later when I returned both plants were working on a system under which every aisle was working as a team; and both plants were equally efficient and enjoyed equally good labour relations.

Everybody realizes to-day that a sense of economic insecurity is a major source of unhappiness and opposition among workers. Indeed, we are in danger of over-emphasizing this feature in the labour picture to the neglect of other equally important ones.

But the real problem lies much deeper than is generally realized and has to do with fundamentals rather than with techniques. People often ask why the worker should enjoy any more economic security than the doctor, the lawyer, the farmer, or the cigar-store owner. This question so completely misses the point as to illuminate it.

In the first place, there is the basic difference that the worker by his own efforts cannot do anything at all to counteract the effect of economic fluctuations on his own economic position. No amount of ingenuity or inventive tools—that is, to the machines in the plant—the worker cannot produce anything at all and is condemned to social ineffectiveness. In the second place, the whole tendency of industrial thought and action—and in this respect there is not the slightest difference between capitalism and socialism—has been to conserve machinery and materials rather than to conserve the workers. Machinery is regarded as "capital equipment" which must be maintained in at least reasonably good condition even when it is not in use, and must be serviced on a long-term basis. Labour, on the other hand, is treated as if it were a raw material—to be bought or not bought, as business conditions may warrant.

It is likely that the annual wage will become labour's most serious demand in the next few years in America. For the annual wage forces the employer to look upon labour as a "capital asset" rather than as a raw material. And for this reason it is imperative that the annual-wage idea shall not be killed in its infancy by mismanagement or by demagogic stupidity. The annual wage cannot possibly be a guarantee of full employment; it can only guarantee a minimum income.

It is even more to the interest of the worker than to that of the employer that this minimum be kept so low that there is no danger that the plan will

collapse when the worker will need the protection most, that is, in slack times.

The greatest danger to a successful realization of the idea is, however, that the annual wage may be mistakenly looked upon as a protection against depression unemployment. If the worker really wants the annual wage—and there is no doubt that he both wants and needs it—he will have to insist on a clause providing that the plan shall be suspended if orders over a period of months fall below the levels of a "normally bad" year. Otherwise the economic landscape will be cluttered with the wrecks of annual wage plans in the first major setback, and the whole idea will be discredited for a long time to come.

Yet without some definite guarantee against depression unemployment we cannot hope to eliminate the worker's basic feeling of economic insecurity and the effects of this feeling on his attitude towards society in general and his employer in particular. Even in England to-day, where all signs point to a long-time shortage of workers rather than to a shortage of jobs, the memory of the depression haunts the worker and determines very largely his actions and thoughts. That only a positive employment-creating policy can give the necessary protection against the depression threat to the worker's security has become a commonplace even though it was clearly formulated for the first time only a few years ago in the Beveridge plan.

But with this statement the student of industrial relations parts company with Beveridge and with all the full employment economists whether of the right, the left, or the middle. Not that he quarrels with their economics; it is their ideas about their human relations that are all wrong and contrary to everything we have learned. The economists are all out to guarantee jobs; but what the worker needs is not a guarantee of sixty million jobs but of one particular job, his own, and the jobs of his fellow workers in the plant, and of his fellow townsmen. Where the economists deal with the over-all economy, twenty-five years of industrial relations work have taught us conclusively that we must always tackle every single industrial relations job in the individual plant. What is needed for industrial peace is not one big full employment plan, but many little ones.

We should be able to make some headway with these many little plans even on the strictest Keynesian principles. The core of all full employment plans is the proposal to distribute capital goods investment evenly over the business cycle. But there is no good reason why this should be done by the government rather than by individual corporations.

The first step in such a policy would be to put corporation payments on a cyclical basis, something not much more difficult than the shift to the "pay-as-you-earn" system of individual income tax payments. Each company would make an annual tax return as it does now, but it would pay taxes only on its estimated average cyclical profit. All profit over and above this figure should be exempt from taxation, *provided it be put into a long-term capital invest-*

*ment fund.* Whatever sums in this fund are not used for employment-creating capital investments after ten or fifteen years would automatically become subject to tax; and if they should remain unused, even though there should be a depression and unemployment, the tax should be confiscatory. But the tax would be permanently waived if the fund actually were used in depression years for employment-creating investments.

A few years of moderately good business would provide us with a fund more than adequate to maintain the necessary investment in capital goods even in the worst depression years. Assuming total corporate profits (before taxes) of twelve billions\* a year—a very low estimate—we could expect annual reserves (over and above depletion) and average profit to come to about three billions. In five years of moderate business we would thus have an employment fund of fifteen billions, which is more than the total amount that, if spent on capital investments in 1932, would have converted a period of intense suffering and unemployment into one of high business volume and full employment. Actually it can be shown that the fund would be sufficient to maintain employment at the level of the minimum guaranteed in the annual wage if only the present corporation taxes—rather than the profits taxes—were put into that reserve.

To gain the proper effect on labour relations these employment-creating funds must be tied up directly with the worker's job. Hence it should be made compulsory for all businesses accumulating such tax-exempt funds to work out, during the good years, specific employment-creating capital projects for the bad years to come—such things as modernizing their equipment, improving their plants, expanding their scope, working on new products, etc. These projects should be as definite as possible and should contain some forecast of labour-hours needed, of the type of work involved, etc. And it would be only the most elementary common sense to bring the workers' representatives into the preparation of these projects. For while it is neither necessary nor possible to give the individual worker a binding promise of minimum employment, the plant community as a whole should know in detail what it can expect when orders fall off.

This is but a vague outline of an approach rather than a finished plan; and many very important problems obviously would still have to be worked out. It is offered here only to show that even the most dreaded economic insecurity, the insecurity of a depression, can be tackled in a way that promises greatly to relieve industrial tension—a way, incidentally, which like all the other policies discussed here, would be as beneficial to management as it would be to the workers.

\*A U.S. billion equals one thousand millions.

## SOCIALISM AND THE COLONIES

BY ARTHUR CALDER-MARSHALL

THE Socialist Government inherits from its predecessors a complex colonial policy, which is the result rather of past and present pressures than of any carefully thought out philosophy.

During the earliest phase of commercial and strategic expansion, the main emphasis was laid upon internal security, the preservation of law and order with the smallest occupational force. This led to the system of Native Administration, the establishment of friendly (or to use a later terminology, quisling), chieftains and emirs, ruling on traditional lines, but with advice from colonial officials. It produced an artificial crystallization of the social patterns of colonial peoples as at the time of conquest. The abolition of tribal wars, which had been the natural consequence of expanding tribal populations and declining land fertility, created problems which sooner or later had to be tackled by services wider than those offered by a police force.

The second phase arose out of the limitations of the first. The agitation of the local population and the recommendations of government officials led to the gradual extension of services to include general education and specialist instruction and aid in matters of hygiene, medical facilities, farming and so on. At the same time, the commercial undertakings pressed for better roads and railways, improved port facilities and limited education to provide a source of skilled and semi-skilled local labour.

This development snowballed. It contained within itself the third phase, the recognition that the exploitation of a colony by outside capitalist undertakings could not proceed unchecked. The corollary to the voting of British taxpayers' money to the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund was the imposition of Colonial Income and Company Tax during the war.

With the money thus acquired, added to further sums to be raised by local subscription, we are now entering on the fourth phase, which broadly consists in the planning of colonial development along the old lines, but at a quicker tempo.

Since the Socialist Government has been in power, there has only been one full dress debate on Colonial Affairs. It lasted for six and a half hours and was very poorly attended by both sides of the House. It was an undistinguished debate, but it enabled George Hall, then Colonial Secretary, to make a declaration of Socialist colonial policy. Following him Oliver Stanley, Tory ex-Colonial Secretary remarked:—

The Right Hon. Gentleman started his speech by telling us that since the electoral events of July, it was necessary for him to make a declaration of policy for the Party now in power. I listened to it with great interest, and I must confess with a certain amount of familiarity. It did not seem to differ greatly in essentials from the policies which have been declared on previous occasions.

That was no mere debating point. It is, to my mind regrettably, only too true. There is no substantial difference between Tory and Socialist Party policy towards the colonies.

There is however a very considerable difference between the Tory and the Socialist views at the present time towards India, Burma and Egypt. The Socialists realize that our position there has become untenable. The only constructive thing which the British can do is to get out.

This is the acknowledgment of the failure of our mission, not of its accomplishment. In all those countries, it is certain that a period of social upheaval lies ahead; because British rule did not solve the social conflicts in India or Burma, but merely obfuscated them; just as the presence of British troops on the Citadel in Cairo provided Egyptian capitalists with the distraction which they wanted from the main economic conflicts within the country.

To the colonial peoples, we have also promised political independence at some future date. The example of India is encouraging the demand to make that 'future date' as soon as possible. And with the steady growth of the colonial intelligentsia, pressure is going to increase in volume and intensity.

So the question arises now: "What sort of a West Africa or West Indies do we want to see independent?" Do we want to be forced as we have been elsewhere to admit that we have failed in our task and we can no longer hold the colonial peoples down? Do we want to resign ourselves, for example, to seeing the Southern Nigerians fight out the mastery of Nigeria with the Hausa people of the North? Or do we want to hand over to people who have already learnt the discipline of democracy and whose racial and economic conflicts have already been resolved by socialism?

I believe that it is of paramount importance both for our own country and for the colonies that we should set about creating socialist communities in the colonies so that when the hand-over takes place internal strife is avoided; and if possible, the colonies themselves should opt to become self-governing dominions in a British Socialist Commonwealth. But if that is to be done, we must have a clear break in colonial policy.

Though the historic differences between the present situation of the Socialist party and those of the Bolshevik party, after the revolution, are very considerable, a brief examination of the liquidation of Russian imperialism is instructive. The Bolsheviks did not say, and I think quite rightly, that they were concerned with a socialist revolution only in Russia. They were in favour, neither of allowing the Russian Empire to break up into small independent states which would become colonies or sub-colonies of other imperialist powers, nor of trying to accomplish a socialist revolution within the bound-

aries of Russia and holding the rest of the Empire in a colonial status.

They proposed the double task of abolishing capitalist domination of colonial peoples and of realizing their independence within a socialist framework. The first involved a fundamental change in the policy of the central government; the second the rapid education of colonial people in the aims and objects of socialism and the development of their capacity for socialist leadership.

Many readers will be familiar with Leonard Barnes's *Soviet Light on the Colonies*; fewer perhaps with that excellent document *The New Teacher in the Arctic* describing the sort of suspicions, prejudices and problems which the early communist pioneers had to face and overcome before the Laplanders became convinced that the new government in Moscow really had a new policy for Lapland and was not the old imperialism in a subtler disguise. There is no more brilliant testimony to the success of those early pioneers than the Russian film, called *Children of the Soviet Arctic*, which dramatized the story of *The New Teacher in the Arctic*. It was made only twenty years after the event, by child and adult actors of the Lapp National Theatre, the children of those primitive igloo-dwellers of the 'twenties giving a performance which stands comparison with any acting in the world.

Soviet colonial policy has been brilliantly successful. It depended in the first place in making clear that there was a clean break between the Imperialist policy of the past and the Communist policy of the future and secondly on releasing the creative energy of the people themselves. The Communists set out to strengthen and develop national cultures, encouraging their enrichment in every possible way. But at the same time, they resolutely attacked superstition, ignorance and traditions which stood in the way of the peoples' healthy development. Because they respected what was respectable, they could mobilize the most intelligent elements in the campaigns against stupidity, filth, magic and blind reverence for obsolete traditions.

People often draw the comparison between the standard of living in the U.S.S.R. and the one in this country, pointing out quite rightly that we have in Britain a much higher standard. But the true comparison is between the U.S.S.R. and the British Empire; and the Russians point out also rightly that nowhere in the Soviet Union, vast though it is, live tribes as primitive as the Pagans of the North Nigerian Plateau and in no republic of the Union is the standard as low as in the Gold Coast where the average income per head is under two pounds a year.

Even in the most backward of the republics, there are great cities now where there were mud villages twenty-five years ago; and among peoples that so recently were illiterate, there are poets, novelists, playwrights and in many places even film studios. And in all these developments, there is a common principle, the development of the latent energy of the people themselves in the construction of a socialist state.

The translation of the Russian Empire into a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was materially more difficult, but psychologically easier, than the task facing a Socialist Commonwealth. The Russian Empire lay in a single land-mass. The differences between the races of east and west, of north and south, were great. But between the extremes lay all the intermediate types necessary for cohesion.

Then again the violence of the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries and the intervening powers emphasized the break with the past. It was written on the battlefields across two continents. It was in the faces of the new governing class and in the whole method of approach by doctors, teachers and administrators. What superiority they claimed was that of superior knowledge, not of class, race or creed. The pressure of the old régime had been restrictive; that of the new was impulsive. The old officials had wanted to stay in their jobs as long as possible; the new ones were in a hurry to train their successors, so that they could get on to other urgent tasks.

And finally, the forces of reaction had been broken. There were not vested interests, which might be nationalized later, but meanwhile must be kept sweet. Government had complete control of the economic development of the country.

The present Socialist Government of Great Britain, on the other hand, has been returned to carry out a specific mandate. If it does so, successfully, it stands a very good chance of being re-elected for another five years. But that issue will be decided by the electors of Great Britain, most of whom wrongly do not care tuppence about the British Colonial Empire. If they did care, one could be quite sure that in a year and a half's work, more than six and a half hours would have been devoted to the general discussion of Colonial Affairs.

The formulation of a socialist policy for the colonies is not therefore an immediate demand of Labour Party members. And it would encounter strong resistance from the Tories, a large section of the Colonial Office and from the powerful monopolist groups. "So why not," ask the Labour Party members, "let sleeping dogs lie?"

The answer is that it is not the dogs that are sleeping, but the masters. The Colonial peoples themselves are intensely alive and awake. Concessions have been made and more concessions will be extorted. But concessions are no substitute for policy. The Tudor Davies report on the cost of living in Nigeria, while giving a mass of interesting information, contains a naïve expression of surprise that West African capitalists treat their workers even worse than European capitalists, as if the evils of capitalism, that invention of the white man, should not be caught by coloured emulators. In fact, capitalism when caught by a new country tends, like venereal disease in similar circumstances, to develop new and even more virulent forms.

In not having a socialist policy for the colonies, we are having a capitalist policy; we are, that is to say, promoting the very troubles in our dependencies, which we are trying to overcome at home. I know it will be pointed out that

the Colonial Office now advocates the despatch of skilled trade union and co-operative organizers to the colonies. This is an important step forward; but not necessarily a socialist step forward. It is merely the continuation of a policy initiated by the Tories and would be necessary whatever the form of government. What is necessary is much more fundamental; nothing in fact less than the liberation of the creative energy of the colonial peoples.

Let us take a very simple example. In Nigeria and the Gold Coast, there are vast areas which suffer from drought during the dry season. Water, however, can be reached at about thirty feet by sinking wells. Two thousand wells are needed immediately in Gold Coast alone. But the Native Administration cannot pursue its well-sinking scheme to full capacity, because of lack of funds. The calls on its small revenue are large. And so for year after year, during the dry season, the fields go unwatered and the women of the villages and compounds have to walk five miles or more to the nearest waterhole and there get water which is foul, brackish and laden with disease.

The cost of digging a well in the Northern Territories of Nigeria is approximately £5, of which five shillings is spent on materials, some fifteen shillings on the wages of the well supervisor and the remainder on wages to the villagers for digging the well from which they themselves will derive the benefit. The reason why these villagers are paid is because Lugard abolished the right of chieftains to demand forced labour from their people, a progressive and sensible measure in itself. But there is a great deal of difference between forced labour and voluntary labour; a great deal of difference between insisting that wages should be paid for public work and failing to instal communal services because there is not enough money to pay the people who would benefit from them.

In order to get more wells more quickly, the Native Administration should explain that priority will be given to those compounds and villages which will give their own labour voluntarily, the Administration merely providing the materials and the supervisor. Even if there were plenty of money to pay for the wells, this scheme would be preferable to payment for work which benefits a single community. It provides a simple example of communal self-help, the exercise of democracy in one of its primary forms. The well becomes a symbol of communal achievement. "We decided that we wanted a well. The Government helped us, but we dug it. It is the expression of our common will."

What a community can do with a well, it can do also with a communal sheep dip or cattle dip; with the building of a schoolhouse, a clinic or a hospital, given the new tools, the use and construction of which can be learnt from the farming centre. The lament of colonial government: "There is not enough money" can become the source of inspiration: "Then let us do it without money." Financial weakness can prove a source of democratic strength. The solution of the small problem can provide the practical edu-



cation which will enable the big problem to be solved, when it arises. If democratic action is learnt at the family compound level, it will automatically spread to the tribal and inter-tribal levels. National unity will arise gradually from co-operation.

Let us be quite clear what the implication is of a very simple action such as the voluntary digging of a compound well. It means sooner or later (I hope sooner), the abolition of indirect rule through chieftains and emirs, the liquidation of the feudal system which has only survived because of the support given by the British. It means a revolution in West African life and a revolution in the thinking of colonial office personnel. It means that instead of ruling by instructions from above, you rule by organization from below. It means that instead of the Colonial Secretary having to issue a grave warning that it is necessary for colonial workers to increase production he must tell them how much help he can give them in their efforts to increase production. It means, in brief, democracy, that extraordinary yeast that will leaven the most unlikely people and produce a dynamic in the most apathetic.

George Hall drew a distinction in his Parliamentary address between economic and political development, saying that at the moment the first was more important than the second. There should, I claim, be no distinction at the primitive level. Political democracy is the villagers voting that they will dig a well or build a sheep dip for their common good.

## WHAT HAS UNRRA DONE?

BY W. R. GORDON

UNRRA began at the St. James' Palace Conference in 1941. At that time forty-four nations pledged their support in the Agreement which they signed in 1943, eighteen months before the final defeat of Germany. The objects of the organization, set out in that agreement, were to aid and relieve suffering, to provide food, clothing and shelter, prevent pestilence, help the recovery of health, prepare for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and finally, but possibly most important of all, to assist the resumption of agriculture, industry and essential services. To achieve these aims an international council was set up to direct policy and a director general was appointed to organize the spending and distribution of the vast sums and volumes of goods necessary to afford urgent relief to the stricken countries.

In Governor Lehman, its first Director General and in Mayor La Guardia, who succeeded him; in Sir Frederick Leith Ross, chairman of the European Committee; in that brilliant and capable Australian, Commander Jackson, the Senior Deputy-Director-General and in Lieutenant-General Sir Humfrey Gale, formerly Chief Administrator on General Eisenhower's staff, UNRRA was fortunate to find heads who were capable of wide vision and with the drive and experience necessary to make the new organization fully effective in a short space of time. UNRRA has been criticized in various quarters for the inefficiency of its staff and the wasteful way in which they were used. Yet it must be remembered that, at the time the organization came into being, the man-power position in the countries composing the United Nations was desperate. No doubt, in a hastily collected staff, of so many different nationalities, some undesirable elements crept in, at first. But, as time went on, despite the short-term nature of the employment, men and women of the right calibre were recruited and set to work. Prior to each relief campaign, the necessary teams were assembled and trained for their task. These preparatory planning periods were of great subsequent value.

In its work, UNRRA was designed to operate along very different lines to those of the Hoover Relief Administration set up at the end of the 1914-1918 war. While it was not to be in any sense a supernational body, neither was it to be nationalistic in its outlook and direction. Political discrimination was not to influence relief. Instead the criteria were to be the consent and necessities of those countries requiring relief. This time, too, relief was to be afforded on a free, instead of a credit, basis. Finally, because the destruction and ruin caused by the 1939-1945 war was so much greater than that

suffered in the first, food was not to be the sole aid given. A greater attempt at complete relief was to be made.

To finance this gigantic task the countries which had not suffered invasion agreed to contribute one per cent. of their national incomes. Two contributions on this basis have realized more than £900 million during the two short years of UNRRA's span of life. The U.S.A. and Britain have been by far the biggest contributors, giving seventy-three and seventeen per cent. respectively of the total levy raised. The British contribution alone has amounted to £155 million. To this sum Canada, Australia, India, S. Africa and New Zealand have added between them close on £70 million. Thus the English speaking nations combined have contributed by far the largest sums for this task of international relief. Of the remainder Brazil, alone, has been a principal donor.

It has been the feeling that she was "footing" the major portion of the bill which has helped to make America unwilling to see UNRRA continue. In his appeal in November for a world food relief fund, Mayor La Guardia recognized this reluctance by limiting, in his proposals, the contributions from any one country to no more than forty-nine per cent. Other influences which have made the U.S.A. desire to discontinue "blanket" relief schemes have been the ingratitude displayed and the militarism still evinced by those countries which have benefited most. While leading statesmen among several of the chief beneficiaries have paid lip service to the valuable aid rendered to them by UNRRA, they appear from the point of view of donor countries to have forgotten the sacrifices made in making that aid possible.

Measured in terms of money, quite apart from the goods which it produced, the scale of relief has been enormous, though not in relation to the needs of the individual countries. Large and generous though UNRRA's aid has been, it can only be, as Sir Humfrey Gale has put it, an "economic shot in the arm". This must, necessarily, be true of relief, as opposed to the longer-term needs of complete rehabilitation. First among the benefiting countries has been China which has been granted over £130 million worth of relief; then Poland with £117 million; Yugoslavia and Italy with £105 million each; Greece with £86 million; Czechoslovakia £67 million, and Russia (through Byelorussia and the Ukraine) £62 million.

While the generosity of the donor countries cannot be doubted, especially at a time when they were themselves faced with post-war reconstruction problems, it must be remembered that ninety per cent. of their contributions were spent in their own countries. This has meant employment for their work-people and turnover for their industries. Further some of the contributions have taken the form of war surpluses, such as lorries, port repair equipment and similar items. But, whether the donors could afford to give much of this material away or not, it has been a free gift and each receiving country has been able to sell the goods to their own nationals, spending the

funds thus realized on relief and rehabilitation within their own borders. In this manner some currency exchange complications have been overcome.

At its outset UNRRA was faced with very real difficulties. Not only were regions liberated at different times but the transport position in each area proved to be chaotic. Not unnaturally the Army commanders were reluctant to allow civilian organizations to operate on their tenuous lines of communications. Consequently, in the early stages, relief was handled by the Civil Affairs sections of the Armies and only later was UNRRA able to get to grips with its problems. Though created in November 1943, it was not until the spring of 1945 that the first large scale operation could commence, in Greece. This, in fact, was a second attempt for, in December 1944, UNRRA, which had already made a start in that country, had to leave because of the outbreak of civil war. Work began in Yugoslavia in April 1945, in Czechoslovakia in June and in Poland in August of that year. Full-sized operations in Italy did not begin until January 1946 nor in Austria till the following April. To start with, therefore, UNRRA's work was necessarily patchy and its peak period of activity only lasted some fourteen to eighteen months.

Until the end of the Japanese war UNRRA could get neither the ships nor the supplies needed to carry out its task, for they were all required for the prosecution of the war. It was not even possible to marshal supplies or earmark shipping.

As each country requested relief and was approved because of its needs and lack of foreign currency as a worthy object for assistance, and as conditions permitted, so the UNRRA teams started their urgently requested work of rescuing the war-devastated areas from chaos. The task was enormous, desperately complicated and appallingly pressing. Words are not enough to describe the destruction, the poverty, the ill-health, the sheer misery of the populations whom they were called upon to succour.

In Greece there was stark starvation, no fuel, rampant disease, people without houses, besides destruction of railways, bridges and public utility plants. Out of 6,500 villages a quarter was destroyed and over a million people left destitute. The farmers lacked implements, donkeys and seeds. Over the whole country economic life was at a standstill.

Poland, twice a battlefield and with one-third of its thirty-four million people wiped out, was in similar straits. With its transport system shattered, its agriculture and industry paralysed through lack of livestock, agricultural machinery, raw materials and equipment, Poland's national economy had completely broken down. Even in June 1946 it was possible to write that the Poles were ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed. Amid the ruins of Warsaw only a few hundred houses were habitable. Every month 10,000 people were dying from tuberculosis alone. Nearly one and three-quarter million children had been orphaned or had lost one of their parents.

In Yugoslavia more than a million and three quarters, a tenth of the popu-

lation, had been killed in the war. Half a million houses and five thousand public buildings had been destroyed. Whole villages had been destroyed. One village, typical of hundreds, had changed hands forty-eight times in four years and had ceased to exist. In Sarajevo and Zagreb literally hundreds of thousands of people were starving. Typhus and tuberculosis were rampant. As elsewhere, the retreating German armies had destroyed railways, bridges and roads. As if all this were not enough, the country had suffered the worst drought for twenty years.

Even in Czechoslovakia, where less material damage had been suffered than in other countries, there was not a single bridge left intact in the Eastern part of the country. Scores of towns and villages had been bombed or burned and large numbers of people were without not only homes but even shoes and clothing. There was hardly any motor transport and the first UNRRA convoy, landed at the Black Sea port of Constanza and driven 800 miles to Slovakia, was, at one time, the sole means of transport available in the whole country.

To inject the necessary relief into the almost inert mass of suffering humanity it was necessary to send supplies by long and circuitous routes, then the only ways left open. This was the heritage of ruin and suffering with which the newly organized UNRRA had to contend, with all the speed it could summon. Everywhere—in Albania, Austria, Finland, Hungary, and Italy—the tale was much the same, only with more hideous variations. That, amid all the terrible conditions and in face of the real and tremendous difficulties, UNRRA did so much relief work reflects the greatest credit upon those who gave the means, those who organized its allocation and those who had to tackle the heartbreaking jobs on the spot.

To solve these immense problems—and quickly—in Europe alone a staff of 18,000 men and women, of forty-six different nationalities were recruited. The organization had to ship and deliver twenty-two million tons of supplies, at a cost of some £700 million. For procurement and delivery thirty-two countries were involved. Not only was it necessary to order and supply a vast range of commodities but expert help had to be provided in medicine, public health, agriculture, fisheries, raw materials of all kinds, shipping, transportation, harbours and finance. The currency problem alone was enormous.

Four principal branches were set up to organize the work. These comprised supply, relief, finance and administration as well as the controller's department which determined financial spending.

What has UNRRA achieved? Within each country much has been done. For instance, out of one and a half million tons of supplies delivered to Yugoslavia up till May 31, 1946, over one million had been in the form of food, particularly wheat and flour. Raw cotton, wool and rags amounting to nearly 60,000 tons, shipped during April and May last year, enabled the local mills and factories to turn out enough clothing to garb half the populations. Up till then it had been impossible to buy any new clothing at all.

Tuberculosis, which was responsible for seventeen to twenty per cent. of all deaths, had to be fought. At the urgent request of the Yugoslav authorities two mass X-ray units were shipped. To cope with the typhus scourge, which caused 40,000 deaths in 1945, over one and a quarter million lb. of D.D.T. powder and eight anti-typhus units were sent. Nearly fifty 'epidemic' stations are now operating in this country and, in Bosnia, half a million people have been inoculated.

Last year nine million tons of supplies were shipped to Italy, including 1,400,000 tons of coal which, literally, saved the situation. Expenditure on supplies and services for Austria has amounted to £22½ million. About two-thirds of this sum has been spent on food, about £5 million on agricultural items and lesser amounts on clothing textiles, footwear, industrial and medical supplies. Over 1,000 new lorries have been furnished to distribute the goods.

The list of items sent has been enormous. Up till August 31, 1946, over 66,000 lorries, clothing for twenty million people, footwear, leather and hides equivalent to thirty-eight million pairs of boots and shoes, more than one million tons of coal per month, 350 locomotives, 300,000 livestock, 600,000 tons of food or more than 100 liberty ships loads per month, and close on 300,000 tons of raw wool and cotton have been sent to twelve different European countries. There they have been forwarded and delivered by twenty-three UNRRA missions and offices.

Apart from supplies the repatriation of displaced persons has presented a huge problem. From Germany, between May 1945 and August 1946, close on six million prisoners and exiles have been sent home. From Austria, Italy and the Middle East, yet another million have returned to their own countries. About half UNRRA's European staff have been engaged upon this great task.

There can be no doubt that UNRRA has prevented widespread famine and disease in Europe since the war ended. Local starvation and disease there have been, but they have been minimized and prevented from spreading. Much has been done, by the provision of raw materials and technical assistance, to enable countries to help themselves. By the provision of seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, agricultural implements and other necessities an excellent beginning has been made to agricultural rehabilitation.

What remains to be done? All those responsible for UNRRA know that, despite what has been achieved, the job is unfinished. It could not be otherwise. Years of war, oppression and wreckage cannot be remedied in a few months, even of intense effort. There are still nearly three-quarters of a million Poles, Balts and Yugoslavs left as the hard core of the displaced persons problem. These people must either be repatriated or else found alternative homes and work.

Transport, agriculture, industry and health problems still await a complete solution which only additional aid from outside, the work of the nations themselves and time can provide. It is to UNO that the peoples of the war-scarred

countries look to complete the work that UNRRA has started and which cannot be finished without external intervention. All the UNO organizations for this purpose exist on paper only; they are mostly in the talking and planning stage. None has the experienced staff nor the means to take up the task.

As the Polish delegate said at Geneva last August "those who recommend liquidation of UNRRA are like architects who build a house but stop short of the roof." Czechoslovakia, the country most nearly approaching normality, calculates her import and export deficit for 1947 at £47 million. Yugoslavia needs food, clothing, footwear and medical supplies to the extent of £75 million. Austria's needs are computed at between £37½ to £50 million while Italy's import requirements are estimated at between £300 and £350 million.

For health, UNRRA is to hand over to the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization, which will administer the sanitary conventions. In actual fact UNRRA's health work is being almost entirely terminated and the doctors and nurses withdrawn. Anti-malarial and anti-T.B. campaigns are being left half-finished. UNO is only now considering taking over UNRRA's welfare functions but, most probably, this work will end completely. An international refugee organization is to assume responsibility for displaced persons. Up till June 30, 1947, UNRRA will continue this work but after that date all its funds will have been exhausted. Since none of the financial agencies, such as the Monetary Fund and the International Bank, has powers to lend money for buying food and since foreign exchange difficulties are still immense, nations will have to depend upon the goodwill and assistance of those countries, such as the U.S.A., which are able and willing to help them. The Food and Agriculture Organization has scarcely considered the needs of countries hitherto receiving help from UNRRA. So far as children and adolescents are concerned, the International Children's Fund is only just coming to life.

UNRRA staff is, gradually, being demobilized. Despite disparagement of their work these men and women deserve great thanks. When the history of post-war Europe comes to be written due praise will, doubtless, be given to those who conceived the idea of UNRRA and to those who tackled its manifold besetting problems. But those upon whom has devolved the task of post-war statesmanship may well incur blame for not creating an efficient machinery to carry on the work of UNRRA, without interruption, until its final conclusion. It is to UNO and its subsidiary organizations that the war-ravaged countries must now look for assistance. If UNO should fail, it will be completely discredited, the real, lasting revival of international trade will be disastrously delayed and Europe and China may again slide into the chasm from which UNRRA's efforts have raised them.

*(As senior British fuel adviser to General Eisenhower, Colonel Gordon saw the start of UNRRA in Europe and has since kept in touch with its work.)*

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## DECLINING VALUES IN CIVILIZATION

BY LEWIS EINSTEIN

SOME very different answers would almost certainly be given to the question of what is the most important feature in the world to-day.

Many might find this in the atomic bomb, others in the deepening rift between East and West, or in the general acceleration of life, or the decay of religion. There is some truth in any or in all of these explanations but future historians may well be of the opinion that more significant than any of these causes is the declining standard of our civilization, and ask why this has happened in our time. It is of course possible to explain this decline by the corrupting evils of Naziism or as pertaining to the aftermath of a world war but there are other reasons as well.

Last July, Sir John Anderson, when opening a new wing of the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge, referred to future weapons devised by science which were even more lethal than the atomic bomb and could poison water supplies and spread deadly diseases. Statements of a similar nature have also been heard in the United States. The real significance of these pronouncements made by men of standing was that they provoked so little comment either because they divulged nothing new or more likely because the world has already become accustomed to evil and grown callous to horrors. Nazi crimes have had not a little to do toward shaping this seeming indifference on the part of public opinion. It still is possible for the average man to sympathize with the sufferings of an individual, but multiply this suffering by millions and the horror becomes less moving when it is anonymous and wholesale. The very immensity of the tragedy of our era leaves the imagination so stunned that it can with difficulty react. It would be a paradox, if it were not a truism, to say that the greater the crime the smaller the effect that it leaves on those who have not been the victims. The mind becomes fatigued by the repetition of cruelties and something happens to human sensibility that is akin to what Hitler pointed out regarding the use of a lie which when repeated a thousand times wears down mental resistance and is accepted as truth. Human tragedies enacted on too vast a scale tend in fact to diminish sympathy.

Another reason for the decline of civilization may be discovered in the failure of modern liberalism to act as a fighting creed. During the last century many beneficial measures had been carried out under its banner which the complacent optimism of that age regarded as being permanently secured milestones of progress. When Wilberforce succeeded in abolishing the black

slave trade he would never have believed it possible that a hundred years later white slavery would again be extensively employed in several European countries. The apparent triumphs of nineteenth century liberalism have had much to do with blunting the combative edge of its convictions. At first it merely sank into a comfortable smugness; later, it lost ground slowly at first and then more rapidly under the fierce attacks of a nationalism that emanated from the Right and a socialism from the Left. In every country liberal ideas weakened as a creed but these had so long been associated with Western civilization that their decline suggests, at least, a partial explanation for the lower standards of to-day.

Other reasons can also be found. The growing regimentation of life on the more uniform level imposed by mass pressure almost certainly is one. This question is too extended and too controversial to be discussed here, but it helps to explain the increasingly mechanical nature of modern administration which restricts the latitude that was formerly enjoyed by public men. The consequences of changes now going on in this direction may be good or bad but they register the effects of those growing impersonal forces that everywhere are developing rapidly at the expense of older and more personal ones, so that the qualities demanded of politicians will no longer be the same as in the past.

In theory political science has made no great progress since the days of Athenian democracy. It would be idle to speculate how the mind of Winston Churchill compares with that of Pericles, but there is little reason to suppose that the men who now govern the world are intellectually superior to those of former ages. Yet in the quality of his mind Mr. Churchill is probably nearer to the great Athenian of two thousand years ago than he is to the modern politicians who accept the prefabricated plans of technical specialists that offer ready made substitutes for government. Plutarch attributed virtues such as clemency and generosity to his heroes, but the possession of similar traits would to-day not call for notice and a criterion much more frequently heard refers merely to a statesman's honesty. Politicians in America are still expected to conform, at least outwardly, to certain rather negative requirements of a domestic nature, but even the ideal of a Christian gentleman no longer carries as much weight as it did in the nineteenth century. Probably the intellectual and moral qualities of our public men are regarded as being less important now than before because statesmen in the democratic countries are no longer able to exercise their discretionary powers in the way that they once could do. Almost unnoticed something else has crept in which affects the range of an authority that is increasingly built up with other materials.

A survey of the world leaves one with the uncomfortable feeling that in spite of the efforts of many well-intentioned men in every country civilization is sliding downhill. The principal reason for this decline lies paradoxically in the discoveries of science which more and more must enter into the calculations of public men. General ideas of right and wrong may still be much the same

as they were two thousand years ago, but the application of these ideas has become more restricted and offers little practical guidance when confronted by problems of so unforeseen a nature as the atomic bomb. Many deplore the decay of religious faith and regret that there is no spiritual obstacle to stand in the way of the new Moloch, who threatens the human race, but even a revival of religion would hardly be accompanied by confidence in the voluntary renunciation of the advantages that novel weapons can offer.

It is not easy to foresee how the new Pandora's box which has been opened can ever again be locked. More inventions will certainly elbow their way to compel the attention of governments and no moral restraints are likely to avail in times of crisis to deter a state from utilizing any powers of destruction likely to increase its chances of victory. Bertrand Russell aptly wrote some years before the atomic bomb had been discovered: "In former days men sold themselves to the Devil to acquire magical powers. Nowadays they acquire these powers from science and find themselves compelled to become devils. There is no hope for the world unless power can be tamed . . . for science has made it inevitable that all must live or all must die."

It is something of a paradox that the revolutionary discoveries which tomorrow may result in the end of man and which have led to a serious decline in civilized standards should have emanated from a few men who themselves pursue lives of gentle and peaceful domesticity. Far from being the inventions of Satan, the new instruments of annihilation have originated among a group of scientists of irreproachable character, who in all other respects are ordinary men with a general outlook toward most questions that is probably very similar to that of the majority of their fellow citizens. These men without political ambitions of their own have suddenly come into a prominence that is as unexpected as it has been unsought.

Probably nothing could be further from their present purposes than to demand or to expect political consideration because of scientific skill. None of the less inventions which have suddenly compelled the world's attention in the most alarming way, may impose on physicists the choice between remaining pure technicians who are employed only as robots to carry out the orders that they receive or else demanding a share in the control of the terrifying instruments which they have blindly handed over to their governments. The situation is unhealthy in the sense that one group of men possesses the responsibility for the use of far reaching powers that another group has created and given to them without taking any responsibility for their employment. Scientific discoveries that should have been a triumph of civilization have become its curse and a terrible monster has been let loose which no one as yet knows how to curb or to keep under control. A situation so uncertain cannot go on indefinitely, all the more so as new and even deadlier devices will be invented. The public men under whose authority these inventions are developed may discover that their own powers have grown less for they have

to act more as the agents who have control of destructive forces placed in their hands. Deeply conscious as they may be of their responsibilities, their actual power emanates from the fact that they carry a lighted match near a powder magazine.

In one way or another a change must come about if future disaster is to be avoided. Scientists can hardly be expected to cancel out their own discoveries even if such a thing were possible, but no more can they remain indifferent to the dangers that have resulted from these inventions. How they are to indicate this responsibility is hard to say. Good scientists may easily turn into bad politicians and some of them will doubtless burn their hands if they try to branch out in unfamiliar directions, but this does not mean that the effort should not be made. Men of science have a real duty to show that they know how to control and not merely how to devise terrible weapons of destruction.

Already some minor indications point out ways in which their services will be utilized, for scientists are taking part in the discussions of the political Committee of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, although this participation may only be on a technical level. The suggestion has been made that physicists ought to draw up a code of conduct much as physicians and lawyers have done. Measures of this nature usually take time to elaborate and their practical effect is unlikely to keep pace with the giant strides taken by new discoveries. But some form of association already exists and no insuperable obstacle would seem to stand in the way of a union of this character at least in the Western democracies. A beginning was unconsciously made when German, and Austrian, Danish and Italian refugee scientists in the United States contributed their skill in order to help manufacture the atomic bomb. Why should not men of science have the right to advocate common measures and recommend opinions to their governments in the same way as bankers or trades unions? It can neither be expected nor is it desirable that scientists should continue to be used solely as robots in order to prepare measures of destruction of which they disapprove.

It is a sad reflection on our time that the greatest decline in the standards of our civilization has unwittingly resulted from discoveries of science in applying natural forces to unnatural ends. No moral restraint is as yet effective for man's control of these blind forces. The answer if such a restraint is possible lies outside the laboratory, and rests with public opinion, with statesmen, but also with scientists who must not only be specialists but must act also as citizens. At the turning point where we stand to-day science must either remain a blind instrument of power for a new conception of government or one that will aim to utilize its discoveries for the benefit of mankind.

## CAN AUSTRIA SURVIVE?

By P. O. LAPIE

FOR centuries Austria existed only by virtue of the Holy Roman Empire. It was then looked upon as the Far East of Europe, so that a prince standing on the terraces of Vienna, could point to where the Danube was lost on the horizon and say: "My son, here Asia begins." When the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire broke up, the possibility of Austria's survival might already have been questioned, and indeed it was thought that Austria would continue to exist only as the equal of one or other of the German principalities.

Throughout the nineteenth century the dual monarchy was confronted almost daily with the problem of its own survival; the difficulties resulting from the revolutions of 1848, the defeat at Sadowa, the victories of the democracies, and the growth of nationalism, seemed likely still further to wound and finally to despatch altogether the two-headed eagle. But it lived on, under the domination of the Emperor Francis Joseph for the best part of another century.

After 1918 the problem presented itself in a still more acute form. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy was not only the major casualty of the war, but Austria was the nation which suffered the greatest dismemberment. With the liberation of Czechoslovakia, the formation of an independent Hungary, the reconstitution of Poland, the extension of the Rumanian and Yugoslavian frontiers, and the ceding to Italy of the irredentist territories, what remained of the Austro-Hungarian empire was only Austria itself with its six million inhabitants—little more than a sprawling suburb of Vienna.

At that time Austria was not deeply stirred politically. She believed in the inevitable necessity and the incontestable success of the democracies, and in the possibility of a new life for Austria under the federal constitution of October 1, 1920 [revised in 1925 and in 1929]. But from the first the diplomats of all nations concentrated on her economic and not her political problems, for the instability of the Austrian economy was only too apparent. Hence the international loans and other evidences of outside support which came to the rescue of the Austrian economy, and without which, it was said, Austria could not have survived.\*

At the present time we have once again to face the problem of Austria's continued existence, but to-day the problem is not, as it was in 1918, primarily

\* Note.—Loans to aid Austria amounted during the years following 1918 to a sum of 125 million dollars, or twenty dollars per head of the population.



an economic one. It is mainly a political problem, and even an international political problem.

A recent visit to study conditions in the French zone and in Vienna, has allowed me to collate facts which represent something more than mere reporting.

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Austria is no longer the economically weak country which was the object of foreign concern after the 1914-1918 war. The country has been industrialized, first by its own efforts, and later, after 1938, by the Germans. In certain respects it has even been over-equipped for the immediate ends of war, but under conditions which can be utilized for a peace economy. However that may be, the economic face of Austria has been transformed between 1918 and 1946. Let me give a few examples to support this statement.

Among the natural riches, timber comes first. Despite intensive exploitation under the Nazi occupation, the timber industry in the French zone is working to capacity, thanks to the reconversion of the armament factories. The exploitation of lignite and coal was moderate, but since the cessation of hostilities the output of lignite alone would be sufficient to ensure Vienna's gas and electricity supply.

Again, the production of hydro-electric power—which Austria had been able to increase between 1932 and 1936, raising it from 2,300,000 kilowatts to 2,680,000—was augmented between 1936 and 1941 by twenty-seven per cent. The plan is being carried on by the construction of two dams in Styria and Upper Austria. Let me note in passing that more than half the production of current is furnished by the French zone.

Petroleum, discovered at Zistersdorf before the *Anschluss*, yielded 33,000 tons in 1937. But the Germans raised production in 1940 to 1,000,000 tons and in 1944 to 1,200,000 tons. Present production, resumed by the Russians a fortnight after their entry, would be 40,000 tons per month, that is to say, nearly 500,000 tons a year, which is sufficient to meet the civil needs of Austria. Austria now ranks third among the petroleum producing countries of Europe [the U.S.S.R. and Rumania being the first and second] since Galicia suffered so severely from the war.

The output of mineral wealth—iron, magnesite, lead, zinc, graphite and copper, all very important before the *Anschluss*—was still further increased under the Nazi régime by the compulsory amalgamation of undertakings. Moreover, a considerable exploitation of bauxite [aluminium] was added. The figure for extraction of iron, for example, under the German régime was more than 2,000,000 tons.

In the textile and leather industries the ravages of war have been comparatively slight, but they have been heavy in the chemical industry which, largely

built up under the German régime, seems to have suffered the greatest damage.

Owing to the secrecy which surrounded German war production, it is not possible to assess accurately to what extent the metallurgical industries have increased their production, but the proportion must be considerable. Austria became the air-raid shelter for German industry, not only by the increase of production, but by the transfer of factories and machines, the construction of buildings, underground factories, etc.; with the Hermann Goering works at Linz and Steyr, aeroplane works at Wiener-Neustadt and Neudorf, tanks and lorries at Vienna, and radio equipment and accessories in the Alps.

In 1937 Austria produced 389,000 tons of cast iron, 650,000 tons of raw steel, and 434,000 tons of rolled and wrought iron. A Swiss observer has estimated that the productive capacity of Austria's industry increased between 1938 and 1944 by as much as two-thirds.

Without laying too much emphasis on this increase in output, and making every allowance for the continued shortage of agricultural produce, existing labour and reconstruction problems, the complications arising from zones of occupation, and the obvious burden of reparations, I consider that—contrary to the view taken by the Austrian Economic Institute, which relies chiefly on calculations made at Vienna and in the Russian zone—Austria has been industrially re-equipped by Germany [see especially the figures for petroleum, electrical energy and metallurgy] and its economic potential considerably increased in relation to 1937 and still more in relation to 1918.

Its economic difficulties are those of all countries emerging from war and in a state of transition. Essentially the situation is no longer that of 1918. The Austria of 1946 is economically strong.

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Although, as I have said, Austria is to-day economically sound, she is politically menaced. This political threat does not seem to be due to internal causes. The Habsburgs and the Archduke Otto have ceased to matter. The fascists are kept at a respectable distance by de-Nazification, slow and lax as this may appear. The communists secured only a limited number of votes at the general election. The Austrian Federal Republic, then, moves towards its political reconstruction under the tripartite banner of the parties authorized by the occupying powers, seeking its destiny, which can only be a return to the constitution of 1929.

It is in the international sphere and from the attitude of the Allies that Austria fears the threat to her independence, her integrity, and even her very existence.

All began well and all is still well in theory. The Moscow declaration of November 1, 1943, proclaimed that Austria would be reconstituted after the defeat of Germany and would be "free and independent". The Austrian Republic thought it would be able to rely on this solemn assurance of the three

Allies and that France, once re-established, would endorse it. But three main factors have arisen which have caused misgivings. The first is the settlement of the southern Tyrol question in favour of Italy; the second is the interpretation given in Austria to a passage from a speech made by Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Minister, on July 25, 1946; and the third is the attitude and behaviour of the Russians in regard to the nationalization law.

To offset these three causes of anxiety, we can put forward the control agreement of June 28, 1946, which substituted for the occupation and its system of direct administration, a less onerous form known as "control".

The southern Tyrol, which during the last few centuries has so often been the object of bargaining between various interested parties, was promised to Italy by the London Pact of April 26, 1915, and accorded to that power by the Treaty of St. Germain: that meant for Italy the Dolomites, the tourist centres, the hydro-electric works, and, above all, the Brenner frontier.

On November 16, 1945, Dr. Gruber, Austrian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in a note addressed to the Allied Control Council, asked for the restitution of the southern Tyrol to Austria [confirmed by a memorandum of May 13, 1946], but on June 24, 1946, the council of four rejected the claim of the Vienna Government. This check to Austrian diplomacy offended Tyrolean sentiment and was regarded as a reflection on the integrity of Austria and, in any case, as a proof of the Allies' lack of good will towards them.

This impression was confirmed when, in the House of Commons, on July 25, 1946, Mr. Bevin made a declaration relating to the frontiers of various countries, and of Austria in particular. He recalled that while the Moscow declaration of 1943 had to take into consideration the terms of the armistice with Italy, no one had stipulated that there should be no revision of frontiers. Austria was not then liberated\* and it was not then known whether eastern Austria might not be separated.

It was this passage which aroused so much feeling, for it seems that in translation the past tense was replaced so effectively by the present tense that Mr. Bevin's declaration [which in reality announced the continuation of his policy with regard to Trieste] was interpreted in the following sense: "Austria is not free, and it is not yet known if eastern Austria [that is to say, the Russian zone] will not be separated from Austria."

Some days later the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, had to make a statement to clarify the position. In spite of this the impression remains in Austria, and even in certain chancelleries, that Mr. Bevin had allowed it to be understood that the eastern frontiers of Austria would be modified.

Finally, the third reason for misgiving, and not the least, is that which arises from the Russian attitude, in particular from the Russian opposition to the nationalization law.

\* The word can be translated "liberated" or "free".

In order to understand the matter better, it is necessary to recall two things. First, that the Russian zone embraces part of Vienna, and Austria east of Vienna. Second, that the Yalta Agreement [on the principle of reparations in kind] and the Potsdam Agreement [according eastern reparations to the U.S.S.R.] confer on the U.S.S.R. a right to reparations in kind from Austria. Consequently, at the end of hostilities, the Russians, considering Austria as Nazi territory, applied in an arbitrary manner the rule which permitted them to take booty in the territory which they occupied—factories, equipment, transfer of machinery, stocks, etc. The control agreement of June 28 expressly reserves to the Allies the right of disposal of German property in Austria in payment of reparations.

But the Allies [other than the Russians], who are considered as trustees for the eighteen nations, have a right to the foreign credits of Germany in western Austria under the heading of Western Reparations [Ordinance No. 5 of the Allied Command in Germany]. France has a right to sixteen per cent. of these reparations since the Paris reparations conference of December 1945.

But to come back to the Russians: the Austrian Government introduced a law, called the nationalization law, adopted on July 26, 1946, which affects the Allies in so far as it concerns German property. But what is German property and from what date is it to be fixed? For there have been forced sales, requisitions, hidden assets, etc.

The U.S.S.R., with a military occupation stronger than that of the other Allies, carries out seizures in its zone regardless of the origin of the property. And these properties are of great value. The *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the Vienna socialist paper, in its issues of August 17 and 18, 1946, gives a long list of them. But to understand the importance of the matter, it will be sufficient to recall that the petroleum concerns of Zistersdorf, the Danube Navigation Company and the Land Bank have their offices and principal works in the Russian zone. At the Allied council, therefore, the representative of the U.S.S.R. opposed the law, but since there were no other dissentients and the Allied veto on Austrian legislation has to be unanimous, the law came into force on the expiration of the agreed period, that is to say, on September 9. It seems unlikely that this law will be put into effect in the Russian zone, although in the British and American zones there will be no objection to it. While in the French zone reserves have been made concerning the right to reparations and the protection of French interests [Declaration of the Austrian Government of September 7, 1946].

Those are the three causes of misgiving in Austria at the present time, and one can see that the last is not the least. It is notorious that the Austrians have the impression that the U.S.S.R. will not quit her occupation zone and that she wishes to hold on to Vienna, the indispensable key to her influence in the Danube basin.

Thus the problem presented in the Byrnes-Wallace controversy—UNO or

zones of influence—faces us not merely in a speech, but in the very heart of a city in ruins, occupied by four nations and marking the extreme limit of the victorious wave of the Red Army; and the vexed questions of the withdrawal of occupation troops and the surrendering of influence, which have been brought before UNO and the security council in regard to Iran, Indo-China, Syria and Greece, arise much nearer home—in Austria, in the heart of Europe itself.

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In the face of such a clash of interests, what is the solution? Since the problem is international, we must act on the international plane.

There is not much that can be done in Vienna itself, for there the man in the street, like the Government, asks himself whether the U.S.S.R. is not permanently installed in Austria, and in order to remove that doubt, it will be necessary to terminate the Allied occupation. A year of occupation should have been time enough for each of the Allies to take what they wanted in the way of reparations in kind.

But, above all, it is UNO itself which must frankly face the question whether the veto system—incorporated in the pact by the U.S.S.R., used by that power, and introduced by them into the Allied Council for Austria—can, in its present rigid form, be a really acceptable method for international collaboration.

In Austria there are numerous elements which are ready to work for the peace of Europe and the reconstruction of their country. The economic potential of Austria has been increased by the circumstances of war and the Nazi occupation, and Austria ought to profit by it herself and at the same time benefit the European economy.

There is surely no need for Austria's political life to be endangered because of words badly translated; because of precipitate action; or because of the policy of a power conforming perhaps to the expansionist doctrine of the revolution, but certainly disquieting to international peace.

Let us hope that from the height of the crumbling pavilion of Schoenbrunn these words may never again be spoken: "My son, here Asia begins."

*(The author was the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Monsieur Blum's Socialist Government which took office in December, 1946. When a member of the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly, Monsieur Lapie was chosen to be one of a special Commission of Inquiry into Austrian Affairs.)*

## THE OTHER ISLAND

BY HONOR TRACY

THE good Englishman who comes to southern Ireland is determined to behave correctly. He knows that the country is sovereign and free.

He knows that the mail boat now docks, not at Kingstown, but at Dun Laoghaire. He sees that buses and telephone booths are painted not a startling red, but a soft and pleasant green, and bear upon them incomprehensible words in a beautiful script. He stands to attention for The Soldier's Song, and raises his hat when the President, kind little old Sean T. O'Kelly, passes in the State coach, preceded and followed by roughly twice the number of hussars that attend the King of England. He reminds himself that this is a foreign country and that he is not only a visitor but a privileged visitor, for he has to comply with none of the regulations and suffer none of the restrictions laid as a rule upon men abroad, and which give to modern travel its vividly nightmarish quality. Loyally he accepts the position, eagerly adheres to form: and all the while, feeling as much at home as in Cornwall or Yorkshire, he is conscious of taking part in an elaborate game of make-believe.

Dublin is a city lovelier than any in the three kingdoms but it is not a foreign city. The apparent strangeness of it is only the strangeness of Rome: the priests, nuns and friars, intent on their salvation, the soft incessant tolling of church and monastery bells, the beggars, poverty and dirt give the city not of church and monastery but a foreign but a medieval character: the Middle Ages are alive here still, with their helplessness before material things, their faith and love. Dublin is English, as Bath and Gloucester are English, and every street and every square hold memories of our common history. The same is true of the towns throughout the country, and of the countryside itself, with its hideous new villas, its tidy farms and mellow country houses. It takes more than a Celtic cross here or a round tower there to convince the Englishman that he is abroad: even the wild mountainous districts of the west appear as no more than the exotic fringe, as Wales and the Hebrides are the exotic fringe, to something familiar and homely: and "the people in the uplands digging praties" speak a language that, as well as the English, the bulk of their compatriots do not know.

There is rather more to it, however, than superficialities of this kind. Indeed, an Irish patriot might take grave exception to their being mentioned at all. He could argue that any country would bear the imprint of its oppressors, after seven hundred years. It was only to be expected that Irish

cities should be peppered with the monuments of English savagery, like, for instance, the Zoo or the Royal Society Building or the Botanical Gardens, in Dublin. We might make him very angry indeed: we should be fortunate to escape before the conversation turned on Cromwell. And if there were nothing but appearances to go on, perhaps he would be right, but there are a number of other factors which lend a bogus air to the official asseverations of distinctness and independence.

For one thing, the country suffers from a kind of schizophrenia, a split within itself. The split is caused by the remnants of the Protestant ascendancy, or gentry, who are contemptuously referred to as 'West Britons' by the true Gaels, whom they, in turn, describe as 'the people here' or 'the natives'. This minority, like all minorities, gets a fair and decent treatment in the new Ireland, or at any rate is entitled to it by the Constitution, but they have not so far been able to adapt themselves and live in a state of chronic disparagement. Curiously enough, it is from these people that the English get their traditionally romantic idea of the dare-devil Irishman, the average Celt being about as wild and dashing as a Swiss. Their sons and daughters joined the services: they speak of 'the King', 'the Army', 'the Empire': their hearts are across the water. They are more true-blue than any English Tory: frequently, while over here, it has been my happiness to see some American or Indian or German hurry up to one of them for a chat about British Imperialism, only in the next instant to reel back as if he had trodden on a viper. A good deal of the anti-English feeling here is really a class-resentment, directed against this formerly possessing and governing, and still extremely snobbish, caste, which has always identified itself with England and who now seem to belong nowhere, for the England to which they are loyal and for which they fought so gallantly and freely exists no more. Yet dwindling in numbers and with no future ahead, they contrive somehow to hang on and to contribute to Irish life whatever it still has of grace and panache.

And then again, of course, there is the ambiguous attitude of the Irish Government itself. Mr. de Valera has never finally closed the door on the British Empire. While he takes every opportunity of underlining the fact that Eire is a republic and, as we know, holds that the obligations of Commonwealth members do not devolve upon her, he is prepared to accept in full the benefits which those members receive. For instance, he is quite pleased that England should solve his unemployment problem for him. This means rather more than the mere shipping across the water of batches of potato-pickers and navvies; it also means that Irish intellectuals, doctors and lawyers and journalists, may come over and earn fees and salaries far beyond the resources of their own country. Prosperity is added to Ireland by the money they send home, and a possible, intellectual opposition to the lazy and selfish policies of Finna Fail is removed: and Mr. de Valera does not forbid it. As citizens of Eire, they are entitled in many cases to a British passport, and Mr. de

Valera does not forbid them to ask. And why should they not? Irishmen are always welcomed and appreciated in England and they have qualities of heart and mind which England sorely needs at the moment: they hold, for instance, that the emergency order is made for man and not man for the emergency order, and they are unimpressed even by serried rows of geniuses in peaked caps: moreover, the foreign elements in a society all make it lively and interesting—even if of recent years they have been a little exaggerated: but it is somewhat perplexing to find at the same time the legend of complete independence vigorously maintained, together with a malevolent neutrality in her affairs. To take one case among many, there is a young woman here who was entirely pro-German throughout the war, rejoicing in British defeats and wearing a swastika in her button-hole, and who has now written to a theatrical concern in England asking for a job. No doubt she will get it and make a valuable contribution and, we hope, find friends and be happy: and presently, when it suits her, she will come home again and start beating on her drum where she left it off. In the same way, journalists bitterly anti-English in their articles, admirers of Franco and Mussolini, still a-boil over the events of 1921, are ready to go over and write in any style that may be required of them. From the head of the Government to the humblest peasant in Donegal there appears to be a conviction that the pagan State across the water is there to help them out when they run short of money.

Quite apart from matters of this sort, however, which are largely matters of taste, there is altogether a curious mental atmosphere in Ireland to-day, a kind of persistent unreality; a stranger has the feeling that the country is not so much out of step with the world as outside it altogether, asleep in a bubble of her own imagining. Extreme cynicism is the note in private, extreme naivety in public, discussions of foreign affairs: in neither case do the speakers give the impression of having their feet upon the ground. To take an example, there is no way in which the Irish revealed their state of mind more clearly than in their use of the word 'Belsen'. Irritated and excitable individuals used it in their letters to the press, complaining of trifling discomforts in a train or bus. Nationalists described their experiences in British detention camps in the two wars and ended up ingenuously "and then you people talk about Belsen." During an angry exchange in the Dáil some time ago concerning the convict Sean McCaughey, who had tortured a man to death, but for political reasons, and so regarded himself as a political prisoner and chose to starve rather than wear prison clothes, more than one Deputy referred to the 'Belsen' conditions in the Maryborough gaol. We know what Belsen means to the people of Europe: to the Irish, it is simply a foreign word, a colourless term of opprobrium, vaguely associated with things that are unpleasant and uncomfortable. Their remoteness from the world of to-day in all its pain, their ignorance, must surely be without equal among civilized nations. Of course, we all know the man who asserts that a barefoot peasant he met in Connemara

accurately forecast Mr. Vishinsky's policy in Paris to him, or that more informed political gossip is to be heard in a certain Dublin bar he knows than among the table at a UNO banquet: but somehow one never meets that particular peasant, one never happens on that bar. Instead, one opens a paper to read in it a letter explaining that a good way to end wars would be for Eire to abolish her standing army; or hears from the pulpit that Eire's exclusion from UNO was due to Russia's hatred and fear of the land of saints and scholars as a stronghold of Christianity. At the same time, their leaders and particularly their religious leaders are at pains to reassure the people that they are all right, that they are *bien vu* by the Almighty and that what has happened elsewhere has been owing to the fact that the peoples have wandered from Irish standards of behaviour. It is no very uncommon experience to find a cleric asserting that Holy Ireland was spared the horrors of war because she was good and Catholic and went to Mass on Sundays; and it is a startling experience to an outsider, for the holiness of Ireland is somewhat like the divinity of the Japanese Emperor: it is not manifest. It does not become apparent from a study of relative crime statistics nor does it force itself upon the consciousness in the every day conduct of affairs. It is a dogma, to question which is the sign of a certain crudity, like the crudity of St. Thomas, and it is a dogma which has claimed some very notable adherents. "Holy and beautiful is the soul of Catholic Ireland!"—the words are taken not from a papal address of goodwill but from a political tract from George Bernard Shaw.

This is not to suggest for a moment that all Irish people, or even most of them, accept these explanations *ex cathedra* or otherwise. Their relation to the clergy is a charming and complex one, too complex to examine here: but it may be said that on the whole they are even more gaily cynical about their spiritual leaders than about foreign statesmen. I shall always remember the case of the Bishop of Galway who, in a political speech in his Cathedral last April, made the arresting statement that the left wing parties had started the Civil War in Spain and that the elections of 1936 there had been faked. I raised my eyebrows at this, like any Saxon prig, but Irish friends, Catholic and Protestant, put forward an explanation both kindly and reasonable: "the poor decent man has to earn his living like the rest of us. We know he is not speaking the truth but he has to do it." What could be more attractive than this idea of a gracious and poised society where the Bishop, on the one hand, has what he needs and the people, on the other, are not misled? and yet what, also, could be more revealing than the indifference to fact which underlies it? The complexities of the Spanish affair, which, epitomizing the drama of the century, have remained sharply defined in European minds for a decade, here fade away almost to the realm of the subjective: lucidly and sympathetically appreciated is the dilemma of the Bishop.

While a haze gathers about its view of the world at large, there seems to be a corresponding, artificial attempt to rally the nation's self-conceit. The Church

tells the people that they are very good and they tell themselves that they are very clever. On paper, let it be said again: in private conversation they are very given to self-disparagement. A debating society will propose the theme 'Ireland, leader of the World Renaissance' or 'Ireland, bridge of the gulf between Britain and the U.S.A.' and examine it without apparent misgiving. The tendency is perhaps most marked in the literary field. There is something highly comic about the tone of patronage adopted by many Irish critics in discussing English or American or even French work. No one will deny that the achievement of Irishmen, or rather of Anglo-Irishmen, in letters has been a glorious one in the past, and out of all proportion to their numbers. At present, however, there is little creative work of any quality done in Ireland at all, at least not by writers under forty. The work done by the young painters is interesting, original, sophisticated, able to hold its own anywhere, but that of young writers is imitative and formless, reeking either of the bog or of America. Some people think the system of education, some the censorship, others the Church, is to blame for this dearth; most likely it is simply a natural pause, a nation being able no more than a tree to flower the whole year round. But the critics here do more than survey the work of foreigners from an immense height: they fly into a veritable rage if anyone questions the value of a local product. A comment by Seán O'Faoláin that Irish poetry had somewhat fallen off since the day of Yeats, A.E., Ledwidge and Synge filled the columns of the *Irish Times* with angry buzzing for the best part of three weeks. The names of various parish rhymsters were pushed forward and their brilliance categorically affirmed: "if I say 'tis, 'tis, whether 'tis or 'tisn't." It is dogma, once more, and dogma is unreality: it is the official myth in which no one believes. This detachment from the standards of objective criticism is common in nations that live with their back turned to the world: we are reminded again, as we so often are in Ireland, of the Japanese: and it is aggravated here by a sense of having dropped out of things and ceased to count.

The feeling of a great anti-climax is, I think, the clearest feature of Irish life to-day. The tremendous fuss over anniversaries, the elaborate radio programmes that commemorate yearly the rising in Easter week 1916, the perennially fiery speeches over the graves of patriots, all spring surely from a sense that nothing more has to happen. Ireland had the interest and the sympathy of the world in her relation to England. She was the thorn in England's side, the stick with which England might be beaten, when England was on the crest of the wave. Politically she had no existence otherwise than as an English problem. Now that the revolution has cut her adrift, and pushed into the shadow the class which had placed her intellectually and artistically on the map: and that no more capital can be made either out of English wickedness or Irish grief: and that the romance of martyrdom is ended, and that the poetry of revolution has given way to the prose of day-to-day affairs, Ireland is no more than a small island that lies out in the Atlantic, inhabited by some three

or four million people, mostly peasants, with the standards in behaviour, art and politics that peasants have.

A revolution that comes off is apt to be a dismal thing. Nothing could be more ironic than to read over, to-day, the pamphlets written by A.E. in the times of insurgence: and nothing could be more wholesome for the English Whig, that fancy-free individual, to whom all geese are swans as long as someone torments them, than to come here and see what seven hundred years of glorious struggle can culminate in. There is a Government devoted not to the interests of the country as a whole but to those of the new ruling-class of *petit bourgeois* tradesmen they have called into being. While dirty, ragged and sore-eyed children roam the streets barefoot through the coldest days of winter, families are evicted from miserable tenements and men are stopped the dole because they hold a horse's head or carry a bag for a shilling, these shop-keepers are making more money than ever before. The alleged prosperity of Eire is no more than the reflected glow of their complacency. The Church, so glorious under persecution, so admirable in minority, here is like a dead weight on the country, stifling thought and destroying the will, enforcing her wishes and revenging herself upon opposition in often the meanest and shabbiest of ways: hand-in-hand with the Government, safe from attack, beyond criticism: aware of the corruption in high places, but always ready to shame the simple folk of parishes by reading their sins from the altar. There is a censorship whose caprices, however diverting, are too well-known to require a new description. There is a society that is dull, nerveless, money-minded and horribly prim, in which a man of integrity appears exotically like an orchid in a bed of dandelions or perversely like one bent at all costs on being different. And all this is accepted by the citizenry clear-sightedly and with a spate of humorous and intelligent comment: and, at the same time, with a spiritless docility which makes one wonder how they ever came to be regarded as people of a generous, if sometimes rather tiresome, courage.

The good Englishman, however, will remind himself that it is no longer any concern of his.

## THE NATIONALIZATION OF TRANSPORT

BY HERBERT T. BANYARD

IN the last hundred years few of the industrial undertakings of this country have taken up so much parliamentary time as the railways. At the time of their inception and development they were regarded as monopolies and as such were subjected to varying degrees of statutory control. In return for passing the enabling Acts necessary for their existence the legislature insisted that reasonable facilities must be offered to the trading community for the conveyance of goods, prohibiting oppressive contracts and imposing restrictive conditions on charges. In the nineteenth century a thousand-odd of these controlling Acts found their way into the statute book. The recent allocation of more parliamentary time for the consideration of the Transport Bill merely continues the tradition.

Seldom has the opposition to such a measure been conducted with so much ferocity. This is not surprising, for the Bill with its 127 clauses and thirteen schedules provides the legal basis for a publicly-owned system of inland transport. It will extend nationalization with few exceptions to all railways and their ancillary undertakings: goods, passenger transport, canals, docks and harbours. At the present time these undertakings employ about a million people, approximately six per cent. of our working population. The sum of £1,000,000,000 will be required to compensate the existing rail and canal stock-holders. In addition, an undetermined amount will have to be found for the compensation of the road hauliers who will be absorbed under the Bill.

Its main provisions deal with the setting up of a Transport Commission to which would be transferred on January 1, 1948, all the acquired undertakings. It would consist of a chairman and four other members who would be responsible to the Minister of Transport for matters of policy. The managerial control of the differing concerns would be shared by five executives dealing respectively with railways, docks and inland waterways, road transport, London transport, and hotels. The separation of the executive task of management from the Commission should leave the latter free to confine itself to the promoting of an efficient and adequate system of inland transport and dock facilities in the United Kingdom. There is, however, a vital obligation laid upon the Commission so to conduct the various undertakings that the revenue received "is not less than sufficient for making provision for the meeting of charges properly chargeable to revenue taking one year with another."

All road haulage concerns mainly engaged in long distance haulage under



A and B licences will be acquired. Certain classes of operators are excluded, that is, furniture removers, carriers of liquids in bulk, meat, livestock and heavy indivisible loads. After January 1, 1948, it will be a condition of the issue of A and B licences that the working distance of the operatives outside the control of the Commission will be limited to twenty-five miles from their base. In respect of goods vehicles functioning under a C licence by ancillary users, that is, traders using vehicles for the carriage of goods in connection with any trade or business carried on by them, the limit of operation will be forty miles from their base.

It is provided that permission may be granted to C licence holders to operate in excess of forty miles if it can be shown that such an operation is necessary to maintain, say, a continuous manufacturing process between two factories. Permission will also be granted if the goods of the trader are especially fragile or in certain circumstances where the cost of packing would be prohibitive. Against the refusal of permission there lies an appeal to the Minister. In passing, it might be noted that the farming community will enjoy considerable freedom under the Bill. To quote the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport: "A farmer taking his own produce in his own vehicle does not require to have a C licence at all. Therefore he is able to take his own produce in his own vehicle 400 miles if he wants to without asking anyone's permission."

At the moment it is not proposed to take over road passenger transport services but the Commission is empowered to promote area schemes after consultation with the local authorities with a view to "the co-ordination of the passenger transport services serving the area."

Apart from the general objections advanced against the Bill two specific lines of attack have emerged: (1) on the mileage restrictions imposed on the road haulier and especially those directed against the C licence holder, and (2) on the terms and conditions of compensation. The consideration of the second point will be dealt with later in this article but for a full understanding of the former it is now necessary to digress somewhat to study the effect of road competition on the railways between 1921 and 1939.

After the 1914-1918 war the Government decided on the amalgamation of the 120 companies then operating railways and in pursuance of this object passed through Parliament the Railways Act of 1921. This had the effect of reducing the number of operating companies into four main groups. At the same time the Act set up a new quasi judicial body called the Railway Rates Tribunal, vesting in it wide authority to deal with all matters of railway rates and charges. The railway companies submitted to the tribunal a system of rates and charges designed to produce revenue at the rate of £51,000,000 per annum, this figure being known as the Standard Revenue. After much inquiry and controversy the new rates received statutory authority which came into force on January 1, 1928, and were known as Standard Charges. Publicity had

to be given to these new rates and the railway companies were compelled to keep rate books open for the inspection of any interested party at each station where goods were received for conveyance. It is interesting to note that this Standard Revenue was never earned in any year by the four groups and despite an increase of five per cent. in their rates in 1937 they incurred each year a deficit running into many millions. The Act of 1921 gave the railways power, subject to the permission of the Railway Rates Tribunal, to carry certain traffic at rates lower than the standard operating for that class of traffic. These were known as exceptional rates and it has been computed that in the years 1930-1938 eighty per cent. of all traffic was conveyed at these rates.

The effects of these deficits were shown in the dividend policies of the companies, the junior stocks receiving little or no return during these years, while at the same time the amounts available for obsolescence and renewals were limited. This fall in revenue can be traced to two main causes: the general trade depression between the wars and the growth of road transport competition. The road haulier, free from the onerous liability of the common carrier and under no obligation to publish rates, was thus able to compete very effectively with rail transport. Road charges were and are still based on the cost of carrying while the structure of railway rates is based on the value of the consignment as well as the cost of conveying it. As a result, road charges are less than rail charges for the more valuable goods and more than rail for the less valuable. Road hauliers therefore competed successfully for those goods which are found in the expensive categories of railway rates. Thus the fact that the rates for conveyance by rail were cheaper than the equivalent rates by road meant that the low-rated commodities, like coal and iron ore, were left to the railways to carry, not because the road haulier did not desire to participate in this class of traffic but because his rates for it were not competitive. It therefore followed that any increase in the number of road hauliers would result in a further loss of remunerative traffic from rail to road.

So far as I know, no figures are available to show the amount received by the railway companies for the conveyance of each class of traffic or the relation of the receipts to the cost of conveyance. It is not however unfair to suggest that the raw materials for the basic industries were in part subsidized by the higher grades of traffic. The revenue necessary for railway solvency was obtained by a delicate combination of income from all classes of traffic. The advent and growth of the road haulier, who took the most remunerative traffic and operated in the main on those routes where an adequate amount of two-way traffic could be obtained, brought the railway companies to a serious financial crisis.

To deal with the results of this free competition, so disastrous to the railways so long as their rate structure remained unmodified, the Government instituted an inquiry into road and rail transport. The result of much deliberation was the production of the Salter Report, the main recommendations of

which were incorporated in the Road and Rail Traffic Act of 1933. This provided for the first time in this country a system of goods vehicle licensing. The Act laid down that "no person shall use a goods vehicle on a road for the carriage of goods (a) for hire or reward or (b) in connection with any trade or business carried on by him except under licence." Three kinds of licences were granted: A/road haulier, B/limited carrier and C/ancillary user. They were granted for a period to hauliers operating at a certain date but subsequent entrance into the industry was severely limited. New applicants had to show that real need existed for the services they proposed to offer. It was not sufficient to assert that refusal to grant the licence would cause inconvenience generally. At the public hearing of these new applications it was quite usual to find objections raised against the granting of the licence not only on the part of the railways but also on behalf of the established haulier. Despite the limiting factors of the licensing regulations and the increased taxation of motor vehicles and fuel the position so far as the railways were concerned deteriorated steadily.

In 1938 the railways launched their 'square deal' proposals, seeking relief from the statutory regulation of charges and freedom to decide for themselves the rates to be charged for the conveyance of merchandise. The advent of the war blocked any statutory relief but in view of the experience gained as to the effect of even regulated competition on the structure of railway finance it is understandable that the terms of the present Transport Bill are designed to integrate both road and rail systems into a unified whole.

It is pertinent however to inquire if this measure will provide the flesh and blood of a transport system so attractive to the trading community that they will of their own volition use the services offered. Time and experience alone can answer this query. Meanwhile, there would appear to be little objection to an amendment designed to restore the freedom of the C licence holder. The right 'as of right' to acquire his licence and to operate as many vehicles as his business requires without mileage restrictions would be a concession that should be a measure of the Minister's confidence in the ultimate success of his new undertaking. At present the conditions under which traders may apply for permission to operate their own vehicles beyond the prescribed limit are clearly laid down in the Bill. But these concessions may be worthless if, as it appears, the Bill provides that the Commission can exercise what is virtually a veto by representing that the contemplated permit will affect adversely the new monopoly. In view of this situation it is not surprising that the trader operating vehicles at present under a C licence considers that these safeguards are more apparent than real. Is the Minister's objection to accepting such an amendment due to his fear that the industrial community might, by a substantial increase in the number of road vehicles, attempt to sabotage the new undertaking? If this is so, then the point might be met by a compromise whereby the concession would be limited to the 149,000 present

holders and their 300,000 vehicles. Such a gesture would at least provide competition limited in nature but sufficiently adequate to become a barometer of efficiency to test the operating qualities of the State monopoly.

I turn now to the terms and conditions of compensation in the Bill against which the second of the main objections has been raised. In satisfaction for existing rail and canal stock the Commission propose to issue British Transport two and a half per cent. stock based upon the market valuation operating within certain dates. The principal and interest of the stock will be guaranteed by the Government. The market price chosen is that existing either six months before the last General Election or six days before the King's Speech opening the present session of Parliament (in which the intention to nationalize transport was announced), whichever is the higher.

For the road hauliers a two part scheme of compensation is suggested: the replacement of the acquired assets at the time of the transfer, less depreciation on an agreed scale, and a payment based on from two to five times the net annual profit lost to the undertakings.

For local authorities operating passenger transport services to be acquired under the Bill it is provided that the Commission assumes liability for the interest and sinking fund charges for any net debt which is outstanding at the time of transfer. No further payment is envisaged and this method of compensation is justified by the Government on the ground that the assets are merely being transferred from one public authority to another.

Considerable criticism has been directed against the whole idea of using the prevailing market prices as a basis for compensation. The alternative suggested by the opposition is that the matter be submitted to an independent tribunal for arbitration, the resulting valuation then being accepted by the Government as a basis for compensation. This is not quite so easy as it sounds because of the wide diversity of assets owned by the railway companies. It would certainly require the services of a considerable number of technical and professional experts for a considerable time. But while that fact would not of itself invalidate the method it is relevant to inquire how it is proposed to assess the present earning capacity of the railways. It would be almost impossible adequately to compute the value of, say, a branch line with all its ancillary equipment without reference to the amount and type of traffic likely to pass during a given period. And this piece of vital information is at the moment a very open question. At least this can be maintained: the existing stockholders will suffer no loss of capital and the market price is in many instances substantially higher than before the war owing to the guaranteed revenue paid by the Government during the war years. Two examples can be cited to support this statement: the Great Western Railway ordinary stock which stands at the moment in the market at £59-60 could be purchased in January 1939 for £28, while the London, Midland and Scottish Railway ordinaries' present day value is £29-30 which in 1939 stood at £13-14.

The other aspect of the proposed method of compensation is the loss of income entailed. It is estimated that this income will fall from £40,000,000 to £22,750,000 per annum. It has never been seriously questioned that the State has not the right to benefit from the use of its own credit, or that the drop in income is inevitable when once the principle is accepted that this new stock carries a Government guarantee and therefore is secure against any default. And sufficient attention has not I think been given to the fact that the present rate of income enjoyed by railway stock holders has only been possible by the inflated traffic of the war years.

This volume of traffic clearly could not continue. Indeed, already a substantial fall has occurred and it is a matter of considerable doubt even if more severe restrictions were placed on road transport in favour of the railways whether the latter could earn anything approaching the present guaranteed revenue. The obvious remedy for holders of the new stock who dislike the reduction in their income is to sell and invest in another type of security which, while providing a higher yield, carries a greater amount of risk. The re-investment problem of the holders of debenture stock, which ranks as trustee securities, is not quite so simple. For them, however, the Chancellor of the Exchequer states that he is prepared to consider some increase in the range of trustee stocks. This would go a long way towards removing what might be considered a legitimate grievance in these compensation proposals.

Two final points in connection with this section of the Bill deserve attention. Much criticism has been directed against the suggested terms for acquiring the goodwill of the road haulage undertakings and charges of robbery and parsimony have been levelled against the Government. The prevailing commercial practice when dealing with goodwill in the sale of a concern operating under an A licence is to assess it at a figure varying between £45 and £55 per ton of unladen weight. Judged by this figure the proposals of the Bill err if anything on the generous side.

Secondly, in acquiring municipal passenger undertakings the Commission while taking over their debts will also acquire the benefit of any existing redemption funds. But no provision appears to be made for any extra compensation to the particularly remunerative undertakings. Many local authorities, owing to prudent management over a period of years, have redeemed the whole of the outstanding debt on their passenger carrying fleet and at the same time out of income have brought their assets up to first-class condition. The subsequent profits have then been available for lower fares and the relief of the general rates. The Glasgow Corporation have an excellent record in this respect and, in company with many similarly-placed local authorities, deserve more generous financial treatment than the Bill proposes.

To provide funds for capital purposes for the future development of its assets the Commission is empowered under the terms of the Bill to create and issue additional transport stock amounting to £250,000,000 and to raise tem-

porary loans not exceeding £25,000,000. Judged by any criterion these figures appear inadequate. For example, to electrify the remaining suburban services of the London area now operated by steam traction would, it has been estimated, cost £300,000,000. And it is doubtful if a similar amount would be sufficient to effect the modernization of our existing railway equipment. It is hoped these facts will not be lost sight of when the Committee stage of the Bill is reached and that amendments will be accepted to enable the Commission to deal with the arrears of development in our transport systems.

When commending this measure to the House of Commons on December 18, 1946, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport concluded his speech with these words:

The Bill frees our vital transport industry from the sordid wrangles that have bedevilled it in the past, and creates a sound structure, on which a healthy and progressive transport system can be built, the pride of all who work on it and a vital instrument in planning the reconstruction of our country on new and better foundations.

This belief in the benefits and efficacy of nationalization by the Labour Party is no new thing. For the last half century they have held with all the tenacity of a religious faith a conviction that the major public services and large concentrations of economic power should not be left in private hands. To expect them now to recant this belief when, for the first time in their history, they have the power to translate it into legislation, is as reasonable as to expect the College of Cardinals to repudiate the infallibility of the Pope.

Whether the hopes of the Parliamentary Secretary are realized will depend not only on the quality of those appointed to executive positions but also on the attitude of the rank and file toward their new employers. For many years sections of our industrial community have been very vocal about the iniquity of private profit as the motive force in industry, and have denied vehemently the argument of their opponents that it is vital for the successful operation of any undertaking. This Bill provides the transport worker with the opportunity of proving, at least in part, the truth of this contention. Has the evolution of our social consciousness reached the stage where it can be assumed that service to the community will of itself be regarded as of major importance? I must confess to some doubt in the matter; nevertheless, the passage of this Bill into a smoothly-working Act will depend very largely on how far that ideal is accepted.

*(The author is an Associate Member of the Institute of Transport employed in the traffic department of a large industrial concern.)*

## COMPANY LAW REFORM

BY ALFRED FELLOWS

THE main faults of the English law as to companies were discussed in a previous article in *THE FORTNIGHTLY*,\* and stress was laid on two special points: (1) That the list of shareholders filed at Somerset House gave no clue whatever to the fact, when it was a fact, that a private individual had full control of a company, and therefore could use that control to line his own pocket, instead of for the company's benefit, and (2) that the annual audit required by statute gave no protection to the shareholder because the auditors could not value the assets, which could be inflated in value to an almost indefinite upper limit by a dishonest board. An instance given was a balance-sheet issued by the late Whitaker Wright, showing a surplus of £400,000 of assets over liabilities in a wholly insolvent company. The abuse of proxies by directors (largely due to unthinking shareholders returning them signed as a matter of routine) was also considered.

Since that article was published, the report of the Committee on Company Law Amendment, presided over by Lord Justice Cohen, has been published, and a substantial Bill of over a hundred sections and seven schedules has been presented to the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor, mainly to carry out the Committee's recommendations. The task remains therefore to discuss how far the Bill will successfully prevent fraud among company promoters and directors and others—and if fraud on shareholders and persons who deal with a company is made considerably more difficult the law will have achieved a real step to the better.

The Bill rests on the foundation of the last Act consolidating company law, passed in 1929. A new Consolidation Act is adumbrated to incorporate the reforms contained in the Bill, but that will be a matter for the future. A very usual procedure is for Parliament to pass an amending Act and soon after a consolidating Act, incorporating the reforms and repealing the previous Consolidation Act and all previous amending Acts. This is likely to be a very long statute, but the plea is made that it is mere routine, not altering the law, but placing it on a more convenient and tidier footing. Thus opposition is usually prevented, although in practice it is found that consolidation usually involves minor amendments.

The defects in the law which were considered in the previous article were of course notorious, and naturally the Cohen Committee also gave the two most

important of them their full attention. Their recommendations are embodied in the Bill before Parliament. In it, there are new and very elaborate provisions as to the annual balance sheets, profit and loss accounts and audit, and the matter of nominee shareholders masking the operations of persons whose objects are to line their own pockets at the expense of shareholders is also met. The provisions to the latter end are wholly new, for those of the previous law merely protected companies from all notice or liability in respect of trusts of shares.

One of the most troublesome factors in both respects was the fact that one limited company is at full liberty to hold shares in another—a great convenience for companies doing linked business, and a *sine qua non* for those (as a modern development) framed to hold the stocks and shares of other companies (usually known as investment companies) thus more or less stabilizing dividends, a loss on the profits of Company A being offset by gains on the trading of Company B, and *vice versa*. Originally there was no specific legislation to regulate the relations of the company holding the shares of another company, but the jugglery of swindlers like Jabez Balfour and Whitaker Wright, placing face value on worthless shares as assets, etc., and contracts with insolvent companies as realities instead of mere paper fantasies, compelled the Legislature to act, and the relations of holding companies and subsidiary companies were regulated. The subsidiary companies were those which by the exercise of their votes through their appropriate nominee or nominees could dominate the holding company, and the subsidiary company in turn might have its own subsidiaries—leading up, it may be, in the centre of the web, to the dishonest man manipulating the shares of the companies concerned for his own profit, and, like Whitaker Wright, issuing fraudulent balance sheets about as dependable as a worm-eaten piece of wood, ready to crumble into powder directly it is touched. In the new Bill there are two or three pages of a schedule dealing with the accounts and audit of holding and subsidiary companies. The purport of these clauses is to give shareholders in the holding companies a true view of the position and stability of the subsidiary companies, and the very complicated provisions to this end may no doubt be necessary, but will certainly give accountants and auditors in the case of linked companies considerable trouble. Banking companies are exempt from some of the stricter provisions of this schedule, and the Board of Trade apparently has power to treat an investment company as a banking company.

A new provision is that auditors must report on the profit and loss accounts (such accounts being compulsory of course under the previous legislation) and the consolidated accounts of a holding company and its subsidiaries. The paper profit of a company might largely consist of future payments under contracts with various persons or other companies for goods or services supplied, but if the debtors were bankrupt or insolvent, such apparent profits would in reality be losses, for the company's supply would merely be bounty to the

\* *The Reform of Company Law*, October 1943.

defaulters. If a profit and loss account were dished up by directors on such a footing, the auditors' duty would be to point out that profit was not made until the other party had paid up under such a contract. Auditors could not of course be responsible for the solvency of a company's customers or clients.

Unfortunately the average shareholder has a rooted objection to taking any trouble about a company in which he holds shares, and the more elaborate the accounts the less likely he is to attempt to master them, even if he has brains enough to make that attempt successful. The suggestion may be made that the auditors should make a short separate statement on a detached or detachable slip of paper giving their own views on the position of the company whose accounts they have audited. Thus: "Your company appears from the figures which have been before us to have incurred considerable losses in trading for several years, and certain fixed and current assets have also been lost. If we think this represents a precarious position, your directors may have reasons for continuing the operations of your company, and it will be for them to state such reasons, and for you to consider whether the course they advocate is in your best interests." Even the laziest shareholders might take notice of this. Possibly they would not follow it up by attending a general meeting, but it might prevent them automatically sending proxies to the directors, and, if they were fortunate enough to have a fellow shareholder with a mind and ability to challenge the board, the directors could not then smother him with proxies on his challenge. A few shareholders may read the City columns of newspapers, and a company with a footnote of that kind might have a rough passage among the critics.

It has been held, and no doubt rightly, that if shareholders challenge a board right up to litigation, and the board's policy is upheld in the Court, their costs in defending it should be paid by the company. This has placed the challengers in a bad position for in such case they have had to pay their own costs, even if their challenge has been reasonable. The Bill now provides for the circulation of proposed resolutions at general meetings to the shareholders entitled to be present, and the members are entitled to resolve that this shall be done at the company's expense. A shareholder who wishes to make adverse criticism of the directors' policy will thus be placed in a more favourable position if this provision stands.

By the present law an auditor is not obliged to have professional qualifications as an accountant, but the Bill provides that such qualification shall be essential. Probably no company of any importance appoints other than professional accountants as auditors. Directors of a company are now disqualified from being its auditors, and the disqualification is by the Bill very properly extended to the directors of subsidiary companies.

The present law allows of shareholder A holding a share in trust for B—a trust the Courts will enforce notwithstanding that, so far as the company is concerned, the law forbids it to take any notice of trusts. This has enabled

the fraudulent company promoter or manipulators to keep control of a company by his nominees. Thus a register of shareholders is entirely useless for its main purpose, which is that the public and shareholders who consult it may know who really owns shares. The Bill now provides for a new register "The Register of Share Ownership" with an elaborate definition of owner to ensure that the person so nominated is in fact the beneficial owner and can control the vote and require the transfer of a share against which his name appears as owner in the new register without dictation from anyone else. At first sight it would seem that a single register would be simpler, giving the name of the nominee in one column and the owner in another. The reason why owners of shares do not wish their names to appear as shareholders in a company are not of course necessarily fraudulent, but so much fraud has been practised in this way that such concealment is not considered as further desirable. The trustees of wills and settlements hold large batches of shares, principally in reputable companies, but of course trustees of wills must take any their testator leaves. Some complications may be suggested where shares are vested in trustees, with a provision that a tenant for life can direct votes at general meetings and require change in investments. One holding such an interest might vote or direct a vote so as to provide as much dividend for himself as he could, and oppose any carry-over to reserve. Such misuse of his powers, however, could be prevented by Chancery proceedings in the matter of the trusts of the will or settlement in which the company would take no part. Notwithstanding the care and elaboration of these provisions as to nominees and real owners of shares, some doubt of their effectiveness still exists.

Default in complying with the provisions as to registration of share ownership by any person is made heavily punishable to a maximum of six months imprisonment plus a fine of £500. It may be suggested that if such a default was found to be deliberate on the part of an owner who did not wish this ownership to be disclosed, a judge might be given power to declare a forfeiture of the share or shares in question to the Exchequer. He would not of course do so with shares burdened with a lien for uncalled capital or debts to the company where such shares had a minus value.

The Bill does not apparently deal with a case of hardship mentioned in the previous article, namely that on a reconstruction of a company, involving a variation of the rights of classes of shareholders *inter se*, those who owned, for example, preference but not other shares might be outvoted at the meeting of preference shareholders called to assent to the new arrangement by others holding preference shares but a greater value of ordinary shares. Such persons in their own interests would probably vote for an arrangement benefiting ordinary shareholders at the expense of preference. In a particular case and taking the stock exchange quotation as values, preference shareholders actually lost more of the values of their shares than the ordinary shareholders, though 'preference' was supposed to mean that their rights would be preferred to

those of the ordinary shareholders. Shareholders whose interests are adverse to the holders of other shares of the same class should not be qualified to vote at such a meeting.

The purist in language will probably see much to grieve him in the statute-book, so possibly he must bear with the expression 'equity shareholders' meaning those who take the profits after fixed or prior charges have been paid. Freeholders who mortgaged their lands in the usual manner by conveying the legal estate formally lost their rights in the Court of Law, but Chancery Judges gave them an equity to redeem. To call ordinary shares equities is an Americanism. Residuary legatees might as appropriately be called equity legatees.

The abuse of proxies by directors at general meetings to smother opposition was considered in the Committee's report (par. 132) but it is impossible to prevent unthinking shareholders from signing and returning proxies nicely stamped and perhaps in prepaid envelopes kindly supplied. Shareholders appoint their directors and, generally speaking, their wisest course is to back up their directors' policy, but it should be remembered that the main reason for requiring an annual general meeting is to consider that policy, and a proxy given to directors before a general meeting is in effect to prejudge it in their favour. The Stock Exchange is said to recommend a "two-way" proxy which presumably means one which allows the shareholder to direct a vote adverse to the Board. It seems to be assumed, and it probably would be held, that directors receiving a proxy adverse to themselves would have a duty to use it against themselves. A novelty which may be convenient allows a shareholder to appoint a non-member of his company as his proxy, for many people buy shares in companies without knowing other shareholders. It might be a useful move to require trustees of wills and settlements, who practically never take the trouble to go to general meetings of companies in which they hold shares on trust, to appoint a beneficiary as proxy, but such a provision would have to be carefully guarded and would more fittingly be placed in a Trustee Act. The Bill makes provision for the possibility of a proxy appointed by two separate persons being required by one to vote for a particular resolution and by the other against it. This is effected by a slight verbal alteration of the original Act.

In some recent cases judges have commented on the inadequate time given to a dissentient shareholder to appeal to a Court against a resolution which he deems unfairly passed. In such case the statutory time for appealing is considerably prolonged by the Bill.

In the previous article the position was discussed of directors of successful companies honestly desiring to accumulate reserves which they do not wish to reveal to their shareholders, which in a public company may include spies of trade rivals. The suggestion was made that a judge should be empowered to allow such a course. In the Bill the Board of Trade may apparently give the required sanction. As the Committee pointed out, knowledge of such reserves

gives directors special advantages in estimating the true value of shares, and the Board would no doubt have to be satisfied that the directors in a case to which they gave their sanction were not going to use this special knowledge to deal in shares to their own advantage.

The converse case of inflation of assets has been a feature of nearly all the company swindles on the large scale in the last hundred years. In certain instances the true valuation of assets may give rise to very great difficulties. Goodwill, for example, might remain at an unchanged figure in the balance sheet of a company, the profit and loss accounts on trading of which might show a continuous and increasing loss for years. Since auditors will have to certify to profit and loss accounts if the Bill is passed, would it be their duty to call attention to such an apparent discrepancy, so that, if they failed to do so, a Court would impute negligence to them? A company formed to own and work a mine, floated on the sanguine report of an expert, might spend much money over a long period in exploration without result. Would it be the duty of an auditor to call attention to such a point, and insist that the mine as asset should be devalued? In each such case, of course, the directors might have a good answer to a criticism of this kind. In a case in the Court of Appeal towards the end of the last century, on which comment was made in the previous article, it would almost appear that the duty of auditors was confined to addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. Possibly the tightening up of the duties of auditors by subsequent legislation would enable a Court to rule that that unsatisfactory decision may now be distinguished or disregarded.

Comment was made in the debate on the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords that there was nothing in the way of reform applicable to the law concerning a Company's Memorandum of Association, a document setting forth the company's objects and powers. The Articles of Association concern a company's internal administration, and can be altered by the shareholders after certain formalities, but the Memorandum can only be altered by the leave of a judge. Naturally directors do not wish to go to the expense and trouble of an appeal to a Court if they can help it, and, if original directors, shareholders might wish to know why they had lacked the foresight to include a wanted power. To prevent such a possibility Memoranda have for years been drafted with the most extensive powers, with headings exhausting the letters of the alphabet, and a final "omnibus" clause "objects conducing to the above objects," etc. In a modern Memorandum the difficulty would be to pick out something which the company could not do. The late Lord Russell of Killowen made a scathing comment on this state of affairs in his speech in the House of Lords on a case before him, and the critic in the above debate suggested that the drafting of the Memorandum of a company merely gave work for lawyers, and it would be better to let a company start with all powers (as Chartered Companies do, though of course a Charter may curtail objects) and as an individual does when he starts a business. Possibly this might be considered



in Committee. Incidentally, the previous requirement that a prospectus shall set forth the Memorandum is dropped in the Bill, as also the names and addresses of the signatories to it, and the number of original shares taken by each. In the ordinary case this has been a stereotyped list of persons of no particular distinction taking one share each. This information is practically valueless, and is now so treated. On the other hand, the disclosures required to appear in a prospectus are considerably tightened up. The "wild-cat" promoter has of course had his activities wholly curbed in the last few years by the Treasury control of company issues, but the Bill rightly anticipates that he will resume business at the earliest possible opportunity, if the law fails to cramp him.

The present Acts dictate no age limit for directors. The Bill provides that they shall automatically retire at the age of seventy, with a saving that shareholders may by special resolution keep a septuagenarian in office. Such a provision seems fairly reasonable, though one critic did point out that, if two directors attained that age in the same year, to keep one and reject the other might seem somewhat invidious. In a search for the most brilliant mind in the realm that of a particular man over seventy might well be chosen and the names of the first Lord Halsbury, Mr. Gladstone, and the great Duke of Wellington (not to mention Queen Victoria) come readily to mind.

Of course no legislation can entirely protect shareholders who never attend to their affairs, nor can the case of dishonest auditors in league with dishonest directors be prevented before they have ruined their shareholders, though there is now ample provision for sending both sets of rogues to penal servitude when their swindles have been discovered. The requirement that auditors must be qualified men may be a wise precaution, for their status would be at stake. Likewise, as Lord Maugham pointed out in debate, this practice of dishonest directors using their special information acquired in the course of a company's business to sell shares if they know their company is doing badly before the public and other shareholders have that knowledge or, conversely, buying shares if their company is prospering, the share price in each case being fixed by people having no access to such special knowledge, should be checked by provisions in the Bill.

A vast proportion of the country's trade is conducted by limited companies, and that they should be clean inside and out is a necessity if we are to keep our reputation for honest dealing. The Bill goes a long way to ensure this object and when it has passed through the Committee stages should be a very useful piece of legislation. The great majority of limited companies are of course conducted honestly and straightforwardly and Acts directed against the crooks who control the small minority no more indicate that a large number of companies are fraudulently conducted than the existence of a law against murder warrants the deduction that a considerable portion of our populace is addicted to killing with malice aforethought.

## ALDOUS HUXLEY AND THE MYSTICS

By NORMAN NICHOLSON

IN a writer of real integrity what matters is usually not so much the value of this or that of his works, nor even the combined value of them all, but the graph of his development. In some cases this graph is broken and erratic: in others it is a smooth curve, and this is particularly so where the writer has not dissipated his talents, has not written to order or to fashion. Such a writer is Aldous Huxley, and while no one, certainly not Mr. Huxley himself, could have forecast *Time Must Have a Stop* from *Crome Yellow*, yet, looking back, we can see how natural, and perhaps inevitable, has been his progression.

Mr. Huxley emerged in the 1920's as the most brilliant, and perhaps the most gifted, of the group of young men directly influenced by D. H. Lawrence. He had nothing of Lawrence's intensity, nor his understanding of nature and the physical world, but he had a genuine gaiety and zest for life. That life, however, though gay and even glittering, was curiously cold. Mr. Huxley could enjoy conversation, wit, music, art, but he had no love whatever for his fellow beings, so that his cynicism, which at first (like Lawrence's ribaldry and humour in *Nettles* and elsewhere) had seemed the result of his intolerance with institutions, soon seemed to be directed, even rather maliciously, at man as a creature.

In this satire there began to sound a note of disgust, especially with regard to the physical. Gumbriel, in *Antic Hay*, striding about the streets in his false beard, picking up women, frightening financiers, had been only an impersonation of Lawrence's natural man, but at least he got some enjoyment out of his impersonation. In *Those Barren Leaves* and *Point Counter Point* there is no joy left in enjoyment. Mr. Quarles (senior) engages a secretary to be his mistress, but sees that she does some typing also; a middle-aged rake plans to marry a congenital idiot for her money, but she dies from food-poisoning on the eve of the wedding. The characters of these novels are mostly bored, heartless and aimless—variations on a few types. Later, this horror of the physical becomes even more pronounced, till, in *Eyeless in Gaza*, a girl is sick when she touches a kidney in a butcher's shop, and two lovers, sunbathing on a roof, are splashed with the blood of a dog which falls from an aeroplane.

Moreover, this disgust with the physical showed itself in another form. He was attracted and moved by art, yet he found it almost incredible that art should need to express itself through material means. Scattered about his

writing we find various virtuoso passages in which art and thought are explained on the level of biology, chemistry, or physics. Bach's B minor Suite for flute and strings, for instance, is thought of in terms of vibrating columns of air and of the nose of the performer ("snout" Mr. Huxley calls it); and of "the hand that wrote, the brain that conceived the slow movement of the Jupiter Symphony" is remembered the "sheep's hind leg and leaves of spinach" which they once were, and the grass and dandelions into which they would proceed after Mozart was buried. Now in these passages, which show his style at its best, Mr. Huxley makes it clear that he sees this interdependence of the physical and the spiritual as, at least, very odd. One is tempted, indeed, to suspect that he even feels that, in a vague and indefensible way, the spinach and the dandelions debase the music. To anyone who has honestly acknowledged the human predicament in a temporal and material world it seems instead that the music is a triumphant transfiguration of the spinach and the grass, if, indeed, spinach and grass, and even sheep and noses, are not just as perfect in their own way as the Jupiter.

While in these earlier books Mr. Huxley remained remote from society and even from man, he did not repudiate that society. In *Brave New World*, however, he wrote a bitter satire on the whole trend of western civilization, especially on its politics and technology. Modern politics lead directly to war, and "technological progress has merely provided us with more efficient means for going backward." Politics were, quite literally, the sphere of the devil. In *Grey Eminence* Mr. Huxley made a study of Père Joseph, the right-hand man of Cardinal Richelieu. Père Joseph was a man of great and genuine piety, who rose every day at four and spent the first two hours in mental prayer. Yet he was probably the most hated man in Europe, who organized an immense spy system and descended to every trick and deception to prolong the Thirty Years War, one of the most fearful wars in history. Mr. Huxley believes that Père Joseph, the mystic, would never have condoned such methods had he not been defiled by the touch of politics.

For a while it seemed that Mr. Huxley was entirely hopeless in the face of civilization as he saw it, but in *Ends and Means* we get the first exposition of his new philosophy, and in *Eyeless in Gaza* and *Time Must Have a Stop* we get accounts of the process of conversion to it.

Briefly, it is a philosophy of "non-attachment":

The ideal man is the non-attached man. Non-attached to his bodily sensations and lusts. Non-attached to his craving for power and possessions. Non-attached to the objects of these various desires. Non-attached to his anger and hatred; non-attached to his exclusive loves. Non-attached to wealth, fame, social position. Non-attached even to science, art, speculation, philanthropy.

In *Ends and Means* this philosophy of non-attachment was applied largely to politics, leading Mr. Huxley to advocate pacificism, de-centralization of power, and a completely new attitude to the modern belief in progress

through material advance. In his latest book *The Perennial Philosophy*,\* he ranges wider over human experience, and tries to present what he calls the Highest Common Factor in all the philosophies and religions of the world. This H.C.F. he summarizes thus:

The metaphysic that recognizes a divine Reality substantial to the world of things and lives and minds; the psychology that finds in the soul something similar to, or even identical with, divine Reality; the ethic that places man's final end in the knowledge of the immanent and transcendent Ground of all being.

He presents it in an anthology of quotations, and argues that the best way to learn how to achieve knowledge of the divine ground is by studying the lives and teaching of those who themselves have gone far towards achieving it—and these, he believes, are not the philosophers or theologians, but the mystics.

He compares the mystical knowledge of the divine ground with astronomy: "the nice, ordinary, unregenerate" person sees with the naked eye only a smudge where the astronomer sees "the galactic and extra-galactic nebulae." This is in a way true, but it is less impressive if you think of God not as an infinitely remote star, but as the sun, in and by whose heat and light we live and move. For whatever the astronomers may tell us about the sun, it is the personal experience of its light and heat which will mean most to each of us, and the sun, moreover, shines equally on "ordinary, nice people" and on those who are extraordinary and evidently not nice. We must speak of God in metaphors, but I find Mr. Huxley's metaphor of the divine ground curiously unsatisfactory, suggesting as it does a learned musician listening to complicated counterpoint.

Nevertheless, while I believe in the sun because I feel it hot on my face, I am ready to recognize that astronomy can tell me much that I could not find out for myself. I am ready, therefore, to listen to Mr. Huxley's exposition of the negative way mainly through the means of quotation. No doubt the subject has been covered more thoroughly by scholars and students but it can rarely have been made so accessible to the general reader. Many of the quotations shine out with moving clarity and simplicity:

The Inner Light is beyond praise and blame;

Like space it knows no boundaries,

Yet it is even here, within us, ever retaining its serenity and fulness.

It is only when you hunt for it that you lose it;

You cannot take, hold of it, but equally you cannot get rid of it,

And while you can do neither, it goes on its own way.

That was from Yung-chia Ta-shih, who (if I have managed to track the meaning through Mr. Huxley's paragraphs) belongs to Mahayana Buddhism. And against this let me put a Christian mystic, Dionysius the Areopagite:

The simple, absolute and immutable mysteries of divine Truth are hidden in the super-luminous darkness of that silence which revealeth in secret. For this darkness, though of deepest obscurity, is yet radiantly clear; and, though beyond touch and

\* Chatto & Windus. 12s. 6d.

sight, it more than fills our unseeing minds with splendours of transcendent beauty . . . . For this is truly to see and to know and, through the abandonment of all things, to praise Him who is beyond and above all things. For this is not unlike the art of those who carve a life-like image from stone: removing from around it all that impedes clear vision of the latent form, revealing its hidden beauty solely by taking away.

This then is the negative way, but Mr. Huxley realizes that it is not the only way. There is also the affirmative way, the way of the acceptance of images, the sacramental way. Mr. Huxley acknowledges that it is the denial of this way which has led to the exploitation and destruction of natural resources, to the "organized lovelessness" of our present-day society. But we do not feel that his acknowledgment of this other approach to reality goes very deep. We can imagine his saying, as he himself once reported Lawrence to have said of something else: "I do not believe it *here*"—placing his hands on his solar plexus.

And this to my mind is the main weakness not so much of this book as of Mr. Huxley's outlook in general—the negative way is not to him a sacrifice, a self-denial, it is rather the indulgence of his disgust with the flesh and the material world. The great Christian ascetics did not hate the world; they loved it—hence their repudiation of it meant something to them. For Mr. Huxley, non-attachment is a comparatively easy business. What he needs is to be genuinely and unselfishly *attached* to something, and to advance in charity towards the "nice, ordinary unregenerate people" for whom, he thinks, the sacraments of Christianity can do little good. I was travelling in a railway carriage with some workmen when one of them snored. His mate looked up and said: "To think that Jesus Christ died for him!" The man was no doubt intending to be blasphemous, but he knew more of Christianity than does Mr. Huxley.

For in arriving at his position of modern gnosticism, he has taken up the Manichean heresy, so attractive and dangerous to some minds, that the material world is of itself evil and that salvation is possible only by escape from it. Commenting on the biblical myth of the creation and the fall, he says: "That creation, the incomprehensible passage from the unmanifested One into the manifest multiplicity of nature, from eternity into time, is not merely the prelude and necessary condition of the Fall; to some extent it *is* the Fall." Now Christians do not close their eyes to the problems of evil and suffering in nature, and some are beginning to think of a cosmic or pre-mundane fall in which the natural world as well as man may have been involved, but this is very far from regarding nature and matter and time as evil in themselves. Mr. Huxley's point of view inevitably makes him suspicious and at times derisive of all manifestations of the divine and eternal in the temporal, from miracles and the sacraments to incarnation. He is particularly critical of the historical dogma of Christianity, because it refers to one particular time and one particular place. He can conceive of sacramental grace at best as a sort of

religious 'auto-suggestion'. Indeed, he sees one-way traffic between man and God, all God-wards. His God is as helpless as an angler without rod and line who can only catch a fish if it comes out of the water and gives itself up.

*The Perennial Philosophy*, then, is an elaborate manual of instruction for the fish who want to give themselves up, and while we may feel that it is lacking in charity to the fish who want to stay in the sea (many of whom will yet be caught—thank the divine ground!), it is still an unusually interesting book. The greater amount of the quotations are drawn from the East, and of those from the West, very few come from the Bible. Mr. Huxley explains this by saying that "familiarity with traditionally hallowed writings tends to breed, not indeed contempt, but something which, for practical purposes, is almost as bad—namely a kind of reverential insensibility, a stupor of the spirit, an inward deafness to the meaning of the sacred words." This is true, but the difficulty can be overcome, at least in part, by using a different translation. Moreover, I think the reader would have appreciated the less familiar quotations over, still more if he had been able to see them by the side of familiar ones. As it is, the selections from William Law, Traherne and a few others, excellent as they are in themselves, give an almost grotesquely limited view of the mysticism of the West.

## LANGURS

BY R. N. CURREY

S PENDING the day up here wired in by rain  
 I watch this fragment of a folk-migration,  
 A tiny tribe perhaps of the great nation  
 That roamed the country with green Hanuman  
 For centuries before earth-footed man  
 With his pedestrian conglomeration  
 Of bows and cooking-pots; in their own fashion  
 These langurs cross a landscape spiked with rain.

They have no sort of shelter from the rain;  
 It drives through the soft foliage of the trees  
 Down their black glistening trunks; from one of these  
 They drop down gracefully upon the grass,  
 Squat black-glancing round, and softly pass  
 With half-a-dozen bounds in twos and threes  
 To an assembly-point between two trees,  
 And gravely sit and contemplate the rain.

They seem in their close discipline in the rain  
 A portion rather of some regiment  
 Of the great force the Monkey God once sent  
 (In those far ages when the Apes and Bears  
 Were Infantry and Indian Engineers!)  
 To bridge the narrow waters to Ceylon  
 And hurl the demon-head Ravanna down  
 Beneath the silver arrows of the rain;

A portion of the force that braved the rain  
 Before stone temples forced above the trees  
 Their crowns of writhing many-limbed deities:  
 Langurs and chimpanzees and huge baboons  
 Swinging across the creeper-hung lagoons,  
 Mandrill and gibbon, ape and marmoset—  
 Some with the fighting colours that even yet  
 Shine out like firefly tails through monsoon rain.

They face in one direction through the rain,  
 Fawn-overcoated figures with black faces,  
 With cowls and monkish mows and quick grimaces  
 And circular scratchings; this stout veteran  
 Without a tail looks round him like a man:  
 He wrings his black gloved hands quite humanly,  
 Scatters a shower of spray, then suddenly  
 Sets out with easy bounds into the rain.

They move across the open through the rain  
 Like race-horses in prints, but *chest-à-terre*,  
 Wasp-waisted, with a black-faced teddy bear  
 At each camp-follower's breast; here on the ground  
 Their tails are strong black snakes curled out behind;  
 Now that they bound and swing among new trees  
 Their tails are ropes, their fawn agilities  
 Viewed through the vertical cage-bars of the rain.

## MANUEL DE FALLA'S MUSIC

BY WALTER STARKIE

UNIVERSAL grief will be felt throughout the Spanish world at the news of the death of Manuel de Falla in Argentina. Some time ago many rumours had reached Madrid concerning the master's state of health: some even were reassuring and stated that he wished to end his life in a monastery. Spanish music has indeed cause to mourn the death of Falla for he had been more to his country than the foremost composer in the nationalist sense; he had become universal, and such works as *El Amor Brujo* and *Noches en los Jardines de España* were part of the world's heritage of music. Falla had been, not only an inspired composer, but also a pioneer pointing the way to the future, and he had throughout his life done for Spain what Vaughan Williams has done for England, Ravel for France and Bartok for Hungary.

The last time I met Manuel de Falla was the year before the Spanish Civil War in Granada. Owing to his delicate state of health he had been living, even then, the life of a recluse and rarely left his house, except on Sundays when the decrepit cab would drive up to take him to Mass. For one as deeply absorbed in his dreams as the *maestro* there was no need to wander far from the little house for it stands on a slope behind the Alhambra and from its little garden one could gaze down upon the vast flowering *vega* of Granada, celebrated by Moorish poets as comparable to the plain of Damascus. In former years Falla had lived in one of the little "carmenes" in the Alhambra and it was there that I had met him for the first time in 1921. Under the trees we had listened to a Cuadro flamenco and the guitarist, Angel Barrios, had played Spanish music. Then in his studio Don Manuel had performed for us works of Debussy, and Ravel that evoked Spain, and he had played for us his own *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, one of the most significant works he ever composed, for it concentrates within its harmony the essence of the Andalusian spirit, one of the oldest in the world. Later the composer led us out into the moonlight towards the Generalife or Garden of the Tone-architect, as the Moors called it. It was a moonlit night and the avenues of cypress trees leading up to the Garden were like ghostly sentinels around a fantastic palace of the Arabian Nights. We entered a paradise of myrtle, boxwood and laurel, and our senses were lulled by the sound of countless laughing, bubbling cascades. Above our heads the nightingales were trilling and fluting in full-throated minstrelsy.

I have never forgotten that evening which introduced me to Manuel de

## MANUEL DE FALLA'S MUSIC

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Falla's music and on many subsequent visits to Granada I tried to recapture, in vain, that spirit. Falla, like Ganes, possessed the eternal melancholy of the Andalusian; a strange and complex consciousness of his racial destiny, which we find in all Andalusians whether great or humble. It is this which gives a subtle, cosmic quality to his work, and he too possessed what Goethe called "a sense of the past and present as being one; a conception which fuses a spectral element into the present." After many years of wandering through Spain and during which I had the opportunity of hearing the folk-singers and players, I feel as if Falla had transmuted into his music the concentrated essence of his country's spirit. His music, by its intensity and concentration always reminds me of one of the flowering patios of the Generalife, a tiny nook of shade in which the Moors had created a paradise in miniature with bubbling waters, fragrant flowers and tropical leaves, half-hiding the brick steps and graceful fountain paved with coloured tiles. Critics have noticed how his music, especially his later work has a touch of the glittering concision of the Neapolitan composer Domenico Scarlatti, but it is rooted in profound Andalusian race consciousness. In addition we should not forget the modern element in his work and his struggle to achieve expression in the universal language of music in the same way as Ravel and Bartok did in their countries. To understand this point let us consider his life.

Falla was born at Cadiz in 1876 and he received his early music lessons from his mother who was an accomplished pianist. From an early age he was surrounded by music, for Cadiz ever since the eighteenth century when it was one of the most prosperous cities in Europe, was visited regularly by Italian opera companies, and people made music in their homes. In Madrid Falla entered definitely upon his true path in music for he became the pupil in composition of Pedrell who was to inspire him to study the wealth of Spanish folk-music. It is significant to remember Pedrell when we talk of Falla and modern Spanish music, for Falla himself later on, when he was called the leader of Spanish composers, refused the title, saying that if ever there was a leader, it was the veteran Felipe Pedrell. In Madrid Falla won a prize for piano playing, and the prize in a national opera-competition organized by the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, with *La Vida Breve*, 1905. This short opera marked his definite entry into fame, but it was not produced until 1914 in Paris. In 1907 he went to Paris where he devoted himself intensely to the study of his art, and his life was one of constant drudgery for a mere pittance. It is all the more characteristic of his tenacious nature that he should have refused tempting offers from opera companies in Europe to write Spanish operas of the conventional sort, to order. At that very time in Paris another great figure of modern Spanish music, Joaquin Turina, was studying there, and he has related in print how he and Falla met the great Isaac Albeniz, and it was Albeniz who encouraged them with words of enthusiasm and urged them to continue manfully their attempt to create Spanish music, yes,

but music that would also be European. Falla, no less than Albeniz and Turina, was helped with friendly advice by famous composers, such as Debussy, Ravel and Dukas. So successful was the opera *La Vida Breve* at its first production at Nice in 1913 that it was afterwards performed in Paris at the Opéra-Comique in 1914. The public immediately recognized the subtle qualities of this miniature opera which is a worthy pendant to Bizet's *Carmen*. Pedro Morales, musician, poet and *Andaluz viejo* has often proclaimed that Falla's heroine, not Mérimée's, is the Spanish operatic character *par excellence*.

At the outbreak of the war of 1914 Falla had to leave France as he refused to adopt French nationality in order to achieve greater success in Paris. He returned to Spain and established himself at Granada, and it was amid the trees and gardens of the Alhambra and the Generalife that he composed his music. It was Granada that appealed to his philosophical mind, and, as Salvador de Madariaga has said, "a mind formed by Granada is bound to learn serenity from the alleys of cypress trees which make her the favourite haunt of poets." Falla, after his years of struggle in Paris wished to renew his soul and his inspiration and discover new paths. He has often referred to the danger of repeating oneself, of creating from the same mould, and of letting old age drive one inexorably into narrow academic paths. First of all he composed *El Sombrero de Tres Picos* (The Three-cornered Hat) which was produced in its final form in London in 1919. It was interesting to note the evolution that took place in this last work. In its original form it was called *El Corregidor y la Molinera* and was a mime, and a delightful one at that, accompanied by a small orchestra, but when the composer amplified the work for Diaghilev, the latter, with his unerring genius for uniting the arts, made it into one of the most beautiful of the Russian Ballets.

The next epoch-making work of the composer was *El Amor Brujo* (Wedded by Witchcraft) which may be said to have swept the musical world off its feet by its barbaric rhythms and rich tonal colour. In all these works Falla moulded his style upon the folk tunes and dances, and wrote music which though not actual folk song, yet took its sinews from folk song. Few composers could be more fastidious and painstaking than this sensitive and mystic Andalusian. So sensitive was he and so self-critical that he was for ever recasting his works, correcting, polishing, purifying in the passionate attempt to reach the truth. His art is essentially Spanish in that it is impressionistic, but impressionistic in the sense that Ortega y Gasset gives to the word in his great book *Meditaciones del Quijote*, where he refers to the astonishing visual power possessed by Cervantes in his narrative, which made Flaubert cry out as he read *Don Quixote*: "Comme on voit ces routes d'Espagne qui ne sont nulle part décrites." Goethe once said that the organ by which he understood the world was the eye, and dealing with Falla we might paraphrase and say that the organ by which he understood the world was the ear. Falla heard at every pore. Not only the actual melodies and rhythms of modern Spain,

but also those that echo faintly from Spain's musical past.

When we come to the next work of his, *Noches en los Jardines de España* (Nights in the gardens of Spain), there is a further advance in his art, and we remember the motto attributed to him by the Andalusian poet and musician Pedro García Morales: "God, Art, and Country". These words enclose the philosophical synthesis of his life, but, continues Morales, "Falla had imposed upon the impulses of his mind a discipline which seems to follow in inverse order this motto." In other words, the discipline was meant to start from the popular (*El Amor Brujo* and *The Three-cornered Hat*) then to attain the aesthetic ideal and rise finally to the metaphysical.

The *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, which he called "Nocturnes," is in three parts and described by the following sub-titles: "In the Generalife", "Distant Dance" and "In the Gardens of the Sierra of Cordoba". As in his former works, the composer builds his thematic material on rhythms, modes, cadences and forms, inspired by Andalusian folk song, but never once does he borrow an actual Andalusian folk melody. This work which was finished in 1916 was played in London in 1921 with the composer at the piano. To find a parallel in literature to this enchanting music which evokes the spirit of Andalusia, we must turn to the subtlest magician in verse, the late lamented García Lorca, also an Andalusian, in such a poem as *La Guitarra* where the poet describes the lament of the guitar, with its monotonous weeping as the water weeps, as the wind weeps over the snow fall; we may not hush it for it weeps for things far distant.

Such a work as the "Nocturnes" explains the basic beliefs on music held by the composer. For him Mussorgsky was the true initiator of the new era in music and thanks to his influence and that of his followers the melodic forms and ancient scales that had been despised by composers and had taken refuge in the Church and among the folk were restored to music. Falla believed that the modern spirit in music dwelt mostly in three fundamental elements, rhythm, modality, and melody used as a means to evocation. Hence the immense importance of Debussy in modern music, for he by such works as *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* and *Pelléas et Mélisande* established the technique of modern music. Falla, too, in his theoretical writings laid stress upon the importance of Glinka's famous visit to Andalusia in 1847, when he wandered about the country alone from Madrid to Seville and thence to Granada. It was in the Albaicín and the Sacro Monte and in Granada that he met the gypsy guitarist Francisco Rodríguez Murciano whose improvised accompaniment so moved him that he wrote certain important works using in them flamenco rhythms, blending these gypsy elements with Russian folk song. He originated the Russian style in music which has been developed by Mussorgsky, Rimsky Korsakov and other members of the "Five". As a demonstration of these theories Falla organized a festival of "Cante Jondo", the traditional folk-song of South Andalusia, mainly practised by the gypsies.



This festival, which was held at Granada in 1922 has been described by Professor J. B. Trend in his excellent biography on Manuel de Falla, 1929, and Falla himself published, as a result of the festival in 1922, a short study on the essential qualities of the "*Cante Jondo*" or Deep Song, which is the primitive Andalusian singing. This pamphlet is of importance to those who wish to understand the essence of Falla's music. He shows that "Deep Song" has analogy with oriental types of melody and the position of smaller intervals in the scale is not invariable for their production depends upon the raising and lowering of the voice due to the expression given to the word which is being sung. In addition we find *portamento* of the voice—that is to say a method of singing which produces the infinite graduations of pitch existing between two notes whether near to each other or far apart. One of the most striking differences between "Deep Song" and later Western music is that the accompaniments in the former rarely exceed the limit of a sixth, but by the employment of quarter and third tones the singer can increase the number of tones which he can produce. The small compass is one of the reasons why the uninitiated consider such music monotonous, but a Spanish gypsy, hearing western music would remark sadly that it moved up and down too much, and he would prefer his own music which seems to flow continuously like a river of sound. Falla also refers to the repetition in "Deep Song" of the same note to the point of obsession accompanied by an *appoggiatura* from above or below. This method of repetition is oriental and is characteristic of certain forms of enchantment which have been practised by the Romany race. In this way Falla studied the primitive method of singing of Andalusia in all its complexities, and he discovered in that singing elements inherited from the Byzantine liturgy and the music of the Moors of Granada, and the influences of gypsy tribes who arrived in Spain in 1447. Professor Trend in a commemorative broadcast on the composer compared him to one of the early Spanish "conquistadores" setting sail in a tiny caravel to discover new lands. Falla all his life was filled with the desire to discover new territory and he was for ever on a restless quest. There was in his character too a mystic quality. He was a lover of the "starry autos" of Calderon, and the ecstatic poems of that flame-like spirit, St. John of the Cross. The lines of the mystic poet appealed to him:

La noch sosegada  
 en par de los levantes de la aurora,  
 la música callada,  
 la soledad sonora  
 la cena, que recrea y enamora.  
 The hush and peace of night,  
 and dawn's first rays of light,  
 soft music in echoing solitude  
 the Feast of love that builds anew.

This is the Manuel de Falla that I remember from the day when I last saw

him in his house at Granada in the Spring of 1935. I had not seen him for some years and in the interval his face had become more delicate and more ethereal. I remember him as he was in 1921, the creator of the "Ritual with Fire Dance" with its evocation of gypsy magic. He seemed to be an intellectual at grips with a herd of Andalusian demons. Then I remember him on various occasions in the years 1925 to 1931 in Madrid or in Paris. The latest vision of Falla in Spain was created by his great friend the painter Ignacio Suloaga in his portrait wherein the composer resembles a ghost-like figure of El Greco, ashen grey, gaunt and emaciated, against a gloomy, eerie background.

Nevertheless, before Falla retired to the philosophical surroundings of the Alhambra he struggled ceaselessly to create a perfect medium for his inspiration. His puppet-opera, *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* (Master Peter's Puppet Show) based upon the adventures of Don Quixote, was performed in Paris in 1924. This work which is one of the composer's masterpieces deserves analysis. Don Quixote and his squire Sancho Panza are at an inn when a travelling showman arrives with a marionette theatre, and a performance is arranged in the stable of the inn. The play which the puppets perform is taken from an old ballad of Spain, telling of Don Gaiferos and the Princess Melisendra. The showman inside the little theatre pulls the strings for the puppets, and the boy assistant explains the action to the rustic audience. Don Quixote is an old gentleman well versed in chivalry and ballad lore who interrupts from time to time, and finally when the Moors ride out in pursuit of Don Gaiferos and Melisendra he springs up sword in hand, slashes the puppets to bits and destroys the showman's theatre. It is interesting to compare this work which is based upon the immortal book with the ballet *Petrushka* in which Stravinsky evokes the Neapolitan mask Pulcinella. Stravinsky not only evokes the spirit of Pergolesi but the ancient *Commedia dell'Arte* of Italy with its fixed puppet-like characters and this he does by creating brilliantly grotesque effect and rhythms and illuminating all the work with his poetic Russian musical genius.

Falla using themes which derive their sinews from Castilian folk song has with grave humour interpreted the story and the literary style of Cervantes, thereby creating afresh in the universe of music the undying symbol of Spain. Rarely do we find an opera where the composer has so completely absorbed the contents of the literature. The music seems to follow every curve and line of the literary style, but then in a sense the whole story and the style become sublimated in our imagination and we have only ears for the intimate music of Falla. In this music Falla conjures up memories of those ancient days when the ballads were the soul of Spain. The music of this work is Castilian whereas the music of the earlier works was Andalusian. But what is Castile in Spain, but a central plateau held in equilibrium with tensions pulling north, south, east and west? The tensions in the mind of Falla pro-

duced his perfect equilibrium as a musician. In the "Harpsichord Concerto" which was Falla's next work we find a still greater attempt to return to a Spanish classical style, and in this work there is, as it were, an evocation of the music of Domenico Scarlatti, especially in the last movement. We feel that the composer consciously evoked the eighteenth century Neapolitan composer who lived so long in Spain, in order to give a note of fragrance to his work and to make it suggestive as he had done in the "Retablo." But there is an immense abyss between the world of Scarlatti and the world of Falla. Falla, in the concerto, has not changed the style that he possessed when writing the "Nocturnes", but in his later works he has intensified his art and subjected it to ever greater discipline. Of Falla, as of the Stravinsky of the piano sonata and concerto, it is useless to talk of neo-classicism following the phrase of Verdi: "*torniamo all' antico*." What has happened is that the composer in his austere self-discipline has tried to reach down to the fundamentals of his art.

When I visited Falla in 1935 he was putting the finishing touches to his work *Atlantida* which is based upon the epic poem of the Catalan poet Jacinto Verdaguer. The story told by the old man to the young Genoese is the story of Atlantis which is the lost country sunk in the sea beyond the west coast of Spain. The Genoese youth then sees the new world rising before him. His name is Christopher Columbus and inspired by the words of the old hermit he sets out in his three ships to discover the new world. The idea of the submerged continent of Atlantis has fascinated poets, musicians and artists for centuries. Some see in the Isles of the Fortunate or the Canaries the remains of the submerged continent; poets in Provence like the great old *felibre*, the Marquis de Baroncelli, see in the nomad gypsy tribes who haunt the crypt of their St. Sara the true descendants of the inhabitants of Atlantis. Such is the subject that fascinated the genius of Falla, and absorbed his later years. But then came the cataclysm of the Civil War in 1936 and Falla departed to America, and it is said that the work has never been completed. It is to be hoped, however, the world may be given an opportunity of hearing it even in its unfinished state, perhaps under the direction of Ernesto Halffter, who of all the disciples of Falla seems to have best understood his message. Is it not significant that Falla, after choosing Andalusian themes and then Castilian should end by choosing Mediterranean? He has, thereby, harmonized three eternal themes of Spain.

One last vision I have of Manuel de Falla. It was in 1931, some months after the declaration of the Republic that I found myself in the village of Zumaya in the Spanish Basque country where Zuloaga used to hold his court and gather his *tertulia*. Zuloaga's house was called "Santiago Echea" which means the House of St. James and this name was given to it because in the demesne is the ancient chapel wherein pilgrims of the Middle Ages, journeying along the Road of St. James to his far-off shrine in Galicia used to

halt and rest their weary bodies. In the flowering garden around the ancient ruin the painter would gather together his literary, artistic and Bohemian friends; painters, musicians, writers, bull-fighters, pelota-players, gypsies—all found welcome in the garden of the genial painter. Seated in a ring around their host I saw Unamuno, Ramón del Valle Inclán, Ramón Perez de Ayala, Belmonte. In the distance an organ sounded: Manuel de Falla was playing in the little chapel. In that group in the rose garden were some of the greatest personalities of modern Spain: Unamuno, rugged as the primeval oak of the Basque races; Valle Inclán, gaunt and drooping, an El Greco picture suddenly come to life; Zuloaga, tall, rugged, athletic like a pelota player; Belmonte, sallow, black-haired, lithe of figure like an Andalusian dancer. Unamuno poured rapid words out in never ending stream, but occasionally the strange metallic voice of Valle Inclán diverted the stream in the opposite direction; then all we heard was the lisping Galician tone rising and falling like the song of a shanachie. Then gently and unobtrusively Manuel de Falla would enter the group bringing with him, as it were, the departed echoes of the chorale he had been playing. The conversation would range excitedly over a wide field of topics but Falla would lie back in his chair with an abstracted air waiting for silence, when he could begin a long, passionate *harangue* about music. But silence was not to be found in that *tertulia*. He must go back to the moonlit gardens of the musician at Granada, and it is in those enchanted gardens of the Alhambra that his spirit will remain for ever as a haunting presence.

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### CASTE IN INDIA

BY SIR WILLIAM P. BARTON

THE driving power behind the political movement in India proceeds from the higher grades of Hindu society, the Brahmin lawyer, the big business man and the Hindu professional classes generally. In other words, it is a high-caste movement. The Hindu politician owes the ascendancy he has achieved, in the government of the country, mainly to the vote of the illiterate peasantry, influenced by the Gandhian mysticism, rather than by ideals of political liberty which convey nothing to them.

These are incontrovertible facts. Pundit Nehru himself would admit them. A strange anomaly in present conditions is the readiness of the British Socialist Government to hand over India to this high-caste group, dominated by the capitalists, provided only the Muslims can be persuaded to accept such a régime. It will of course be argued that the movement, though middle-class, is inspired with the spirit of democracy and that ultimately the masses may assert themselves. But does such a theory take sufficient account of the insidious influence of the caste system in the social, economic, and religious spheres? In Hindu society to-day, one out of four or five of the population is outcast, shunned by the caste Hindu, and economically helpless. Both in the case of the outcast and of the Sudra peasantry who form the majority of the Hindu community, religious superstition offers an opportunity to dominate, of which one can hardly expect the Brahmin not to avail himself. Then how does caste affect the question of defence? Will the peasant and outcast soldier, deprived of their heritage, accept the leadership of the Brahmin and of the professional castes? In his book, *Gandhi and Anarchy*, Sir Sankaran Nair, a well-known Indian politician, expressed the view that the military weakness of India, arising from the caste system, was responsible for the Muslim conquest, and for eight centuries of Muslim domination. He thinks that it was because of the hated inhibitions of caste that the forbears of the 100 million Muslims to-day embraced Islam.

Caste, in the Muslim view, is the antithesis of democracy. It is the Hindu caste system that keeps Hindus and Muslims apart. Inter-marriage is prohibited, social intercourse restricted; to the strict Hindu, the Muslim is impure. As Mahatma Gandhi says, the Hindu would rather die of thirst than take water from a Muslim.

A final solution of the Indian problem must take account of the social background. For this reason, many people of this country, who are interested in India, will welcome an authoritative work on caste in India, by Dr. J. H. Hutton.\* His qualifications are unquestionable. An anthropologist of repute, he was a member of the Indian Civil Service, and, in that capacity, carried out the census of India in 1931, a work that involved a close study of the ethnography and of the social problems of the country. Dr. Hutton prefaces his treatment of the main subject by an examination of the ethnographical background.

There is, in his view, no parallel in the world to-day, nor ever has been, to the Hindu

\* *Caste in India*. Cambridge University Press. 18s.

caste system. No satisfactory theory of its origins has ever been developed. Colour prejudice, clash of races, ideas, and superstitions associated with totemisms, and taboos, hereditary occupations, the subtle religious philosophies of the Brahmins—these, in Dr. Hutton's view, are some of the influences at work. Five centuries before Christ, Brahmin oppression brought about reactions which led to the movement sponsored by the Buddha, the result of which was the practical eclipse of Brahminism for several centuries. As Buddhist influences weakened, Brahminism reasserted its supremacy.

From time to time the Brahmin hierarchy has admitted new groups into the caste system. For example, the leaders of invading hordes from Central Asia, such as the Scythians, Huns, Kushans, in the first six or seven centuries of the Christian era, were absorbed as Kshattriyas, (mostly Rajputs), the rank and file taking their place as Sudras. A similar process has been at work among the aborigines the rulers being admitted as Rajputs with invented pedigrees, the lower grades of the people often left out as untouchables. In fact, such developments have not always been to the advantage of these backward folk. Karma and re-incarnation, holding out as they do hopes of a happier future life to the sufferer, have, in Dr. Hutton's opinion, helped to support the caste system. In point of fact, caste gives a religious basis to inequality. It must be admitted, however, that it has served to integrate the many conflicting elements in Indian life; but for it, Hinduism might have been submerged in the tide of Muslim invasions. The vitality of caste is shown by the anxiety displayed by the lower orders to rise in the social scale by adopting, for example, the practices of the higher castes, such as child-marriage, the prohibition of widow-remarriage, and so on. An interesting custom, now falling into disuse, devolved on Hindu rajahs responsibility for dealing with caste questions, such as excommunication, re-admission, and so on. Here one may note that the orthodox Hindu who proceeds overseas is expected to undergo purification on his return, one of the requirements being the consumption of the *Panchgavya*, the products of the sacred cow, milk, butter, curds, urine and dung.

Untouchability and all it involves is treated at length in the book. Do people in Britain realize that the outcast is deprived by caste Hindus of most of the privileges of social life, such as the use of wells, restaurants, and of temple entry? Distance pollution still persists; there is actually a group of unseeables, who only venture out after night-fall. Until quite recently, some of the lowest untouchable groups in the south of India, women and men, were not allowed to wear clothes above the waist.

Untouchability has degraded us, made us pariahs in South and East Africa and Canada. So long as Hindus wilfully regard untouchability as part of their religion, so long is Swaraj (Home Rule) unattainable. India is guilty. England has done nothing blacker. It must be extinguished. That is what Mahatma Gandhi told the caste Hindu not so very long ago. Yet he supports caste. Pundit Nehru, on the other hand, finds it difficult to understand how Mr. Gandhi accepts the present social order, based as it is, in the Pundit's own words on violence and conflict. "The spectacle of what is called religion," he tells us in his autobiography, "especially organized religion," (that is, the religion of the Brahmin hierarchy) "fills him with horror." "It stands for blind belief, reaction, dogma, bigotry and superstition, exploitation and preservation of vested interests." Brahmin though he is, he would like to make a clean sweep of the system.

With such convictions, one might have expected these two prominent leaders to promote the interests of the outcasts. On the contrary, Mahatma Gandhi, by his fast to death in 1931 induced the outcast leaders to give up the political advantages conferred on them by the British communal award, which made it possible for them to fight their own battles. The result has been to reduce them to political impotence.

After reading Dr. Hutton's book, one feels inclined to ask whether India, with a caste system still in vigorous life, is safe for democracy.

**THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA, 1918-1934:** A Study in the Failure of Democratic Government, by Mary Macdonald. *Royal Institute of International Affairs: Oxford University Press.* 8s. 6d.

Following the collapse of the Empire of the Habsburgs in the autumn of 1918 and the break away of the Czechs, the Poles, the Southern Slavs and the Hungarians to form independent States, the German provinces of the old *Reich* were left alone to face an uncertain future. The Christian Socialists of the provinces and the Social Democrats of Vienna and the industrial districts, although differing in almost every other respect, were united at that time in their desire to join the German *Reich*, and in their intention of instituting some form of democratic government. Frustrated by the Allies in their desire to join the German *Reich*, they proceeded to draw up a democratic constitution. In spite of the meticulous care with which this was done, it became apparent in 1927, if not earlier, that Austrian politics were moving steadily in an anti-democratic direction.

This study is an attempt to consider some of the more important of these causes, and more particularly a useful and illuminating examination of the highly technical federal Constitution of 1920, the text of which is conveniently printed in an appendix. Even if all the evils which ensued from the weak position in which the Government was deliberately placed could not have been foreseen, it was evident from the outset that the future well-being of Austria would depend upon the capacity of her rulers to pursue a firm policy of reconstruction over a period of years, unhampered by the exigencies of party politics. The danger to be feared from an unduly powerful Government could, as is rightly pointed out, have been obviated if it had been accepted that the Government was, as it is in this country, the executive committee of the Lower House. But the Austrian constitution provided

that, although members of the Government must be eligible for election to the Lower House, they need not actually be members of it.

Again, the introduction of proportional representation was undoubtedly ill-advised. Apart from other considerations it had the effect of weakening the National Council which quickly became a house divided against itself. Few, if any, with experience of Austrian politics during these troublesome years will dispute the judgment that "the battle was not only fierce, but also futile, for the closed list system, which had been introduced as the concomitant of proportional representation, meant that members to a large extent ceased to be free agents, and tended to act under the dictates of their respective party caucuses."

True as these conclusions unquestionably are, it is to be regretted that the limits of this study are artificially narrow. While the discussion of the influence of party politics and foreign policy in bringing the whole theory of democratic government into disrepute in Austria is both exhaustive and carefully documented, there are only passing references to economic conditions, social conflicts and the development of education. Yet these were factors which cannot be ignored in seeking the true explanation of the collapse of democratic government in Austria. They certainly played a more immediate part in bringing about the final collapse than did disagreements on such questions as the precise distribution of powers between federal and provincial authorities.

Even within the narrow limits which have been accepted for this study, it cannot be unreservedly commended. The attempt to achieve complete impartiality has resulted not only in making such judgments as are offered on men and measures of little value to the general reader, but also in the author adopting a style which makes this book far from easy reading.

J. MACKAY-MURE.

**THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC—OVERTURE TO THE THIRD REICH,** by Godfrey Scheele. *Faber & Faber.* 18s.

Whether world-wide social and psychological factors inevitably drove the Weimar Republic towards the impasse out of which dictatorship only could show the way or, whether it was merely fourteen years of conspiracy in which actors and spectators with equal persistency merely prepared the Great Revenge, is a problem for historians. It is a problem which can be examined objectively only by the evaluation of all the factors, internal and external, which conditioned the development of the Weimar Republic. The author has made his choice and, therefore, the massive documentation can serve only as arguments in support of the main thesis of his book. The reader is left with the feeling that the carefully selected mass of data—even if it relies

too often on sources antagonistic to the Weimar Republic—would have deserved a correspondingly thorough analysis based on a broader view of the interplay of German and world factors, instead of the overwhelming emphasis on indigenous forces.

Once the fundamental thesis is accepted, the author's arguments follow with a consistency both methodical and convincing. The reader sees the unfolding picture of a State increasingly integrated and centralized to become the instrument for the Great Revenge. Though Stresemann realized that "the competitive resources of German industry would be stimulated at the expense of individual personality and independence" ultimately this served the underlying design aiming at revenge. No attempt is made to bring into context the general world-wide tendency towards centralization and the corresponding decline of individual liberty as a by-product of the

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anachronistic rivalry of mutually hostile sovereign States in a world increasingly interdependent. Efficiency, an index of national sovereignty's race against the logic of interdependence, is relegated to the rôle of a German instrument. Thus, to offset the influence of political justice which was, presumably, "the dominant theme in Europe", Germany "turned to the new doctrine of economic reason with its test of practicability" to attract western financial and business circles. How far this political justice was effective in inter-war Europe and to what extent was the substitution of "economic reason" a purely German device, we are not told. It is only natural that in this calculating and single-minded conspiracy "while Germany built up her strength she needed Locarno." Once again, the picture would gain in objectivity by an analytical examination to what extent the other signatories at Locarno deemed it necessary to build up German strength for their own purposes. On National Socialism we are told that it "was made possible through the control of mechanical civilization, with all its penetrating propaganda powers, by an egoistic philosophy of force woven around the Nation." If this is a complete definition, there is a grave danger indeed that all its component factors are maturing in various corners of the globe to produce the same results.

Quotations, taken out of their context, are inevitably unfair to the author. They should serve only to indicate a great gap in Mr. Scheele's book.

The symptoms which characterized the fourteen years of the Weimar Republic were largely the products of a world-wide social and technological transformation which calls for urgent readjustments in our ideas about the rôle of liberal freedoms in an age of remote control and mass persuasion. It is likely that Naziism was at least as much a specific German response to a world-wide search for new forms of social expression, as a mere power-political con-

spiracy. To disregard this, means the throwing away of the lessons of the crowded and momentous history of the last decades. Moreover, it threatens that the justified part of that demand for new forms will find new and violent expressions to the surprise of those who have not risked an unconventional approach in the analysis of an unconventional problem.

TIBOR MENDE.

### THE LIFE OF NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, by Keith Feiling. Macmillan. 25s.

The writing of contemporary biography is beset with pitfalls. The biographer must not only contend with prejudices of his own but must attempt to master those of his readers and reviewers. To give an example. This reviewer, on reading Professor Feiling's book *The Life of Neville Chamberlain*, was angered by the words used about George Lansbury on page 139. He thought them unnecessarily disparaging and unfair. He felt them to be born of prejudice, thus displaying no doubt a prejudice of his own.

However, judged as dispassionately as possible, Professor Feiling has written a biography which does great credit to his diligence in research and more than a little to his perspicacity. It is an able book. Yet, there is a feeling throughout, that Professor Feiling was too lightly armed in experience to write a really important book and too serious in intent to write a purely entertaining one. He is too lightly armed, despite his deep sense of history, because the time is not yet for the historical approach to Chamberlain's life. What was needed was the political biography and while Professor Feiling was an obvious choice for this task as regards sympathy for the views of his subject he was not personally acquainted with Chamberlain nor intimately with the world of politics.

Professor Feiling's style is workman-like but no more than that. He does not really admire his subject. Moreover

thoroughly to understand Chamberlain it is necessary to have moved as much in local government circles, where Chamberlain really felt at home, as in the political walks around Westminster. Chamberlain was a good administrator but he brought local government talents to Westminster and they were incapable of working there with the same charm. Professor Feiling quotes with disapproval Lloyd George's summary of Chamberlain's character: "a man of rigid competency", "lost in an emergency or in creative tasks at any time", "vein of self-sufficient obstinacy" but it is by no means untrue, if one-sided. Patently Austen should have known better than to advocate the translation of Neville from the Lord Mayoralty of Birmingham to the Ministry of National Service without an apprenticeship served in the House.

Even so Neville Chamberlain was undoubtedly unlucky. He came to politics late, too late for a man of his cast of mind, and he was faced with a situation in which "bewilderment" seems best to describe all political leaders of the time. On Professor Feiling's showing he was at least more capable of a policy than his colleagues and it was certainly not his fault, after he became prime minister, that he was obliged to bat on so sticky a wicket with so poor a team. In sum, he is a man for whom one can feel a good deal of sympathy. He was not big enough for the occasion but the occasion was unprecedented. If he were blind, so were many others. If he were revolted by the thought of war:

To me the very idea that the hard-won savings of our people, which ought to be devoted to the alleviation of suffering, to the opening out of fresh institutions and recreations, to the care of the old, to the development of the minds and bodies of the young—the thought that these savings should have to be dissipated upon the construction of weapons of war is hateful and damnable

so were many others. At another time, it has been said, Neville Chamberlain might have served his country better.

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JOHN ARMITAGE.

**KING JESUS**, by Robert Graves.  
*Cassell. 12s. 6d.*

**THE CHALLENGE OF NEW TESTAMENT ETHICS**, by L. H. Marshall. *Macmillan. 15s.*

When Pilate wrote: "This is Jesus, King of the Jews" over the cross of the Founder of Christianity, he was, according to Mr. Graves, but stating the sober truth, for Jesus was in fact the son of Antipater, the murdered heir of Herod to whom Mary, who was of the royal Davidic line, had been secretly married. Such is Mr. Graves's solution of the mystery of the birth of Christ, and it inevitably involves the machinery of the "thriller", plots and counter-plots, secret stairs, disguises, hair-breadth escapes and so on.

He puts the story into the mouth of Agabus the Decapolitan who had it from one of the leaders of the strictly Jewish Christians towards the end of the first century, and the most noteworthy thing in the book is the consistency with which Mr. Graves maintains the artistic fiction. The volume is, as a matter of fact, far more interesting for its picture of a first century mind, with its mingled shrewd judgment and esoteric and magical beliefs, than for any other reason. Agabus is here, and here to the life, and the account of his mind is fascinating and absorbing, but, Jesus of Nazareth...? The answer to that question is, it is to be feared, that at that point Mr. Graves has registered little but a tragic failure. He has drawn with real power the world into which Jesus was born and the milieu in which He lived, but Jesus Himself remains obstinately a first century figure, and One Who, moreover could never have escaped from the first century to evoke a worship which has crossed all frontiers and all centuries. There is imagination here, and wide and careful learning, but the figure that emerges is such as a Cherokee medicine-man would

have drawn, say, of Einstein.

Mr. Graves has handicapped himself by the very medium he has adopted, for historical interpretation needs not only historical sympathy and imagination adequate enough to enable one to re-create a historical personage in terms of his own time, but that re-creation in turn has to be re-translated into our own contemporary idiom. It is this re-translation that Mr. Graves has failed to perform but the failure to do it is fatal, and the book never moves out of the realm of unlikely conjecture and apocrypha.

Mr. Marshall has had a double object in view in writing this survey of New Testament ethics. On the one hand, he desired to expound the Christian ethic as it is found in the New Testament, and this he has done in a thorough and unusually readable manner. Starting out from the position that New Testament ethics are not to be divorced from religious faith, and that the central idea is that of the Kingdom of God, he gives us an ordered exposition of his theme, with commendable lucidity and logical articulation. The mind of Jesus Himself is first examined with regard to the essential nature of ethical good and evil and this leads on to two fruitful chapters of exposition of the moral imperatives and of the Christian attitude to society. His final chapter in this section of the book is a defence of the ethics of Jesus with the eschatologists and humanists chiefly in mind. Next, he turns to the thought of Paul and, broadly speaking, follows the same procedure. This aspect of the book is very well done indeed, and Mr. Marshall is to be congratulated on having given us an organic and articulated presentation of his subject which is a delight to read.

It is however when we come to Mr. Marshall's second object in writing that one is sensible of grave limitations and that one has doubts as to how far he has really succeeded in relating "the ethical message of the New Testament to the dominant problems of the present

day." Mr. Marshall seems not to have wrestled with the two problems that have to be wrestled with if that object has to be achieved. He has neither related ethical teaching of the New Testament to that group action which is an ineradicable factor in the life of to-day, nor has he related it to the conception of Natural Law, and it has to be confessed that the result is an appearance of taking his fences and solving his ethical difficulties somewhat too easily.

What Mr. Marshall has done, therefore, has been to give us the best and most competent exposition of original New Testament ethics we have had for many a long day, no more, but it is all to the good that he has given us in such clear-cut outline the ethics which have to be transposed into the key of modern life.

B. C. PLOWRIGHT.

**LORD'S 1787-1945**, by Sir Pelham Warner. *George G. Harrap. 15s.*

It is nearly a century since the Rev. James Pycroft described the ideal cricket historian as "one who should combine, with all the resources of a ready writer, traditional lore and practical experience."

No words could better describe Sir Pelham Warner's qualifications for writing the history of Lord's Cricket Ground. He is already renowned as a writer from his numerous other books on cricket. He has been steeped in the traditional lore of the game, from the time when as a boy in the West Indies he studied it in the pages of *The Field*, *Wisden* and *The Times* and in May 1887 realized his childhood's ambition of passing through the turnstile of Lord's, up to the present when he has been accorded the highest honours of election as a Trustee of the M.C.C. and the hanging of his portrait in the Long Room at Lord's. His practical experience as a great batsman, a great captain, a selector of unsurpassed experience and a member for very many years of various M.C.C. committees is too widely known

to require comment.

The book begins with an account of the foundation and early days of Lord's. It is curious that Yorkshire, which has produced so many great cricketers, should also have been the birth-place of Thomas Lord, from whom the most famous of all grounds takes its name. The original 'Lord's', however, was in Dorset Square, whence it moved first to another position on the St. John's Wood Estate and finally to the present site. In each case Lord had arranged that the original Dorset Square turf should be transferred, so that "the noblemen and Gentlemen of the M.C.C." should be able "to play on the same footing as before." The site was only held on lease, however, and in 1860 occurred the greatest threat to the ground until the recent days of flying bombs, when the freehold was sold by auction to a Mr. Isaac Moses for £7,000. Eventually the M.C.C. bought it in 1866 for

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From the fascinating story of the early days the author writes of some early personalities: Lord Frederick Beauclerk, the 'W.G.' of his day; Felix, whose real name was Wanostrocht; Mynn, for whom the whole county of Kent mourned; Jenner-Fust, who kept wicket without gloves or pads; Lillywhite called 'The Nonpareil'; Aislabie, immortalized in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*; Haygarth, who batted 3 hours for 16 and 4 hours for 26; Fellows, who was buried in his I.Z. cap; Chandos Leigh, who often wore a grey bowler hat with an I.Z. ribbon.

Of course the great 'W.G.' figures prominently as the tale unfolds; at one time scoring 134 out of 201 and taking 10 wickets for 81 runs, while still under twenty; at another protesting at a ball passing through his beard, and being finally honoured by the erection of a gate at Lord's to his memory, dedicated simply to the 'The Great Cricketer'. Hobbs, "from about 1910 to 1927 . . . the finest batsman in the world," Bradman, whose performances are "unique in the annals of cricket" and Hammond, whose "colossal achievements command the respect of every sort of cricketer", all have their place in the chronicle with many more amusing and interesting facts and anecdotes of cricket at Lord's.

At the end of the book are twelve appendices, devoted to statistics and certain special aspects of the history of Lord's outside the scope of the book itself. In one of these high tribute is paid to the Lord's staff and another is devoted to school cricket at Lord's. An appendix on tennis and rackets gives details of the M.C.C. Gold and Silver Racket Prizes, but somewhat surprisingly gives the reader to understand that the rackets court is still in existence. Viscount Ullswater has written an interesting appendix on that most fascinating collection of cricket memories, the Long Room pictures, many of which are included as illustrations in the book.

As the latest addition to the biblio-

graphy of cricket Sir Philip's book will be welcomed not only by all those to whom it is dedicated—cricketers the world over—but by all cricket-lovers.

ABERDARE.

### THE PAGEANT OF THE YEARS, by Sir Philip Gibbs. Heinemann. 18s.

In his lifetime as journalist, novelist and lecturer, Sir Philip Gibbs has reported the front-page events of this century. He has talked to the front-page men of our time—Briand, Stresemann, Hoover, Lloyd George, Ramsay MacDonald, Winston Churchill, Henry Wallace. And at the end of this story, ranging from the last quarter of "Queen Victoria's golden days (for those who had the gold)" to the summer of 1946, covering war and peace in many countries of the world, Sir Philip sums up:

If I have learned anything it is that pity is more intelligent than hatred, that mercy is better even than justice, that if one walks around the world with friendly eyes one makes good friends.

Is this an exasperating conclusion to *The Pageant of the Years*? It is a revealing one. It reveals a secret of successful journalism in this age. The sociologist, the economist, the scientific thinker in Sir Philip's place would have made an analysis seemingly less platitudinous in its conclusions. But their books would have had little popular appeal because, unlike Sir Philip's work, theirs would have less identity with the minds of to-day's millions of readers.

Sir Philip's reportage is the kind most people like. It is not profound, nor dull; it is readable. In bringing the little things of everyday life into prominence, Alfred Harmsworth was the architect of the new journalism but Sir Philip Gibbs has been one of its builders:

This is not disparagement: a craftsman—whatever his craft—merits respect. *The Pageant of the Years* reflects all the brilliance of the new journalism; it is full of names, gossip and incident, written simply and clearly, in shortish sentences, well paragraphed.

But besides this talent, despite his apparently inherent shyness, Sir Philip shows he has needed nerve and character in his life-work to maintain its integrity.

When, in Copenhagen, the veteran journalists of Europe were accepting Dr. Cook's discovery of the North Pole, the young reporter of the *Daily Chronicle*—dissatisfied with Dr. Cook's evidence—was cabling daily messages which denied the claim. He stuck to his story even while the returned hero was being fêted at State banquets and receiving honours from learned societies. Popular feeling in Denmark was so much against Sir Philip at that time that he was booed in restaurants—and even challenged to a duel by a respected Dane.

Again, at a time when no journalist had been allowed inside the Vatican, Sir Philip Gibbs arrived in Rome under instructions from his news editor to "interview the Pope." He got the interview.

There are many such instances. For the critical reader, these might be nullified by the superficial or melodramatic—"I had an astonishing conversation with Himmler. . . 'I shall probably have to shake hands with him,' I told Agnes. 'Do you happen to have any carbolic soap?'").

Even so, Sir Philip is not false to himself or his calling. This is a good autobiography by one of the best exponents of popular journalism.

JAMES BARTLETT.

### THE LAMP, by Richard Church. CRAZY GAUNT, by G. Rostrevor Hamilton. Heinemann. 6s.

It is customary for the critic, in examining a long poem, to refer to its "form." Of all the terms borrowed from other arts, and applied to poetry, "form," as applied to a long poem, is the most vague and impracticable. The critic may speak of the form of a sonnet or lyric, because his brain can retain so brief a shape. The reader of the long poem, however, must be constantly reacting, momentarily, to momentary

moods. At the end of his reading he may recall these isolated responses but he cannot see the poem whole, since the human brain cannot retain it: for this reason he can have no conception of its shape, or "form". The critic may say whether there was hindrance to the flow of thought and whether style obtruded upon, or clashed with, mood; but he can say no more. Those are his limits, and, within them, the term "form," as it is understood in relation to the visual arts, may not be legitimately applied.

In *The Lamp*, a poem of over two thousand lines, Mr. Church moulds method smoothly to the mood set in his prologue:—

Let me be simple; let my music  
Capture a child's imagination.  
A difficult thought is not a thing  
A blackbird or a god will sing.

The poem runs without hitch or jar. His story is of a French family under

## COWIE

DONALD COWIE, the new name in poetry, is at present on so many lips that it is unnecessary to do more than announce that a 2nd. ed. of his *Collected Poetical Works*, Vol. I., 256pp., 10s. 6d., is already approaching over-subscription a few weeks after the issue of the first. Only a few remain of a separate limited edition of 100 copies, signed and numbered by the poet at one guinea.

OPINIONS of this rising giant: "Will probably represent this age in the future." (*The Clique*). "The eagerness of this poetry." (*Edmund Blunden*). "Might have been written by Shelley." (*Wm. Saunders*). "There seem to be no heights to which he may not rise." (*Gordon Latta*).

ALSO new imps. of *A Writer's Notebook*, Anon, 9s. 6d., "Excellent" (*Agate*); *Chase Me A Kiwi, A Portrait of New Zealand*, Aldwyn Abberley, 10s. 6d.; and *The Pioneers*, Julian Mountain, 9s., the classic New Zealand novel, "Superb", (*Frank O'Connor*), from

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the German occupation: they are simple people and the poet tells of them with a simplicity which is both sincere and cleverly contrived. To this end of simplicity of manner, he uses considerable artifice, as well he may, for artless poetry must be clumsy. His French professor, the head of the family, is clearly and memorably drawn—

He liked to take his after-luncheon slumber  
Beneath the mulberry tree beside the well;  
Coffee, cognac, and books set on a tray,  
Round which the frogs foregathered without number

To croak, from Aristophanes, a spell  
That always worked, because he knew the play.

If this is a first-impact point, it also has something of the quality of a painting by one of the Primitives and its apparent naïveté comes of care which the poet is at pains to conceal.

Mr. Church does not write of war from the narrow angle of nationalism, or even of ideology, but of war which happens to human beings. There is both good and evil in his French family, good and evil in the German soldiery. He is concerned with human love and the tragedy which is engendered by the weakness of those who love and who need love. His story moves, with tenderness about its tragedy, to a conclusion of a greater dignity than we have come to expect of plots of war and occupation. Mr. Church convinces: he is holding out a grain of the truth which is precious and not to be ignored.

Mr. Hamilton's problems, in his four dramatic sketches under the title of *Crazy Gaunt*, were more purely technical. He has taken the burden of communication entirely upon the human voice (*Senior & Co.*, one of these sketches, has already been broadcast). The demand of voice-drama is onward movement, which must have its minor crises while still moving towards the major crisis. The listener's mind must always move, onward and upward:

It storms through  
The veins and muscles. It melts away  
The separate life. It makes a crowd  
One great animal soul.

With such technical care, such

thoughtful use of words with cumulative effect, Mr. Hamilton has solved his problems. In the first two sketches, *Senior & Co.* and *Man in the Basement* the aim is purely dramatic, but, in *Crazy Gaunt* and *Thirty-Eight Sickbed* his purpose is to leave behind the idea which breeds and feeds thought: in each purpose he succeeds.

JOHN ARLOTT.

**PEGUY AND LES CAHIERS DE LA QUINZAINE**, by Daniel Halévy. Translated by Ruth Bethell. Dennis Dobson. 12s. 6d.

**MODERN FRENCH LITERATURE, 1870-1940**, by Professor Denis Saurat. Dent. 12s. 6d.

Charles Péguy was killed in action on September 5, 1914, at the age of forty-one. At that time even those who knew him best could hardly have foreseen how great his influence was to become. In 1940, and subsequently, it was to Péguy that his compatriots turned for a pattern of integrity, and a spiritual vision, that might sustain them in days when accepted values seemed to be crumbling. It was in his writings that the men of the resistance found the embodiment of their aspirations for that new and better France in which Péguy had so fervently believed.

Daniel Halévy's book was first published in 1918, and was considerably revised before the appearance of the last edition in 1941. He was a friend and colleague of Péguy, and he writes with much sympathy and insight; he helps us to understand the qualities which gave Péguy his remarkable ascendancy: his single-mindedness, his inability to compromise, his childlike and lovable nature, his fine humanity. An intense patriot, and yet one devoid of selfish nationalism; a socialist who stood apart and refused to accept the limitations of party discipline; a Catholic whose beliefs transcended those of orthodoxy—Péguy was all this, and by terms a poet, printer, publisher, pamphleteer, philosopher and soldier

of France.

Péguy's independence of spirit led him to establish the *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* which were published from 1900 to 1914. They provided the opportunity for him to engage in his passionate onslaught against every form of materialism, corruption and injustice. He found his greatest fulfilment, however, not in controversy, but in his lifelong devotion to Joan of Arc. It is in the "mysteries" that he wrote in her honour, and in those celebrating the divine virtue of hope, that some of his most characteristic utterances are to be found.

Péguy's prose style is not an easy one; it is marked by constant repetitions which in any author of less sincerity, might appear only a tedious device. His poetry too—and in his later years it was with poetry that Péguy was increasingly concerned—is often diffuse and obscure. His writing has the naïve quality of legends or folklore, although it is free from any archaic affectation, and it is in fact completely personal in its rhythms and cadence. It contains many lines of singular beauty, especially those which speak of death and sacrifice. Péguy appears to have had a foreknowledge of his own approaching death, and with it he acquired a sense of peace and exaltation:

*Heureux ceux qui sont morts dans les grandes batailles,  
Couchés dessus le sol à la face de Dieu,*

as he wrote in December, 1913.

This book is the first full-length study of Péguy to appear in English, and the publishers are to be congratulated on their undertaking. The translation maintains a very fair general level, although in a number of places more satisfactory renderings could be found; for instance "*avilissement*" is translated by "vilification," a sense not familiar in current English, since degradation or debasement is what is meant. There is some tendency to use colloquial expressions inappropriately, and to employ adjectives which do not convey the meaning of the original: for instance

"raw, frowning pages" for "*pages coléreuses et sanglantes*."

Professor Saurat has written a very lively account of the trends and personalities in modern French literature, full of quips and paradoxical statements, unexpected analogies and vigorous judgments. He fires them off in a rapid fusillade, and the reader has hardly recovered his breath before yet another reputation is brought low—among them Sainte-Beuve, Brunetière, Maupassant, Huysmans, Paul Bourget and Claudel. Of the short story, Professor Saurat says that it is doubtful whether it is "a literary game at all. It may be that it was merely meant by nature and providence to fill two columns in a newspaper in times when paper is cheap and real news insufficient." He has no sympathy for what he calls the industrialization of literature, or for any writing that loses its true literary quality by being made to serve as the instrument of politics or religion. His regard is primarily for what may be called "pure" literature—hence his appreciation of Mallarmé and Valéry. In the novel, Professor Saurat's preferences go to Zola, Loti, Anatole France, Rolland, Gide, Duhamel, Jules Romains, and above all to Proust. About all these authors he has some illuminating and suggestive criticism. The account of the younger novelists might well be longer, and Montherlant occupies a rather unduly large proportion of it. There is no mention of Colette. Professor Saurat concludes with a general assessment of the whole period, and stresses intellectual courage and love of truth as two of its outstanding characteristics.

CHARLES GOULD.

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## BOOKS ON THE TABLE

THAT antimony, bauxite, cadmium, chrome, platinum, pyrites and uranium should be included in A DICTIONARY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (*Methuen*. 8s. 6d.) is a woeful sign of the times. Space, however, is given to rice, wheat and olive oil, which at first sight seems to restore the balance. While coffee too has its statistics, presumably because it can be burnt in eras of over-production, there is no heading for tea; can it be that this will not reach international status until India becomes self-governing? This useful little encyclopaedia of events and trends which A. M. Hyamson has compiled should not be far from the elbow of anyone who needs world facts in a hurry.

## Polish problems

A student of Polish affairs, who has frequently written on the subject in THE FORTNIGHTLY, Mr. Foster Anderson has published his diary for three months in 1946, WHAT I SAW IN POLAND (*Windsor Press*. 8s. 6d. Paper cover). To present some facets of life in that long-tortured country he uses all of his own philosophic approach. Yet, as he says, "statistics, however reliable, are not enlightening without some knowledge of the emotional background of the people to whom they refer." The day-to-day experiences of a man so individual in character and outlook could not fail to make an absorbing record, and this in spite of distracting misprints. Probably his new book which is promised shortly, dealing with the "eastern frontier of Europe", will have the added benefit of more careful proof-reading.—In POLAND AND THE BALTIC (*Polish Institute for Overseas Problems*. 21s.) Colonel Baginski, coming further west, claims that the Oder Basin should be part of Poland and of "the independent federation of Central Europe." As Alan Graham, M.P., says in his Introduction, this book (which is an enlarged edition

of one published in 1942) shows that "free access to a free Baltic is the *sine qua non* of a free and independent Poland." The comprehensive maps and the bibliography at the end of each part are valuable. But it must be stated bluntly that the price of this and the former book seems to be high.

## Welcome reprints

*Dent* in commencing a new edition of Joseph Conrad's work reminds one that Poland has glories no less than her pains. YOUTH, HEART OF DARKNESS, THE END OF THE TETHER, LORD JIM, THE MIRROR OF THE SEA and A PERSONAL RECORD are already available in three volumes (6s. each volume) and this generation should use the opportunity to become acquainted with Conrad. Someone has said that his style is self-conscious, which is taken to be complimentary; for though English was to Conrad a foreign language, it could be wished that more British writers to-day tried to express their thoughts in the mother tongue with his clarity, precision and power.—This seems the place to call attention to another republished "classic"—Jane Austen's PERSUASION (*Williams & Norgate*. 8s. 6d.), introduced by Angela Thirkell, who reviews the book acutely and puts it into perspective with the other Jane novels. If not one of the best, yet in it for the first time is seen a refusal to contemplate permanent happiness, so that "Miss Austen, with her last words, speaks in a new voice." The binding, with the lettering on the front cover, is so complementary to the book that it is a delight to handle it.

## Days that are no more

Jane would have been at ease describing LORD GOSCHEN AND HIS FRIENDS, for theirs was that safe, Victorian world where, as Sir Shane Leslie says in his introduction to these letters, edited by Percy Colson (*Hutchinson*. 21s.), "con-

suls of course give the temperature of the British Empire." This makes a lively scrapbook of the nineteenth century with its facsimile handwritings and its photographs of the eminent in literature, politics or society, interspersed with a host of stories recalled as asides by the editor. Being a Chancellor of the Exchequer to the good Queen had its compensations apparently.—In a different but equally comfortable Victorian circle lived M. V. Hughes whose autobiographical studies, published between 1934 and 1937, have now become a trilogy which she calls A LONDON FAMILY (*Oxford University Press*. 15s.). Her account makes one sigh for a world one never knew, where people were not averse to depending on their own resources for pleasure, and where it was taken for granted that life was for giving as well as for snatching. This forever vanished age is recreated with the charm of simplicity and must arouse in the thoughtful a nostalgia, an envy or an uneasy wondering—according to age.

## Damage and reparation

Still in the nineteenth century, we turn to CHARLES CANNING WINMILL by his daughter (*Dent*. 15s.). He was thirty-six when Victoria died and had already begun to impress his contemporaries as an architect opposed to the popular drastic repair of ancient buildings. A pioneer in the type of restoration which is now practised as a commonplace, his influence is particularly seen in church work. His daughter seems to have inherited his lovable commonsense, and keeps her pride in him within bounds. The quiet story she tells is embellished with his own sketches, extracts from his letters and numerous photographs.—In 1923 Winmill let his imagination turn to a new London:

... think of a St. Paul's, white with a gold dome, and colour to make the whole place sing... and lived to know it twice struck by bombs. ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL IN WAR TIME by the Very Reverend W. R.

Matthews (*Hutchinson*. 10s. 6d.) gives a complete history from 1939, with some fine illustrations, of air raid precautions there. Other people's firewatching of course was always more exciting, and duty even in Adelphi certainly yielded no such adventures as befell the St. Paul's Watch. But what a place to catch the imagination—passages, crypt, great spaces, dome—and to echo the footsteps in the dead of night, apart from any sounds above! A chapter on damage and reparation, contributed by W. Godfrey Allen, F.R.I.B.A., Surveyor to the Fabric, goes back to the first sign of defects nearly 250 years ago and forward to the time when temporary repairs will have given place to "major reconstruction". That time will be hastened by the sale of this book, whose royalties go to the Cathedral Restoration Fund.

## Two kinds of short poems

It is good to see THE SHORTER POEMS OF WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR, selected and edited by J. B. Sidgwick (*Cambridge University Press*. 6s.). Particularly helpful is the biographical sketch, assessing the anomalous place occupied by Landor in English literature, which constitutes the editor's introduction. Though his nearly ninety years were contemporaneous with the Romantic revival he was entirely uninfluenced by lake poet and pre-Raphaelite and remained steeped in classicism. It is said of this life-long rebel and egoist that the scholar and the philosopher showed "too starkly in his writings. He made no concessions to fools" and the common reader therefore neglects him. To be praised for his perfect prose, the disciplines of which illumine the verse he wrote for relaxation, and not to be read, seems to be, as Mr. Sidgwick says, "undeservedly shabby treatment."—Another collection of short poems is to be found in THE MOUNTAIN by Geoffrey Johnson (*Williams & Norgate*. 8s. 6d.). These for the most part are untouched by post-war topicalities; only here and there is a compromise, as:

And for our exile, till our minds are sweet,  
Build us a town amid the wheat.  
Concerned with the elementals ("The  
earth lover", "The mares", "Where  
the village ends", "Jubilate" for ex-  
amples), Mr. Johnson's absorption in  
country things is pushing ahead his busi-  
ness of being a poet. He sometimes  
works too hard to polish the pedestrian  
thought but the indispensable industry  
is his in such abundance that his full  
development cannot long be delayed.

#### Relentless clockwork

In *BEACH RED* (*Michael Joseph*. 7s. 6d.) Peter Bowman makes the experiment of cutting up his story, of the landing on a Japanese-held island told by an American soldier, into ten word lengths. His preface explains his reasons for this behaviour thus:

Since the passing of time forms a back-ground for events, each line of prose, ten words long, indicates a second, and by a logical extension of the pattern, each 60-line chapter represents a minute. The time scheme . . . serves merely to introduce the subtle tyranny of the military timetable and to highlight the relentless clockwork which sets a battle in motion.

And it should be said immediately that the method works—the reader is caught up by the gathering excitement, shares the thoughts that assail the man who goes into action, leaps to the grim humour of: "Battle doesn't determine who is right. Only who is left", and sees through his eyes with a photographic sharpness that: "People don't know how to live. They only have suspicions." The author endears by his honesty—"each line of prose" kills any prejudice that what follows will be indigestible slabs of blank verse. It would be a pity if the growing boredom with war experiences should cause this book to seem anachronistic. In vulgar par-

lance it truly deserves to "catch on".

#### The river of life

As a commentary on the statistics of child delinquency, and the recent cases of cruelty to children, Winston Clewes's *SWEET RIVER IN THE MORNING* (*Michael Joseph*. 9s. 6d.) appears at the appropriate time. Young Charlie Balcum is bound over for theft and at the age of seventeen takes to burglary. Without for a sentence sacrificing the first requirement of a novel that it shall tell a story the author shows more convincingly than any official document could do how the "sweet river" of John Donne's imagining grows muddled. The tale is told in reverse, from the moment when after breaking the window with his elbow the boy mutters: "Well—stone the crows. Bloody thing's open all the time." This backwards device serves to throw up the scattered forces which have combined to bring Charlie to crime, and leaves any psychologist's meagre findings a long way behind. The details seem to be observed perfectly; the uncouth speech and lack of vocabulary are exactly reproduced. The "grown-ups" too—Mr. Gladstone, who owned the factory, and his mother, Balcum senior, Charlie's stepmother, Mrs. Jessel and her Alice who, though only Charlie's age, expounds the worldliness in keeping with her upbringing—each is clearly identifiable. There are no stock characters or props for prejudice in this novel and so cumulative is the mingled horror, pity and disgust of the reader that the ending, arrived at without knowing what is to become of young Charlie, is unbearable. Perhaps Mr. Clewes intends to tell us later. The strength of his book of course is that he betrays no horror, pity and disgust.

GRACE BANYARD.

# THE FORTNIGHTLY

MARCH, 1947

## THE EXPOSURE OF ENGLAND

By WILLIAM RYDAL

THE crisis over fuel which burst like a thunder-clap on February 7 may yet be turned to good account. It has compelled the Labour Party—and indeed the country as a whole—to face up to the grim facts of Britain's economic situation and put first things first. As Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, one of the Party's ablest 'young men', said in the debate on February 10, it has brought home for the first time to the general public, to the workers—what the Minister of Fuel and Power entirely failed to do—the narrow margin of safety on which post-war Britain is operating.

This is no time for recrimination between the political parties—the chain of causes for the actual debilitation of the coal industry goes back twenty or, if you like, fifty years—but it is a time for frankness; and it is precisely in this respect that Mr. Shinwell, and indeed the Government as a whole, lamentably failed. Belatedly the *Daily Herald*, in its issue of February 8, came out with the exhortation 'tell the people'—but thereafter jerked back on to the party line. The indictment was well and truly made, however, by the Parliamentary correspondent of the Socialist weekly, *Tribune*, who, in a brilliant evocation of the shade of Mr. Lloyd George, trounced the Government for its craven fear of trusting the people. The offence is no less heinous than was that of Mr. Baldwin ten years ago who, on his own admission, feared to reveal to our democracy the grievous plight of Britain's armaments. Moreover, Mr. Shinwell's gamble and refusal to court unpopularity by a timely rationing system for fuel and power stands out the more glaringly in contrast with the decision of his colleague, Mr. Strachey, last summer in favour of bread rationing. The Minister's defence (made at his press conference on the day after the crisis broke) that "rationing was not introduced at the end of summer because everyone would have got too little" is surely the lamest imaginable excuse, and even the White Paper issued on February 21 does not demonstrate a complete understanding of what must now be done.

The facts are these. Production of coal in this country had been decreasing steadily year by year before war broke out in 1939. This was due partly to the old-world organization of the industry, the selfishness and rigid conservatism of the coal-owners, on which the Samuel Report and the Sankey Commission had thrown a revealing light; partly to defective and obsolete machinery, on which the Reid Report dilated: but mainly to the state of mind of the miners themselves as a section of the national community, a psychological

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'fixation' which made them regard life in the mines as a helot existence, from which the younger generation must at almost any cost escape. Moreover, it disposed them to view any measures for improvement of conditions short of nationalization of the mines as victimization. In 1939 the number of men at work in the mines had dwindled to 800,000. By the end of 1940 it was only about 700,000—and the decision to draft miners into the forces led to a further etiolation of the industry. Thus, as Mr. Attlee recalled in his statement to the House of Commons on February 10, for the ensuing five years Britain was bound to face a critical position every winter owing to insufficient stocks of coal. The crisis was overcome during the war years, thanks to the drastic closing of non-essential industries, the black-out and the expedient of double summer time, which considerably curtailed demand. But, with the return to peacetime conditions it was bound to recur—and the greater was likely to be the deficiency of stocks, the more successful the production drive. That in itself explains why, while the country did not sustain any serious dislocation in the winter of 1945-46, it could not hope to "scrape through" this year.

In the circumstances the Government was entirely right to give its attention chiefly to purifying the fetid psychological atmosphere of the industry—in a word to nationalization, at the same time setting in train the necessary large-scale and long-term re-organization which, America tells us, will take a matter of twenty years. And, by the same token, there is everything to be said for seeking to secure a higher level of wages, particularly for the face workers, as one or two of the Labour speakers counselled in the Debates on February 7 and 10. But these considerations of morale, important though they are for the specific problem of attracting recruits, ought never to have blinded Mr. Shinwell—as apparently they did—to the grim material facts. The statistics were there to point the warning: the country started the winter of 1946-47 with only eleven million tons of coal in stock as against fourteen millions at the same time the previous year. Mr. Douglas Jay in the House of Commons last October had indeed predicted that on those figures by March 1947 stocks would have been reduced to only one week's supply. Thus, the failure of the Government to relate this supply situation to the inevitably mounting demand for fuel and power—and to its total economic policy—was unpardonable. And, if only the public had been taken into confidence by being given all the facts, there was a cast-iron case for the imposition last summer of appropriate restrictions on both industrial and domestic consumption of fuel and power so as to build up adequate stocks: especially when there was already in existence a points rationing plan, prepared by Sir William Beveridge in 1942, which had received the warm commendation of the then President of the Board of Trade (who is now Chancellor of the Exchequer) and which would have been introduced then, it appears, but for the stern and unyielding opposition of the Conservative Party upholding private interests, to which Mr. Churchill bowed.

It is not only in the matter of enlightening the nation on actual stocks and

requirements that Mr. Attlee's Government has fallen down. Much more needs to be said about the extreme vulnerability of Britain in her efforts to rebuild her shattered economic estate. And not through White Papers only, which, by definition, are taken as read by the unthinking public, but through the equivalent of Roosevelt's fireside chats from some Cabinet Minister. The country is suffering now for the over-hasty manner in which the Government committed us to the Washington Agreements of December 1945: how few people, outside the expert sphere, appear to be conscious of the immense liabilities which were thereby incurred. Mr. R. P. Schwarz has detailed in *THE FORTNIGHTLY*\* the extent of those liabilities and has made the specific point that both the Credit Agreement and the Trade proposals represent a considerable encroachment on the financial, economic and hence political, sovereignty of Britain: they signified, he wrote, "the complete dependence of this country on her unique lender during the most crucial first years of the post-war period when fundamental decisions of policy will have to be taken." The Socialist rebels who berate Mr. Bevin for a foreign policy which, to all intents and purposes, makes Britain into a satellite of the mighty U.S.A. might reasonably be asked to face up to the unpalatable economic and financial facts. What more can be asked of the Foreign Secretary, so long as the parlous economic plight of this country continues to be what it is, than that he keeps his wicket up—no use expecting any forcing strokes?

There was a good case to be made out against a Britain heading for Socialism accepting that condition of subordination: and many of us consider that, had Mr. Attlee's Government then had the courage of their convictions, stated the grim facts of our post-war legacy and called upon the people to accept a yet greater measure of privations in order to avoid it they would have found a ready response. English people, essentially pragmatic, will always understand the need for cutting one's coat according to the cloth. But the Labour Party missed that opportunity: and now it will be—is being—forced, in the different circumstances prevailing—that is, with England as a pauper depending on highly capitalist America—to cut the coat of its fancy according to the (American) cloth.

What that means in relation to the coal crisis, was set forth in a masterly letter by Professor Lionel Robbins published in *The Times* of February 14. Let us not hear so much about deficient stocks, he says, but appreciate that the root of the trouble is deficient supply. And, that being so, immediately the war was over the increase of coal production should have been marked at Priority No. 1: the only way to secure this increase *quickly* was to augment the numbers employed in the industry. He then goes on to discuss the coal shortage in relation to its effect on our external balance:

If we do not succeed in increasing our over-all exports by at least 75 per cent. before the dollar credits run out we shall be faced with external bankruptcy. We shall not

\* *The Anglo-American Agreements*. February 1946.

be able to get the food and materials we need. We shall not be able to meet our external commitments. Yet our export drive is being throttled for want of coal and throttled for want of the other scarce materials, particularly steel and timber, which we could procure from abroad if only we had coal for export . . . . All the finicking discussion of the gap between production and "requirements" of which we have heard so much in recent months . . . . assumes exports of token magnitude. Could blindness to the real requirements of our very desperate position go further? . . . .

With another 100,000 men, native or foreign, in the mines, he concludes, all this could be remedied. It is a question of somehow getting back to the pre-war level of coal exports which would earn the country so many tens of millions of pounds worth of foreign exchange per annum. This is strong meat. But Professor Robbins speaks truth. And the gravamen of the charge against the Labour Government is that not a cheep has come from any of the Ministers concerned with trade and production on this aspect of the problem. Coal for export is not on the agenda. It is not even specified as a desideratum in the White Paper. Yet, as Professor Robbins says, it can be done; difficulties of greater magnitude were overcome during the war, and it is inconceivable that any obstacle, technical or psychological, should be allowed to stand in the way.

Apart from the Government's Public Relations failure, however, there is another aspect of the coal crisis which requires special consideration, particularly as it may prove to have significant political repercussions. Members of Parliament of all parties have complained with justice of the neglect to tap the reservoir of potential foreign labour. Now, it is not suggested that foreigners would take so easily to working in England where our ways are peculiar as under Continental conditions—but when the Minister of Labour excused the Government's inaction by prating of the language barrier and the difficulty of finding accommodation, he was just talking nonsense. The real obstacle, as is well known, has been all along the opposition of the miners' union, fearful lest the introduction of foreign labour on any substantial scale should affect the workers' hard-won standards of living. And this is symptomatic. The ostrich mentality of the Trades Unions has not only bedevilled the basic problems of the coal industry, it has hamstrung the Government on many other matters of production and economic policy. Lord Samuel in the House of Lords debate, in his warning that the present crisis had a larger economic setting, had the courage to speak of what many people are coming to say in private—of the "dangerously close connection of the T.U.C. with the Government." It is dangerous because there is abundant evidence—for example, the closed shop agitation—that the trades union movement, as a whole, with its continuing demands for reduced hours and increased wages, has not adjusted itself to the changed economic situation in which there is not an abundance but a shortage of labour; it is being carried along by its own momentum to flout the needs of the emergency. Mr. Attlee's Government can afford to ignore the growling of the Conservative opposition—though the fact must be faced that now for the first time the confidence of the middle-of-the-road opinion which decides

elections has been shaken: the rigid and restrictionist practices of the trades unions, however, may well fatally hamper it in carrying out for industry after industry certain indispensable measures of economic planning.

Whether the time has come for the shattering of the existing party moulds remains to be seen. The Trades Union block vote, as it happens, is probably no longer necessary to the party of the Left, whose big battalions will continue to vote for "their own people", rather like the fans of 'the Arsenal', whatever their form, against any coalition of elements from the Conservative and Liberal parties: Disraeli's "two nations" are more than ever polarized to-day. At all events the exposure of the country's economic predicament which the present crisis has occasioned may prove a salutary shock: neither the Government nor the ordinary man in the street can fail to see that it is now no longer a question of the world standing to marvel at "the expansion of England" but at her terrifying exposedness.



## LIBERALS AND TORIES

BY WALTER JAMES

THE Liberal party has lost many seats, but hardly one of its vices. Chief among them, since Lloyd George did his fatal work, has been a tendency to fission. It is natural, when two parties are out of power, for them to seem less objectionable to each other than does the common enemy, and into this easy and dangerous attitude the Liberals have too often fallen. They can scarcely be said to have fought the 1945 election against Labour; they ignored Labour almost entirely and reserved all their shot for the Tories. Nor was this a sudden piece of electoral strategy. In the months before the election a detestation of the party that had reigned so long had been driving a strong body of Liberals farther and farther to the Left; these were the days of Radical Action and schemes of wholesale planning, hot from Oxford, that would have left the soberer Socialists aghast. Nowadays we hear less of Radical Action and more of alliances between Liberals and Tories. A group of Liberals and Conservatives dined together last year, found much in common and opened conversations. Out of it came a statement drawn up, with judicious Liberal emendation, by a young Conservative M.P. on whom the mantle of Lord Randolph Churchill has only doubtfully descended. This document was modern and emphasized more production; it was Liberal and breathed Free Trade; it was acceptable to both sides, because it expressed their shared odium of the party now in power.

No harm was done as long as these amiable diversions were confined to clubs and drawing rooms in London, but the inevitable indiscretion occurred early in their career and the whole story appeared in a Sunday newspaper, causing disturbance to many loyal Liberals up and down the country. Justifications were pleaded by those responsible; the cause of freedom and the safety of the State were said to be greater than party. But in fact these explanations were unnecessary; all that had happened was that once again two parties out of power had found unbearable the dominion of a third. The spoils of office glittered and an expedient cabal to grasp them was called a defence of freedom. No one can say that the Conservative party is injured by this traffic, which still persists, but what of the other? C. P. Scott said all there is to be said, when he wrote of an earlier understanding between Liberals and Tories:

It is possible to divide the Liberal party for a time and thereby gravely to injure it. It is possible by thus weakening it to drive some of its more active elements out of the party and into the ranks of Labour. It is possible to draw some of its more

conservative elements into direct association, or fusion, with the Conservative party. It is not possible to do any of these things without striking at its life.

And that life of the Liberal party is something this country needs to have preserved. It would be a national and not a sectional loss if a party that sought to base itself on principle, and not on interest, were driven under by the factious indiscipline of some of its own members.

It is a truism that freedom, the principle which Liberalism exists to defend and widen, is in danger to-day. There is no call to see the present Government as especially tyrannous in character, but its Ministers are agents of the new technique of planning, which, though no modern Government can avoid it, contains within itself serious threats to the freedom of the human person. Planning is essential if the material needs of society are to be satisfied, but it is at the same time in conflict with spiritual goods, of which personal responsibility is among the first. It is a new method of ordering society and has burst into our time almost with the impetus possessed by the Industrial Revolution. The immense sacrifice of human values brought about by the sudden change in the methods of production around 1800 must not be repeated in the equally sudden revolution in governmental method which planning involves. But the sacrifice will again be made, and human rights again be ridden down by a new technique, if the dangers to freedom go unrecognized and the battle for it goes unfought. Planning and freedom can exist together, but only if the forces of freedom fight for their place.

Conservatives have astutely judged that the real political issue of the time is between freedom and planning, or, as it might be called in this country, between socialism and liberalism. They are eager to cast themselves for the rôle of freedom's defenders and some of them recently proclaimed their membership of a "party that stands for the preservation of our ancient liberties." For the bulk of Conservatives this means no more than that they should bitterly oppose every form of industrial nationalization and State control. This is a mere rearguard action against the planning technique, which is in the stream of history and may not be rejected, and if it were persisted in the Conservative party would quickly stand out as a self-condemned anachronism. But a handful of Conservatives—those with whom some Liberals are dealing—see deeper than this. They have some perception of the real issues and believe that the proper course for their party is to abandon obstructionism and to accept the forces of social change while moulding them into forms appropriate to a free society.

These Conservatives are few and weak, both in the parliamentary party and in the country, and yet it is for the sake of these men's good graces that certain Liberals are willing to play fast and loose with their own party. They pretend that the young politicians with whom they talk may one day capture the Conservative leadership; they toy with the idea of a Liberal infiltration into the comfortable acres of the Tory domain, so that safe seats and high

principle may once again march together. It is an unworthy folly. As things stand now, the country will not for a moment see in the Conservative party freedom's true defender, and if freedom has no other spokesman its cause is already lost. The Conservative party, like Labour, cannot be taken by anyone as standing mainly for a principle. Both the great parties represent interests and little more; they are the two nations arrayed one against the other, more clearly defined now than they ever were in Disraeli's period. The Conservative party has been proclaimed a bulwark of many things—of monarchy, of constitution, of religion, of empire. But the ordinary man, who decides these matters, judges by what he sees and hears, and if he looks at election time to the Conservative party he sees in its candidates, its supporters and its fleet of cars the outlines not of principle but of wealthy interest, and he sees the truth. These candidates may declare that they are standing for freedom, but the plain voter knows that they are standing for something else as well.

When Conservatives begin talking of freedom, it is not a moment for Liberals to seize their hands, but to rejoice that shrewd opponents should have sensed that the weapons in the Liberal arsenal, which have long been rusting out of public notice, are going to be of value in the political campaigns of the immediate future. Liberalism and its values have suffered long neglect. Under the pressure of the wind that has blown from Russia, from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy through the world, men are being attracted once more by that conception of political freedom combined with a respect for the dignity and rights of each human person which is the crowning achievement of the West. To no guides should they be able to turn with more confidence than to Europe's Liberal parties, and particularly so in this country. That men are so turning may be seen especially in the universities, where the Liberal clubs are as flourishing as they were dead half a generation ago, but that they are receiving the guidance they have a right to expect may be doubted. As has been suggested, some modern Liberals seem to have a keener appetite for intrigue and for the mechanics of political advantage than they have for hard thought. This is not the way to pass a period of political eclipse. Borrowing one of the themes from Mr. Toynbee's *A Study of History*, this time of enforced "withdrawal" from the stage of active power should rather be spent in gathering spiritual strength, which is not lightly done, so that when the "return" comes to be made—as an individual Paul or Mahomet made it after solitary meditations—it may not be empty-handed but carry with it something of great political worth.

At present it is more important for Liberals to think than to seek allies. The argument for a party of principle against one of interest falls to the ground if the principle can no longer be understood or declared. It is not enough for Liberals to state their faith in such general truths as these: that the human person is of supreme importance and that although he can realize himself only in community yet he must never be sacrificed as an individual to the commun-

ity's needs, except by his free choice; that human dignity demands the free exercise of responsibility; that personal creativeness in work and leisure is natural to the children of God and that when they are denied outlets for this faculty they become less than men. These are great truths which have sprung out of western history and men are returning to them with a new interest and awareness. But stating them is not the whole duty of the Liberal party. They need to be brought down to earth and applied, or rather, as the power to apply them is presently lacking, the promise of application should stand clearly in the party's programme. This application of their principles in the changed conditions of to-day is the most urgent task facing Liberals, but it is, on the whole, a duty that is not being well performed.

Liberal energies ought to be turned to discovering how personal freedom, responsibility and creativeness may be realised in industrial society. Planning must be accepted; how is it to be democratically controlled? The vote every five years, for which Liberals fought, is not enough; a plan, once made, has successive Governments in its grip. The best means of controlling democratically a national plan need deep consideration, and much can be learnt only from experience, but informed popular discussion and criticism of a new plan will be essential before it is adopted, as will also be some devolution of its administration when launched. Discussion of plans has been invited by Government in the system of White Papers developed during the war. But in most of the debate, as, for instance, over the White Papers introducing the Education and Health Services Bills, it cannot be said that the general public, as the consumer of the new services to be provided at its expense, had a greatly influential part. It is an Athenian democracy that makes a clear division between the "freemen" at the top—in our society the official experts and the professional interests—and the others at the bottom who must take what they are given for their good. Liberals need a policy for adult education, for only an informed people can contribute valuably to the critical discussion which should precede every national plan.

For the proper devolution of a plan's administration new representative bodies, with a recognized place in the structure, seem to be needed. In a large city even the council is remote, and, beyond that, every citizen should himself carry some social responsibility. Faint traces of these new representative bodies may be seen in the tenants' associations which exist on some housing estates and the parents-teachers associations for some schools. These are the institutions, rising from the neighbourhood and able to meet one day in the promised community centres, which could be made to carry some of the administration of a national plan. Fostering their growth and ensuring their power demands first a realization of their importance, then a study of the work they might do, and some grasp of how to persuade an apathetic people why it needs doing at all.

More important than this is to ask how in the field of modern industry a

sense of pride and responsibility in his work may be given to the ordinary man. Discontent with work, through which a man makes his greatest contribution to society, is one of the diseases of our time. Mr. C. G. Renold, the chairman of the new British Institute of Management, has spoken of the need for an "idea of social purpose in industry." Where lies the idea that will set men in Britain once more contentedly to work? It may well be asked why such an idea should be expected, when in the average factory the worker has no sense of ownership or of freedom, where he is asked to carry no form of responsibility, where he is as much a tool as the machine he tends, and has been stripped of every one of those attributes of human dignity for which the Liberal party above all others is supposed to stand. The fine principles of Liberalism seem to have no bearing on industrial life as they are phrased to-day, and the worker may not be despised for judging them so many windy words before the shorter hours and solid benefits which he sees as coming to him from the Labour Party.

It is true that here at least some Liberals have dallied, as even the Conservatives are beginning in their extremity to do, with schemes of co-partnership and profit-sharing combined with an association of workers with management. We may even expect a statement of party policy along these lines. But a policy to restore to the worker some sense of ownership in his place of work, in the tools he uses, and in the product of his hands, and so to right the wrong done at the outset of the factory economy, requires more than statement; it needs careful working out. A policy that depends on exhortation and not on legislation will carry no electoral weight. The Socialists had their idea of common ownership—a fiction, for ownership fades into legal abstraction, without any personal content, when it embraces anything so large as a whole industry—but they had at least some specific plans, as well as many foreign examples, for putting it into practice. Such plans for restoring a real share in ownership to the worker in the only sphere in which it can mean anything to him—his factory unit—the Liberals do not yet possess.

Nor, if they are asked: "What is freedom in education?" or: "What is the freedom proper to a university?", have they clear answers, and if similar questions were put to them about other branches of the national activity on many they would have to stay silent. It is not enough for them to reply that other parties are equally barren in inspiration and that all together are entering the planning age with the haziest ideas of what—beyond purely material advancement—it is likely to bring them and of what it is likely to destroy. The Liberal party calls itself the party of freedom, and in days when all we understand by that word is threatened it should be earnest in its defence. What is wanted to-day is a new idea of freedom, working out naturally in the details of policy, which will draw after it the minds and hearts of men in the same way that the false ideas of nationalism in Germany and of materialist Communism in Russia seized upon the peoples of those countries. For freedom to appear attractive it needs, like nationalism, an enemy. In the last century it

had an enemy worth fighting—privilege—but that enemy was broken more than a few years ago, and for want of an enemy freedom lost something of its appeal. To-day a new enemy is rising in the bureaucratically planning State, and the cause of freedom, again possessing something to fight, is taking on new stature. It needs to have its marching orders clearly framed.

There are men and women now within the Liberal party, and young people joining it, who are ready to take up the challenge delivered to it by the times. These are willing to witness to their faith in the western tradition even if it should cost them place and mean that they are perhaps condemned for their own short lives to be no more than the ineffectual critics of a continuing infatuate desertion of society's higher goods. But they believe also that the opportunities of politics are constantly changing, and that the day may not be so far distant when the real issues (instead of faintly ridiculous arguments from principle for or against nationalization) are grasped by the people, and an uncompromised party which is tied to no interest below that of the whole community may come into a greater influence than it has known during years in which no one can say the country has fared well.

Meanwhile loyalty is as much needed as hard thought. It has been possible to indicate here only one or two of the fields in which a practical reinterpretation of what freedom means is urgently required. For this work to be done demands from Liberals a sacrifice of time to study and to group-work which is far from easy in these days. If they attempt it thoroughly, they will have enough on their hands. How much, then, should it be deplored that some Liberals of ability, instead of addressing themselves to a task of this sort, are spending their energies in a weak caballing with Conservatives in the hope of gaining that power, so long denied them, which they would not know how to use valuably if they won. To scheme for power without striving to deserve it, to think of electoral arrangements instead of electoral policies, to talk about freedom in general without bringing it down to particular applications—all these courses pursued by a small body of Liberals can bring them no more credit than they will advantage. It is assuredly no way to spend a time in which Liberalism's greatest struggle is opening fast.

*(The author was the Liberal candidate for Bury at the General Election of 1945 and is now the prospective Liberal candidate for the same constituency.)*

## THE PLANNING BILL

BY HENRY W. WELLS

WHENEVER I have been asked to explain the compensation-betterment problem I have advised the inquirer to read the Uthwatt Report. The analysis made by the Uthwatt Committee is as lucid as the complexity of the problem permits. A study of the Report's 180 pages is therefore the quickest method of obtaining the necessary background to a proper understanding of the Planning Bill; there is, I am afraid, no short cut. It would therefore be idle for me to pretend that in a few words I can explain to the reader the defects and deficiencies in the existing law. I hope, however, that he is already convinced by the evidence of his own eyes that something is wrong with the present town planning system; that he is shocked when he sees housing estates developing in clearly inappropriate places like red rashes on our rural beauty; that he is ashamed whenever he sees the dirty, treeless, monotonous grey of our industrial towns or the East End of London, and that he is alarmed by the degeneracy of our architecture. If he is not, he will not be interested in what I have to say in the remainder of this article.

The Uthwatt Report's analysis of the faults and deficiencies of the existing law are in general accepted by the experts. The solutions proposed by the Committee have, on the other hand, been the subject of considerable argument and debate. In my opinion the Committee were too much influenced by their view of what was politically possible at the time of writing the Report (1942), and too little by the administrative difficulties and complexities which they must have foreseen would arise out of the acceptance of the solutions proposed. But above all the Report established beyond further doubt that the existing town planning law is unsatisfactory because this law has developed within the financial limitations imposed, first by the necessity of paying the landowner compensation if his land is depreciated as a result of public control or enterprise, and secondly by the difficulty of proving and collecting betterment if his land has appreciated for the same reason. A solution to the twin problem of compensation and betterment is therefore a necessary preliminary to putting town planning law on to a workable basis, which the Bill effectively does. As the Uthwatt solutions were not accepted, either by the Coalition or this Government, because of the difficulty of fitting them into an administrative framework, it is not necessary to refer to them.

Land nationalization, sometimes suggested as the easiest solution, is also administratively inoperative. The Bill is, nevertheless, a first step towards

the ultimate goal of State ownership of the freehold interest in land, and Mr. Dalton blessed it as such in Parliament.

How does the Bill solve the compensation-betterment problem? What will be the practical effect of the solution? These are the questions to which many people require an answer.

In the first place the Bill places a restriction on all land so that it cannot be developed nor its present use changed without permission. In other words, the landowner loses for all time any right in law or equity which he might now have to use his property according to his fancy. Certain obvious exceptions have had to be allowed, for example buildings "connected with the general farming operations" which are required on a farm, and small additions to existing buildings are permitted.

The Government do not admit, indeed by implication they refute the suggestion, that the owner of land has any prescriptive right to use his property according to his fancy. By taking this viewpoint, which is open to doubt, they justify the contention that they need not compensate the owner for any loss which he may suffer because he is prevented from using his land as he wishes. On the other hand they admit that some owners will suffer hardship as a result of this universal restriction, and so £300,000,000 is to be set aside and distributed in five years according, we are told, to the extent of the hardship suffered. I am no lawyer, and cannot therefore comment on the legal soundness of the argument on which this attitude is founded. Nevertheless, I suspect that a legal "nice point" has been deliberately introduced, either to confuse the issue for political reasons, or to surmount some drafting or administrative difficulty.

There is no doubt at all that owners have always in the past sold their land on a basis that assumes considerable freedom about the use to which it can be put, and prices of land consequently reflect the chances of development. Furthermore, under existing town planning and similar legislation any measurable infringement of that freedom has in practice been regarded as compensable, although Mr. Silkin tried to argue to the contrary. His arguments reminded me of the saying: "*Qui s'excuse s'accuse*." While Mr. Dalton admitted that the figure of £300,000,000 had no logical basis, Mr. Silkin went out of his way to defend it with a display of logics having about as much foundation as those used by Mr. Maskelyne or Mr. Devant. He even tried to justify the £300,000,000 as being sufficient to cover the loss to landowners regarding them as a class, not individually; in other words, that it represented Uthwatt's "global sum" as applied to developed and undeveloped land. Why, therefore, it may be asked, does the White Paper on the Bill find it necessary to contend that "owners who lose development value as a result of the passing of the Bill are not on that account entitled to compensation"? The true reason for this attitude is surely as follows.

The absence of any satisfactory basis on which to assess the total amount

of the "global sum" (Uthwatt's method is administratively impossible if applied to developed as well as undeveloped land) forced the Government in the interest of prudent finance, and having regard to the demands on the Exchequer, to limit the total amount of compensation to be paid out. Once having made that decision they had to fall back on the doubtful argument that the owner was not entitled to compensation "of right", because they had no means of telling whether the £300,000,000 would be sufficient to meet the loss of the "right" or not. Either the right of the owner to compensation had to be admitted, in which case the amount to be paid out was unlimited, or the amount had to be limited, in which case no right to compensation could be allowed. If, therefore, the real reason for not admitting the landowners' loss as compensable was that Governments should not sign blank cheques, I do not quarrel with it. Nor can the figure chosen be disputed for there is no means of checking its accuracy. Nevertheless, the Government have not been frank about the reasons that led them arbitrarily to choose a figure.

It would have been more honest if the Government had stated that the national finances did not justify a greater sum than £300,000,000 being gambled on this venture, rather than to have argued that their guess was a fair one to landowners, a contention which certainly has not convinced the landowner that he was having a fair deal.

How the £300,000,000 will be distributed we are not yet informed, for the Bill leaves this important point to regulations. It is to be hoped that a scheme is devised which distributes the amount on an "out-of-pocket basis", that the criterion of hardship is related to an actual cash loss suffered by the landowner as distinct from a loss in land value. For example, a man who purchased land before the Bill was published at a price which included development value will suffer a cash loss on the Bill becoming law, and should therefore be more generously treated than the man who has inherited land near a large town, which he may have no intention of developing because he wishes to reside there, although development value is attached to it. Another example of a cash loss would be where death duties have been paid on development value.

Having appropriated the development rights in all land, the responsibility of fixing "development charges" whenever permission to develop is granted is handed over to a specially created Central Land Board. The Board will have a difficult task, for in many cases there will be no established criteria on which to base the amount of the charge. Where and when the development charges are to be collected, and to a considerable extent their amount, will depend upon the planning authority, that is—the County or County Borough. The Board will not, as far as can be judged from the Bill, be in a position to function as if it owned an interest in land, because the more important functions of land ownership and development such as the nature and size of

the buildings to be erected will be outside its control. Yet the Board should, according to Mr. Silkin, be in the same position as "an owner of land who is negotiating a building lease to an intending developer." Mr. Silkin's idea of how the Board will function does not therefore fit in with the Bill's conception. Under existing law an owner of land who is negotiating a building lease has a very considerable say in the nature, size and form of the building to be erected by the lessee, indeed these factors play a considerable part in determining the ground rent to be paid. The owner of land is thus in a position at the present time to balance the immediate financial return to be gained against other merits of the development such as the benefit to the remainder of his estate; a wise ground landlord will do this, but the Land Board is not empowered to emulate him. There is, therefore, a danger that the Board will degenerate into another tax collecting organization, the amount of the tax being in effect substantially fixed by the planning authorities when they make their planning decisions.

Furthermore, as planning authorities are not directly concerned about the amount of the development charge, they may be tempted to encourage development which although excellent from a theoretical planning aspect is disastrous from the development charge point of view. If this should happen to any extent, the scheme by which it is proposed to recover the £300,000,000 over twenty years by the collection of development charges will be bankrupted in its early stages.

Good planning should take account of finance, yet the Bill places planning in the hands of one authority and the financial implications of planning decisions in the hands of another. I am not opposed to the proposal of a Central Land Board. The arguments in favour of centralizing both the distribution of the £300,000,000 and the collection of the development charges are overwhelming, but I do suggest that the Bill should provide for a simple administrative link between the planning authorities and the Board, which would at least enable the Board's financial outlook to play its proper part in planning decisions. The Board must be a live body, but to be this its functions must not be limited to accountancy, nor must it be strangled by the Treasury or a Treasury outlook. Some machinery must be provided which enables it to function in practice as a ground landlord. This could have been largely achieved if the Board was a central purchasing authority which bought and held all publicly owned land, but no doubt this was considered and turned down as being too damaging to the status of local authorities.

It is true that the Board on the Minister's authorization has powers to purchase land with the object of disposing of it for development, but not holding it. This would seem to be a reserve power by which the Minister is able, through the Central Land Board, to step in and secure development in any case where the local authority is not anxious to take this course for political reasons. It would not appear to give the Board any real say in planning

policy or decisions.

It would be out of place in this article to examine in detail the new planning system proposed by the Bill, and only possible because the Bill provides a solution to the compensation-betterment problem. In general, however, the proposed new system has met with approbation. The transfer of planning functions to the larger units of local government is welcomed as sensible. The obligation to prepare a development plan within three years, and review it every five years, is undoubtedly theoretically good, but may break down because of shortage of technical man-power.

The success of the new planning system depends almost wholly on the wise use of the compulsory purchase powers granted to local authorities by the Bill. The strengthening of these powers and their use became necessary as a result of the solution to the compensation-betterment problem. This is so for the following reasons.

Whereas under the existing law the driving force which normally brought about new development was generated by private enterprise, under the system proposed in the Bill it must in future be generated by the local authorities. This is so because by appropriating the development value of all the land, the State have removed the incentive of the landowner to sell his land for development. "Why", the owner will say, "should I sell my farm for house building when I shall only be paid its farm value? For all I know its value may increase as farm land. I will therefore hang on to it."

Before the war building land was continuously available because there were always owners anxious to "cash in" on their development value. Under the Bill this value, or at any rate the greater portion of it, is collected by the State by way of development charge. It follows that when the Bill becomes law land may more often than not have to be made available by compulsion. Thus some machinery had to be included in the Bill to take the place of the profit incentive which previously made land available for development. The Bill solves this difficulty by very substantially increasing the powers of compulsory acquisition, by empowering planning authorities to "designate" land as "subject to compulsory purchase" in their development plans, and generally enabling land to be purchased by public authorities with as much ease as possible. Once the land has passed into public ownership the freehold will normally remain publicly held, the developer taking a lease of the land from the local authority. It is therefore probable that in future most new development will take place on publicly owned land, although the agency for the actual development may still be largely private enterprise.

The compulsory purchase powers could be used as a threat to force owners to sell direct to developers. Personally, I would rather see local authorities face up to their responsibilities and buy the land required for development, than use the acquisition powers given to them as a form of blackmail, a course which might easily lead to widespread chicanery.

I should not like to feel that any comments made here give the impression that taken as a whole the Bill is a bad measure. Such criticisms as I have are directed for the most part towards its short term effect, although the Bill is by its very nature concerned primarily with a long term problem. The part of the Bill with which this article is mostly concerned—the solution to the compensation-betterment problem—provides for a preliminary surgical operation which is bound, I believe, however carefully performed, to hurt and leave some sort of scar. But once this initial necessary operation has been carried out, the way is opened to the growth of a healthy and relatively simple planning administration. The Bill provides what is necessary by way of legislation to enable our towns to be decently planned, and our countryside suitably protected against spoliation in the years of national reconstruction ahead, although improvements in detail can, and no doubt will, be made in Committee. But there remains unsolved the problem of finding capable technicians to ensure that the planning itself as well as its administration is efficient.

Mr. Silkin has proved himself to be a realistic Planning Minister; he is master of his subject. But it must be emphasized that the statutory planning machine which he is creating, however excellent it may be, will break down with disturbing results unless the technicians both locally and centrally can be found quickly enough in quality and quantity. That this will be impossible is the greatest fear.

Finally—the passing of the Bill into law should, in view of its importance and effect on every aspect of our national life, entitle the Planning Minister to be raised to Cabinet rank. The Ministry of Town and Country Planning cannot function as the "central Planning Authority" unless it is represented in the Cabinet, and not just called in for consultation.

(Mr. H. W. Wells, F.S.I., F.A.I., is a partner in the well-known firm of Chesterton & Sons, the surveyors and estate agents, and was formerly chief Estates Adviser to the Ministry of Town and Country Planning.)



## SOME CRITICISMS OF THE CURTIS REPORT

BY LADY ALLEN OF HURTWOOD

A rich patron was presenting prizes to the children in a Home. "How beautiful," she said, "they all look alike; they might be one child."

THE long awaited Curtis Report was signed in August 1946 and published in the middle of September. It has been very widely read; nearly 27,000 copies have been printed by the Stationery Office, but the comments have been strangely few. Most of the articles and reports in the press have merely summarized the Report.

Before making my comments I should like to mention a few of the changes that occurred after the public agitation started in July 1944, and before the Report was published. The tragedy of this story is that local authorities and voluntary homes should have needed a public outburst of indignation to cause them, so hurriedly, to attempt to put their houses in order.

Since July 1944 a large number of voluntary organizations and Homes have changed their name. The Charity Organization Society is now the Family Welfare Association; the Waifs and Strays is now the Church of England Children's Society (I have not yet been able to discover what connection they have with the Church of England which entitles them to this name); the Foundling Hospital for illegitimate children is now Coram's Fields; the Gordon Boys Home and Orphanage and the Albert Boys School and Orphanage have both dropped the "Orphanage", and so the long list goes on.

One heavily endowed Charity abolished the conspicuous and regimented dress worn by the children and clothed them like human beings. One opened its gates and allowed the children to enjoy ordinary school holidays, for the first time since its foundation, with the foster parents with whom they had lived until they were five years old. Yet another had gone so far as to appoint, for the first time, I believe, certificated teachers on to its school staff. The Home Office at least doubled its Inspectorate.

A more tangible improvement could be noticed in the change of heart and the whole spirit in which the problem surrounding these children was being tackled by local committees and organizations. There was a great outpouring of generous offers of help from the public, many offered to act as "Uncles" and "Aunts", others to work with the children, and to set up small family homes. The London County Council, writing to a potential "Uncle" said: "All the children concerned in the Council's residential schools and Children's

Homes now have Aunties or Uncles." (My italics).

There is a fine feeling for children running like a thread throughout the Curtis Report: I welcome the great humaneness and understanding, but I cannot welcome all the recommendations. To my mind they fall far short of what is needed, and it is unfortunate that this golden opportunity to suggest far-reaching reforms was not more bravely taken.

In making my comments I do not wish to attempt to assess the merits or the demerits of the care given by local authorities or by voluntary organizations. The Report is very favourably inclined to the voluntary organizations and the weight of its indictment is quite definitely thrown against the local authorities. On page 27 it can be seen that apart from homeless evacuees and the ineducable mentally disordered, there appear to be approximately 31,000 children cared for in "Local Authority Institutions" and 39,000 in "Voluntary Homes and Hospitals", and yet the Report devotes forty pages to the local authority Homes and only seventeen to the voluntary organization Homes. The summing up of its attitude to the voluntary organizations can be found in Para. 233, which says: "If in *any degree* the voluntary Homes fail in their special purpose, it is in giving too much weight to *traditional* methods and too little to the modern outlook in child-care." (My italics). And yet, when speaking of the voluntary organizations these sentences also occur: "The Homes which attempt to split their children into groups, especially family groups, were few." (Para. 233). "The encouragement of friendships and acquaintanceships outside the Home is still found infrequently and in some Homes the children were not allowed or not encouraged to join outside organizations." (Para. 256).

I believe that there are certain principles that should govern the care of *all* children who have lost their home background, whether they are in the care of a local authority or of a voluntary organization. The Report does not recommend equal safeguards for both groups of children. Those under the care of a voluntary organization are excluded from many of the recommendations.

The first principle is that they must be given a stable and secure status within the State. Every child who has lost his home background should have a legal guardian appointed by a Court. This is not so to-day. The Curtis Committee suggest that the local authority should be the legal guardian of the children under its care, if a suitable relation or other person is not available. (Para. 425 ii). They also suggest, however, that the Head of an approved voluntary Home should be appointed the legal guardian to the children under the care of a voluntary organization. (Para. 425 ii). This legal-binding of a child to a voluntary organization is, I am sure, wrong in principle. The whole essence of our desires for these children is that they should be placed in the environment most suited to their needs. A voluntary organization may be so limited in its provision that it cannot have the diverse facilities available, and the child may

therefore suffer through lack of opportunity or by unsuitable placing. And consider this further point. Para. 65 says "*A large proportion of the children who have no homes of their own are cared for by charitable organizations.*" (My italics). Many voluntary organizations refuse to allow their children to be adopted or to be boarded out, and since these two methods are the type of care most strongly recommended by the Curtis Committee, it would indeed be tragic if children under the care of some of the voluntary organizations should be denied the opportunity of living in a normal family group. I maintain that every child who has no natural or testamentary guardian, wherever placed, should become a ward of the community and that all the safeguards devised for local authority children should apply equally to the children under the care of voluntary organizations. The second principle is that one Government Department should be responsible for the supervision and welfare of the children and should initiate forward-looking policies. This principle has now been fully accepted by the country, the Government and the Curtis Committee (Recommendation 5). It is interesting to recall that during the lifetime of the Coalition Government, which went out of office in June 1945 before the Curtis Committee had got under way, all political parties had then agreed that one Government Department should be responsible, although no announcement was made in the House of Commons.

I do not like the recommendation that an *ad hoc* committee be set up to solve the confusion, at the local authority end (Recommendation 14). I should prefer to see the proposed Children's Officer appointed to the staff of the Director of Education. The realistic solution is probably to invite each local authority to submit their own scheme. The setting up of an *ad hoc* committee would tend to create a kind of vested interest in deprived children. The Education Committee should be more interested in doing away with the causes which lead to deprivation and, consequently, would regard the fewness of deprived children as a testimonial to the efficiency of their work.

The third principle is that the entire maintenance cost of all wards of the community (and that, in my opinion, should include all the children under review) should be borne by the exchequer. There can be no equality of opportunity if these children have to depend, as at present, on the poverty or wealth of a County or County Borough, or upon the poverty or wealth of a voluntary organization. In Para. 228 occurs this sentence: "Financial stringency, however, often limits the amenities that the independent Home is able to offer." The fate of these children should no longer continue to rest on parochialism or on charity. I therefore disagree with the section in Para. 432 of the Curtis Report which says: "We assume that all the various services to the deprived child will in future be subject to exchequer grant and that this will relieve difficulties arising from the small financial resources of certain authorities" (my italics). The voluntary organizations are not, it appears, included in the grant.

The Committee attach great importance to establishing and maintaining

continuing personal relations between the child and the official of the local authority responsible for looking after him. (Para. 445). They therefore recommend the appointment of a Children's Officer of high standing and qualifications. They go so far as to say that: "This may indeed be said to be our solution of the problem referred to us" (Para. 441). It is therefore surprising to find that this person, whom the Committee call the "pivot" of the whole organization, is not to have the same individual relationship to children under the care of voluntary organizations. Why should these children not enjoy the safeguard and the individual interest of the Children's Officer? The Report suggests that voluntary organizations should appoint their own officers, but that is a very different matter. The Children's Officer of the local authority will have all the weight and authority of the central Government to back her up, for her appointment will be subject to approval by them. This will not be so in the case of the Officers appointed by the voluntary organizations.

The fourth principle is that every child should, as far as possible, be absorbed into the full life of the community. There is much to say on this all-important problem, but I must content myself with a few passing observations.

The method of care most preferred by the Curtis Committee is adoption. This we should all agree is probably the best method of absorbing these children into the community. It is all the more distressing, therefore, to find that the Committee do not urge, with all the weight of their authority, that children under the care of voluntary organizations should be entitled to this form of care. They go so far as to say "that voluntary Homes specializing in one form of child care should not be pressed to change to another." This can only mean that a voluntary organization will still be free to refuse to allow their children to be adopted or boarded out, if they so desire. "*One or two of the large organizations had instituted a system of boarding out*" (my italics: Para. 230) but "others (for example, the National Children's Home and the Catholic Child Welfare Council) differ from the general run of opinion in being averse from doing so as a general policy" (Para. 460). The Scottish Report on Homeless Children (Cmd 6811) known as the Clyde Report, says in paragraph 13: "There appears to be little or no boarding out with foster parents by voluntary Societies" even though this has always been a distinctive feature of Scottish Poor Law administration. And the Curtis Report when speaking of some of the Homes managed by endowed voluntary organizations, says: "In these Homes the children may be kept away from any outside contact or advice for the whole of their childhood . . ." (Para. 229) and in Para. 420: "We found in the children in the foster homes we visited almost complete freedom from the sense of deprivation which we have described among the children in Homes." And yet in Para. 465 they urge that: "A vigorous effort to extend the boarding out system for children in the care of local authorities should in our view be made . . ." Why should not the same effort be made for the children in voluntary Homes?

In the annual report of one of the thirty-four registered Adoption Societies I see that they received ten to twenty applications a day in 1946 from would-be adopters, many of whom they say "were eminently suitable". That is anything from 2,500 to 5,000 applications a year from would-be adopters to one Society only. Yet this Society only effects 330 adoptions a year. Is it from lack of suitable children? Surely that cannot be so, when our Homes and Institutions are full, and there are a thousand illegitimate births every week.

Boarding out with foster parents has many dangers, as we all know. A child placed with foster parents has no certainty that the arrangement will be permanent. He may prove unsuitable or the foster parent may, from personal reasons, wish to be free of the liability. In either case the child may feel little sense of security. In regard to life in Homes the Committee say: "The result in many Homes was a lack of personal interest in and affection for the children which we found shocking. In the older children the effect appeared more in slowness, backwardness and lack of response, and in habits of destructiveness and want of concentration" (Para. 418).

The Committee say they would like to reduce to the lowest limit the number of institutions. A quotation from the recently published Memorandum on Boarding out of Children and Young Persons (Home Office and Ministry of Health, December 12, 1946) passes this reflection on residential Homes:

Foster parents must also be prepared sometimes to find the child lacking in knowledge of the proper use of leisure or property and in respect for the property of other people. *This applies particularly to children who have been for a considerable time in a residential Home where food, clothing and toys are bought and stored centrally.* Such ordinary things in the foster home as kitchen equipment or cupboards may give rise to a curiosity, which may be misunderstood. It will therefore be wise for the foster parent to show the child in the first few days where things are kept and how they work. (My italics).

If this pathetic isolation from the day-by-day affairs of the community is apparent when the children are young, imagine the plight of these children when they are turned out into the world at fourteen or fifteen to "face the unknown battle of life" with no one to show them "where things are kept and how they work."

The Curtis Committee say: "The disadvantages of institutional life can be minimized by the development of the family group system in grouped cottage homes . . ." To my mind grouped cottage homes should be abolished root and branch, except possibly for the "ins and outs" of public assistance. They never can provide the environment that will help the children to become part of the full life of the community. In these artificial villages, the children and the staff are often shut off from the outside community in a world of their own and when many deprived children are grouped together in this way it cannot be possible to allow them the freedom enjoyed by normally placed children. Para. 486 says: "43 per cent. of the children in local authority Homes in 1939 were in grouped Homes." These communities may secure healthy bodies, but

they can never secure healthy minds. There can be no justification, beyond administrative convenience, for using this system a day longer than we need.

As long ago as 1893 grouped cottage homes, which were originally evolved for the "ins and outs" of public assistance, were publicly condemned. The Sheffield Authority then said that "they wished to avoid the fundamental defect of congregating together one class of children by removing them from contact with the world in which they would afterwards have to live." (Dame Henrietta Barnett's *Life of Canon Barnett*.) Sheffield were, I believe, the first authority to evolve the small scattered home as an improvement on the grouped cottage home, and, in their opinion, an improvement on boarding out. That was fifty years ago! Of grouped Children's Homes the Report says: "They represent . . . the normal method of caring for children in the charge of Public Assistance authorities and not boarded out" (Para. 157).

Recommendation 44 of the Curtis Report reads:

Deprived children suited to a boarding school education who are sent to local authority boarding schools set up under the Education Act of 1944, should have a foster home to go to for the holidays.

To my mind the Report does not give sufficient emphasis or recommend with any great conviction a scheme which might well be found to be of great importance, namely, the combination of a fine type of boarding school with a free family life during the holidays. Such schools should, of course, include as far as possible, many types of children for whom education at a boarding school is considered desirable by their parents. The new Education Act gives local education authorities special power to set up boarding schools (Section 3, Clause 2 (d)). Every child in these boarding schools should have, if there are no relatives, what I call a part-time guardian, to act as his personal friend. These guardians would be very different from the uncle and aunt scheme, about which I am not too happy. They would welcome their young friend into the family circle for all holidays, would write to and visit him frequently, help to launch him into the world, and provide a continuing background of affection and stability throughout his life. They should be selected by the Head of the school or by the Children's Officer and be registered with the Central Department. I believe there would be a great response to a scheme of this kind from people who are not in a position to be full-time foster parents or adoptive parents.

An endless variety of excellent boarding schools, some for boys, some for girls, some co-educational and some large and some small, could be created by some of the wealthier organizations and by the local authorities. The Curtis Report says:

Some existing orphanages and similar institutions of the 'barrack' type where education is given on the premises, seem eminently suitable for use as boarding schools.

It is impossible to imagine the 'barrack' type of school being converted into the splendid school I have in mind.

The whole problem is a complex one, and I have only been able to touch the

fringe of the subject. What we must all strive for is to give individual care and justice to every homeless child, within a continually extending framework of social provision and help that will prevent these children ever becoming homeless. Perhaps we should launch another campaign to demand an inquiry into the reasons why so many children are deprived of a normal home life, and what steps should be taken to prevent this tragic state of affairs.

\* \* \* \*

#### Some relevant dates.

- 1547. Nov. 8. First entry in House of Commons Journal, Vol. 1, page 1, line 1. The Bill for bringing up of poor men's children.
- 1896. April Report of Departmental Committee set up to inquire into Conditions of State Supported Children in Barrack Schools, Grouped Cottage Homes, Scattered Homes and Boarded out.
- Nov. State Children's Association formed: "To obtain individual treatment for children under the Guardianship of the State."
- 1905. Appointment of Royal Commission on the Poor Law.
- 1944. July 15. Lady Allen of Hurtwood's letter to *The Times* asking for an inquiry into the care of children deprived of a normal home life.
- Nov. 14. John Watson's statement on L.C.C. Remand Homes.
- 24. Russell Vick and Myra Curtis appointed to consider and report on the provision of Remand Homes made by the L.C.C.
- Dec. 7. Government announced they would set up an official inquiry into conditions of children deprived of a normal home life (Hansard).\*
- 1945. Jan. 9. Death of Dennis O'Neill.
- 29. Report published on L.C.C. Remand Homes (Cmd 6594).
- Feb. 2. Publication of "Whose Children?" by Lady Allen of Hurtwood.
- 22. Care of Children Committee appointed (Curtis Committee) (Hansard).
- Mar. 28. Sir Walter Monckton appointed to investigate Dennis O'Neill's death.
- May 8. Report published on Dennis O'Neill's case (Cmd 6636).
- 1946. March Interim Report from Care of Children Committee (Curtis) on Training of Child Care (Cmd 6760).
- April Publication of Report of Scottish Committee on Homeless Children (Cmd 6911).
- Sept. Report Care of Children Committee (Curtis) (Cmd 6922).
- Dec. Memorandum on Boarding Out of Children and Young Persons (Home Office and Ministry of Health).

\* During the debates on the Curtis Report in the House of Commons (November 19, 1946) and the House of Lords (December 12, 1946) both Mr. Wilson Harris, M.P. and Lord Iddesleigh said that the Curtis Committee was set up as a result of the death of Dennis O'Neill. Dennis O'Neill died a month after the Government announcement.

## CAN UNESCO SUCCEED?

BY STEPHEN SPENDER

**D**R. JULIAN HUXLEY, the newly appointed Director General of UNESCO is an evolutionist. He has been criticized for putting forward his own evolutionary philosophy as the philosophy of UNESCO. Whether or not one feels that evolutionism is too narrow a view for an organization which should include all the creeds of all the nations of the world, it is simple and useful to regard UNESCO itself as a phase in the evolution of a modern international society. The world (let us for this purpose assume) is moving towards a phase of world government. But world government, when it is achieved, probably will not resemble the centralized government by political parties which we mean by government to-day, thinking, as we do, of the examples of national government which we see around us.

World government may rather be the development of many international organizations, working on parallel lines, which will create conditions of co-operation between nations wherever co-operation is helpful and necessary. To take one example, the world seems to be on the verge of a new industrial revolution as the result of the harnessing of atomic energy. This is an extremely dramatic example, because the useful development of atomic energy is only possible if there is a great deal of co-operation between nations, and its destructive use would destroy on the widest international scale, our civilization. Other examples of international organizations of world government which are developing are those for the world distribution of food and economic planning.

One can imagine that the history of these newly emerging social forms, written in five hundred years' time, might be very Huxleyan. It would be the history of vast organizations with strange names such as AMGOT, UNRRA, UNESCO, crawling out of the cerebral dens of a Wellsian world brain, to grow, expand, become too vast, too bloated, and then be thrown aside by the evolutionary history process and replaced by smaller, more efficient forms.

Yet looking ahead in this way, one may hazard the guess that world government will not mean political, centralized government from one place. It will mean rather the development of many organizations, many inter-nations, to increase the inter-relatedness of nations for the purpose of world co-operation to ensure peace and to enable each nation to take part in a development which is only possible now to each nation if there is such international co-operation. What we are beginning to see already is that such international co-operation is not exclusively political, in the limited modern sense of politics. The nations

of the world might to-day agree to differ on politics and yet find enormous fields of development in which they could co-operate: in rehabilitation, in economics, in scientific development in education, in culture. To some extent, such a development is, indeed, taking place; international co-operation gets stuck in purely political controversy, yet moves forward in certain concrete tasks of rehabilitation, and also, to some extent, in cultural relations. Of course, there are stages where all kinds of international relations become ideological, and therefore political. For example, the conflict between the ideas of the East and the West entered considerably into the General Conference of UNESCO at Paris in December 1946: and the absence of the Soviet Union from the membership of UNESCO dramatizes this conflict. Yet nevertheless it remains true that where, in political discussion, there would be perhaps a complete impasse, in UNESCO, there is an interchange of ideas between East and West, and that in this interchange there lies hope of future understanding.

Thus UNESCO is an experiment towards one of those international organizations which, in their perfected forms, may take place in the world of the future as inter-nations, existing as links in a world where there are still separate nationalities, but where each nation uses these international organs for giving and receiving in the interest of the whole world.

We must regard the present stage of the world's history as a painful period of transition, corresponding to the phase of the industrial revolution in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But it is a much wider revolution, affecting far larger populations, and coming after a period of even greater disaster than that which followed the Napoleonic wars. The word 're-education' which we have designated for the Germans is really the label applying to our whole world: and the history lessons of lived history are taught with blood and tears.

Therefore I do not regard an organization such as UNESCO as an end, and I do not subscribe to such opinions as: "If UNO or UNESCO fail, then we are lost and there can be no basis of world co-operation." Rather, I regard these organizations as experiments, perhaps to be replaced by other and better organizations, perhaps capable of learning their own lessons and transforming themselves.

UNESCO exists under the Charter of the United Nations which called upon the members of UNO to create such an organization to promote the cause of peace by means of international co-operation in science, education and culture.

During the first prenatal months of its existence UNESCO was a Preparatory Commission drawing up a programme, a plan of action. This programme, presented to the General Conference in December 1946 is an extremely interesting survey of the possible ways in which intellectual collaboration can be organized. It includes plans for rehabilitation, in science, education and culture for countries devastated by war; proposals for world surveys of such problems as illiteracy and certain model scientific projects for introducing tech-

nical machinery into countries where it is lacking; schemes for promoting the translation of important books into foreign languages; an international theatre institute; information services in education, science and culture. Several of these activities are already being carried out, but there are remarkable gaps in the present system of intellectual exchanges, and there is certainly a great deal which UNESCO should be able to do.

It is one thing to draw up a programme, it is quite another thing to carry it out. What UNESCO will be able to do depends on what UNESCO is. At the General Conference held in Paris in December 1946, the nature of the UNESCO organization as it at present exists gradually emerged from the fog of discussion.

What first of all became apparent was the organization situated at Unesco House in the Avenue Kléber, Paris (formerly the Hotel Majestic, then headquarters of the Gestapo, then headquarters of the U.S. army, now headquarters of the UNESCO secretariat). This secretariat, though it will be known to most people as UNESCO, is only an instrument, the organ of the National Commissions of the nations belonging to UNESCO. During the conference the delegates of these commissions formed committees which considered the programmes for action put forward by the secretariat. The tendency of the committees was to cut down each programme to a minimum of projects which were considered most important, which were realizable within a reasonable amount of time and which were feasible within the limits of what Mr. Benton described as a "fledgling budget". It also became evident that it was not the wish of the delegates of the General Conference that the secretariat of UNESCO should set themselves up as arbiters of taste. They should carry out their instructions, given to them by the Executive Committee of the delegates representing the countries belonging to it. Thus (to take an example) it is not the function of the Section of Letters in the secretariat of UNESCO to select what books should be translated from the literature of each country. It is the task of the National Commission of each country to select these books and then to use the machinery of the Section of Letters as an agency for translation into other languages.

The limitation of the Budget to 6,000,000 dollars, and the controversy about the election of the Director General, Dr. Julian Huxley, emphasized still further the fact that the secretariat is not an independent organization, like a broadcasting company, but an instrument of the nations belonging to UNESCO.

Therefore, the limits of UNESCO will be in the first place not the limitations of the secretariat, but those of the nations belonging to UNESCO. And here we are brought face to face with the significance of the U.S.S.R. not belonging to it. For without the U.S.S.R., UNESCO is in danger of becoming or of being represented as the cultural agency of a Western bloc directed against the East. Every effort has been made to induce the U.S.S.R. to come in, but this does not of course obviate the danger of UNESCO becoming a bridgehead

rather than a bridge between the East and the West as long as the U.S.S.R. remains outside.

Another problem which must be stated is that of UNESCO becoming a vast international organism into which each nation projects all that is most academic, average and anaemic in its cultural life. The International Art Exhibition held at the Palais de Tokio in connection with the first General Conference of UNESCO was a useful and alarming example of what happens when officials of many countries combine to produce an international cultural manifestation. Apparently the officials in each country of the world agree that every interest and organization in the country must be represented. They consult all the art organizations and get each to select works by its members. The result is a universal slick averageness amazing to the eye of the beholder. It is as though the officialdom of the world had discovered hundreds of painters all capable of painting the same picture combining the qualities of a discreet academicism with a controlled awareness of the modern. In such an exhibition a surrealist fantasy, a portrait of a general, a still life, all have the air of being the same picture by one official artist.

The International Art Exhibition was, indeed, a minor catastrophe. Of course, this manifestation had no connection with the main tasks of the secretariat, but nonetheless it is a warning that the secretariat may be asked by the national commissions to handle literature and ideas as academic and feeble as the majority of these pictures.

I have explained that the secretariat is simply the instrument of the National Commissions. Nevertheless, it is the men and women working in Unesco House who will in fact be responsible for the success or failure of UNESCO. The Executive Committee can, of course, do nothing without the instrumentality of the secretariat: not only this, but there is as yet no established machinery and routine for carrying out the projects of the Preparatory Commission. The secretariat, having suggested these projects now has to create them in action. The way in which they will be realized depends on the capacity and the human quality of the personnel who are busy with them. A number of projects has been indicated but now the whole machinery for carrying out these tasks, and, indeed the tasks themselves have to be invented. Although it is almost inevitable that there will be a certain academicism about the translations, the exchanges, the lectures, the conferences organized by UNESCO, these things will depend greatly on the spirit of the secretariat itself.

I can illustrate this argument by saying that although UNESCO on the official level represents the National Commissions, one must never forget that if it is to be a living organization, it must also represent the intellectual life of the world. It must represent not just official committees, but also the scientists, the philosophers, the educationists, the musicians, the artists and the poets of all countries of the world. Dr. Carr, in an interesting lecture in Paris during the *Mois de l'Unesco*, said that if UNESCO did not represent in a direct and

personal way the aspirations towards better teaching of the small and unknown school teacher of a Middle West town in the U.S.A., it would have failed. It is equally true that if it does not interest in a direct way men such as Picasso and Casals and Eluard, T. S. Eliot and W. H. Auden, Henry Moore and Benjamin Britten (to name quite at random a few artists who have shown their interest in public affairs), as well as the foremost scientists and philosophers of the world, it will have failed.

Here again, we are brought back to the problems of the secretariat. For it is not to the national committees that the intellectuals of the world will look but to the heads of sections in Unesco House. During the General Conference in Paris it became evident already that for Julian Huxley to be Director General of UNESCO meant a great deal to the intellectuals of France; but for him to resign and become a member of the Executive Committee of Delegates of National Commissions, would have meant little or nothing. Some Paris editors of literary reviews met me to explain that if there was no member of the Secretariat whom they respected as having an international position in the world of letters, they would take no interest in, and expect nothing from, UNESCO.

The personnel of the secretariat is of great importance, because in so far as intellectual life is already to a great extent international, the intellectuals of the separate countries will look not only to their national commissions, but also—and perhaps far more—to the international Secretariat. It is important therefore that men of real distinction and not place-hunters, or people chosen by the academy-choosing methods of most national commissions, should be represented in the highest posts of UNESCO. At the same time, I have to admit that the conditions of work in the secretariat are unfavourable to anyone with serious intellectual work of his own. J. B. Priestley, on his return from the General Conference, broadcast that the very thought of the atmosphere of Unesco House gave him a headache. The trouble with such an international organization, with the committees, its meetings of national commissions, its moving about from one place in the world to another for the General Conference, its photographers, its intrigues, etc., etc., is that it degenerates rapidly into a kind of journalists' paradise. One should not accept such a degeneration as inevitable, for it would in fact mean that nearly everyone who set any value on his own individual development, on his own research or creative work would leave or be driven out, to be replaced by officials, journalists and administrators.

The conditions of work of the new international organizations which are springing up are worthy of study: and as far as I know they have not been studied at all. Everyone seems to be surprised when international organizations develop all the symptoms of being international rackets. Yet when one considers the conditions in which the staffs of UNRRA, UNO, UNESCO, etc. work, it seems almost inevitable that they should tend to become rackets. Many of the most serious people resign or are driven out. Meanwhile the temptation offered to adventurers, amateurs, and political failures to



press for jobs in these organizations (if such people need tempting) are considerable. Before the war certain English people used to live abroad to avoid income tax. Now they have the opportunity of joining one of the new international organizations.

Yet UNESCO must be filled with men and women with a sense of vocation and of mission. Every means should be studied for producing an atmosphere in which concentration, attention and seriousness is possible amongst the staff of the secretariat. It is more important that the heads of sections should live in conditions where they can carry out their work, and retain their own individuality than that they should travel about all over the world like journalists. Everything should be done to combat the centrifugal tendencies of an international organization and to create a centre, without, on the other hand, that centre leading to over-centralization.

Ultimately, it seems to me that the most difficult task of all for UNESCO is the creating of the right conditions in which the staff of the secretariat can carry out its work. It seems also to be the problem of which everyone connected with UNESCO shows the least awareness.

The work of UNESCO is only now beginning. In a year's time, it will still be too early to be either optimistic or pessimistic about it. The success of the organization depends, though, on four conditions being satisfied within the next two or three years. First, it depends on the National Commissions, of whom the organization itself is only the instrument. When the nations of the world are prepared to spend in one year on educational, cultural and scientific relations what they spend in one week on war or the preparation for war, UNESCO will have a strong enough financial backing to achieve quite ambitious projects. It is for the governments of the world to see also that UNESCO does not become an instrument of rivalry between the ideologies of East and West. Secondly, it is essential that within two years UNESCO should have achieved several limited but concrete successes in carrying out projects large enough to impress a world public. Thirdly, it is essential that the secretariat should contain at least a dozen men of first rate ability and with a sense of the mission of UNESCO which will create confidence in an organization which may very well be regarded either with envy or disgust as a bureaucratic racket. Fourthly and lastly, it is essential that UNESCO should be felt not only by governments but by the intellectuals of the world to be an organization which represents that which they consider the highest and best in their intellectual activities, and that it does not lapse into abstract researches or sterile academicism. The organizers at the centre of UNESCO must be vigilant and inspired to achieve these four conditions without which it will fail.

## NATIONALISM IN BURMA

BY G. W. KEETON

IN no other part of the Far East has the political situation been so completely transformed by the war with Japan as in Burma, for no other country—not even China—has suffered so much from the impact of war. Further, Burmese affairs are greatly influenced by events in India, for whilst in normal times India relies increasingly upon exports of Burmese rice, Burma has a growing problem of Indian immigration, which is provoking increasing restlessness in Burma.

Burmese independence ended in 1885, with the annexation of Upper Burma, during the Viceroyalty of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava. Thereafter, until 1931, it was administered with India. It therefore participated in the successive constitutional advances which occurred in India down to that date, although throughout the period of association, there was dissatisfaction in Burma at the apparent subordination of Burmese to Indian interests. At the time of the separation in 1931, the British Government declared that Burma's constitutional progress should not be in any way prejudiced by the separation, and the Government of Burma Act of 1935 conferred wide powers of self-government upon Burma. At the same time, a separate Burma Office was established in London. The Burmese, however, have always regarded the Act of 1935 as simply the first instalment of a grant of complete self-government which, they anticipated, would not be too long delayed since there is no communal problem in Burma.

From the time of the war of 1914-18 onwards, as in India and elsewhere in the Far East, nationalism grew steadily in strength in Burma, and tendencies which were apparent elsewhere were reproduced in Burma. The older political leaders in general elected to work with the British to secure Dominion status by successive stages. The younger leaders, some of whom looked expectantly to Moscow, were impatient of delay and distrusted British intentions. In particular, there was dissatisfaction that Defence and External Affairs were not under Burmese control. There was a good deal of talk of "exploitation", although Burma demonstrably cannot develop her own resources, and much of the wealth arising from British enterprise is applied for the benefit of the Burmese by way of taxation. However, the younger and more extreme nationalists declined to co-operate, and therefore remained in opposition. In 1941, with a Japanese invasion in prospect, the Burmese Prime Minister, U Saw, came to London to ask that Burma should be granted Dominion status as soon

as the war ended. This was refused, and the refusal was not without influence upon the attitude of the Burmese whilst the war was in progress, more especially as the British Government, suspicious of the drift of U Saw's policy, exiled him to Uganda for the three following years.

The Japanese invasion of 1942 therefore gravely complicated a situation that was already difficult. There were undoubtedly many Burmese who remained loyal to the British connection throughout the occupation, but there were also many who collaborated willingly. Moreover, the Japanese posed as liberators of Burma from British imperialism, and in 1943, they gave nominal "independence" to Burma, a Burmese ambassador to Tokyo being appointed. These developments were accepted as recognitions of Burma's sovereign status, but discontent with Japanese control grew steadily. Resistance to the invader became widespread, and it eventually gave rise to the Burmese National Army, led by General Aung San, the leader of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, a federation of resistance groups. The Burmese forces were in close contact with the British forces in India, and co-operated with the Fourteenth Army in the brilliant campaign of liberation, which was undertaken in 1945. The work of the Burmese National Army in this campaign earned warm commendation from Lord Mountbatten afterwards, and although its importance should not be exaggerated, it is a factor which cannot be overlooked in considering future arrangements for the defence of Burma.

The rapid rise to power of General Aung San is one of the most significant features of recent Burmese political history. Born as recently as 1914, he is exclusively a product of British education in Burma—an education which terminated abruptly with his expulsion from Rangoon University in 1936, following the prominent part he had played in the organization of the students' strike in that year. Thereafter, he occupied himself with political activities designed to bring about the end of British rule in Burma at an early date. This led to contacts with Nehru and other Indian Congress leaders after the outbreak of war (contacts which have been maintained and extended), and to contacts with the Japanese, who held out flattering prospects of independence to Burma, in return for the raising of a Burmese Independence Army. Following the Japanese conquest of Burma, Aung San became Defence Minister in the Japanese-sponsored Burmese Government. Disillusionment followed, however, on closer contact with Japanese imperialism, and under cover of his official position, he encouraged the Burmese resistance movement, and eventually he assumed the leadership of A.F.P.F.L.

When Japan surrendered in August 1945, Burma had already been freed from Japanese control by the efforts of British, Indian and Burmese troops, and the first discussions between the returning Governor, Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith and the leaders of the Burmese resistance movements had already taken place. Moreover, the British Government had issued a White Paper on Burma, pointing out that the goal of British policy was Dominion status, but

giving no period of time in which this advance was to be achieved. Not unnaturally, therefore, the leaders of the A.F.P.F.L. did not regard the White Paper as a sufficient response to their political aspirations. They consequently declined to serve on the Governor's Executive Council, and passed over into opposition. This was an extremely serious loss, since the condition of Burma was far from reassuring.

Between 1942 and 1945, Burma was the scene of two campaigns, and in addition, it suffered greatly from Japanese spoliation. In peacetime, Burma produces about seven millions of tons of rice a year, of which about one-half is exported, mainly to India. During the occupation, however, cultivation had greatly diminished, and there was nothing available for export. Moreover, owing to the almost complete absence of consumer goods, and their high price when available, there was little inducement to extend cultivation to its pre-war extent. Again, military operations had not only caused large-scale damage in the towns, but had broken down communications by road, and although the British forces did a great deal of valuable work in restoring communications, this, of necessity, was chiefly along main routes. Further, there had been a widespread breakdown of law and order, and it was necessary to reorganize and strengthen the police-force, to suppress the innumerable bands of dacoits, for which internal instability had been responsible. The existence of dacoits over wide areas was in itself a serious deterrent to the resumption of cultivation, especially in outlying districts.

So long as the political situation remained obscure, however, it was impossible to embark upon long-term measures of reconstruction, although the British Treasury put a loan of £87 million at the disposal of the Burmese Government for this purpose. Even the loan, however, became an object of suspicion to the Nationalists, who regarded the conditions attached to its expenditure as an instrument for preserving to Britain economic control of Burmese resources. Most serious of all, however, was the constitutional problem. For the period immediately following the restoration of British rule, it was not proposed to re-establish the system of government existing before the invasion, since the impossibility of holding elections in the unsettled condition of the country was manifest. An executive Council was therefore established, membership depending upon the selection of the Governor, after discussion with representative political groups. Since neither U Saw (leader of the Myochit party and now returned from Uganda) nor the A.F.P.F.L. would co-operate until Burma's constitutional status was clarified, and until defence and external affairs were placed in Burmese hands, the Council was composed almost exclusively of representatives of the older political parties, whose hold upon Burmese opinion was slight. So far had the situation deteriorated by the beginning of April 1946, that there were rumours of the arrest of U Aung San, whilst U Saw was contemplating withdrawing from the Executive Council the three members of his party who had accepted seats before his return, and finally, in Arakan, a

rebellion under U Seinda, a former Buddhist priest, was in progress. Nor was this all, for the Communist party, under Thakim Tan Tun, though small in numbers, was making headway and was seeking to deflect the movement for autonomy into a separatist revolution. More recently, there have been curious connections between the Communists (of which there are two distinct parties) and Dr. Ba Maw, leader of the Dobama party and Premier in the Burmese Government during the Japanese occupation.

By the autumn of 1946, therefore, it had become clear that the policy implied in the White Paper of 1945 had failed, and that a new approach was urgently required, associating the nationalist movement with the task of Burmese reconstruction. Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith was therefore replaced by Sir Hubert Rance who, as Chief Civil Affairs Officer of the Military Affairs Administration of Burma, had worked with the Burmese nationalists, and had won their confidence for his impartiality and understanding. Following his arrival, there was a marked improvement in the situation, for the A-F.P.F.L. agreed to enter the Executive Council, where they became the majority party, and General Aung San appropriately became Minister for Defence and Foreign Affairs. By these changes the League became the chief channel for the expression of Burmese views upon the future of the country, and the resolutions of a three-day conference at the beginning of November may be regarded as an expression of Burma's present political aspirations. They were:

1. That foreign exploitation of Burmese resources should be ended, and that foreign (that is British) corporations should be replaced by Burmese enterprises.
2. That Burmese diplomatic and consular representatives should be appointed, especially to Delhi, Nanking and Bangkok.
3. That the Government of Burma Act, 1935, should be amended so that only domiciled Burmese citizens should be given the franchise.
4. That all foreign troops should be withdrawn as soon as possible.
5. That the tribal areas at present under the jurisdiction of the Governor should be incorporated into Burma.

Significantly, at the same conference, the League expelled the Burmese Communists. Of the resolutions summarized above, the third represents the first step in a policy to exclude Indians from influence in Burmese affairs, and the fifth will be provocative of much discussion, since the inhabitants of the tribal areas are not believed to be in favour of such a proposal without safeguards. The A-F.P.F.L. now finds itself confronted with the completion of a federation of the older political parties in the Democratic National United Front. This federation owes its existence to the activities of Thakim Ba Sein, the energetic leader of the "Burma for the Burmans" Party, and Minister for Transport and Communications in the Executive Council. The D.N.U.F. includes two former Premiers, U Saw and Dr. Ba Maw, it stands for unqualified willingness to negotiate with the British Government for the amicable settlement of political and economic problems. The forthcoming elections will decide which of these two approaches commands the bulk of Burmese support.

Having regard to the developments in Burma since the defeat of Japan,

therefore, the announcement of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on December 20, was no more than the logical next step, and although Mr. Churchill criticized "the appalling haste" of a policy to "scuttle", the leading article of *The Times* of December 21 was much closer to political realities when it observed that "the Opposition would have been on stronger ground had they criticized the Government for procrastination rather than for impetuosity," for A-F.P.F.L. was understood to be prepared to withdraw from the Executive Council by the end of January, following which revolution would have been inevitable. After recalling the recent constitutional history of Burma, Mr. Attlee announced that a Burmese delegation would shortly be invited to London to discuss the country's future, and indicated that those discussions would probably go a good deal further than the White Paper of 1945. He added:

We do not desire to retain within the Commonwealth and Empire any unwilling peoples. It is for the people of Burma to decide their own future, but we are certain that it will be to their interest, as it will to ours, if they decide to remain within the Commonwealth, and we sincerely hope they will arrive at such a decision. Likewise, we consider that the new constitution for Burma should be settled by the nationals of Burma and we believe that arrangements to this end can be made as a result of the forthcoming elections, without the necessity for holding fresh elections for a Constituent Assembly, on the analogy of what has already been done in India, where the Constituent Assembly is based upon the ordinary provincial elections. In the same way, His Majesty's Government are of opinion that the Burmese Government, which has now been formed, should within the existing constitution exercise a full measure of authority in Burma. It is not possible, of course, as was pointed out in the case of India, to enact a new interim Constitution, and the old Constitution must therefore be carried on in form, but His Majesty's Government have no desire to interfere with the day-to-day administration, which is now in the hands of Burmese members of the Governor's Executive, and we shall endeavour in the forthcoming discussions to remove any difficulties that the delegation may feel still to exist in this regard.

The bulk of the Burmese delegation left Rangoon by air on January 7, but by that date Aung San had already left for India, where he held discussions with the Congress leaders, and in a highly-interesting broadcast, he advocated a close union of the peoples of Asia to combat "imperial bondage", adding "we have nothing to do with imperial preferences or currency blocs." He also pointed out that Asiatic countries must help the Viet Nam Republic, which was struggling for survival against French imperialism.

In his speech of welcome to the delegation on January 13, Mr. Attlee reiterated his earlier statement that the Burmese were entirely free to settle their own future, and to decide whether they would remain within the Commonwealth or not, and *The Times*, in a leading article the following morning, expressed the view that A-F.P.F.L. represented the majority of the Burmese people, and emphasized the desire of its leaders to reach an agreed solution of the problem of Burma's future in association with the British Government. Aung San's reply to Mr. Attlee, whilst friendly in tone, carefully and no doubt unavoidably omitted any hint of the ultimate relations of Burma with this country.

Discussions proceeded smoothly and rapidly, and the Government was able to communicate the text of an agreement to Parliament on January 28—significantly, three days before the time-limit which had been set in Burma. It provides for a Constituent Assembly to be convened as soon as possible, so that for all practical purposes, the Legislature contemplated by the Act of 1935 is already dead. Elections will occur in April, and only Burma nationals will be entitled to vote. A Burma national is defined for purposes of the franchise and for eligibility to stand as a candidate as "a British subject or the subject of an Indian state who was born in Burma and resided there for a total period of not less than eight years in the ten years immediately preceding either January 1, 1942, or January 1, 1947." This provision, it will be seen, excludes recent immigrants. In the transitional period, the Legislative Council will be increased from fifty to one hundred members, and nominations will be made by the Governor on the basis of the elections to the Constituent Assembly, with the addition of the small number of persons to represent immigrant minorities. Moreover, in the interim period, the Government of Burma will be regarded, as far as possible, as on the footing of a Dominion Government. Burma will enjoy financial autonomy, and Defence and External Affairs will be under the control of the Council.

Immediate steps are to be taken to give Burma international status. Burma will appoint diplomatic representatives abroad, and a High Commissioner in London, and Great Britain will sponsor Burma's application for membership of the United Nations, and of any other international bodies which Burma may wish to enter. As far as defence is concerned, whilst British forces in Burma remain under British control, all Burmese forces "forthwith" come under Burmese control, and Great Britain will give Burma all assistance in building up the Defence forces in Burma.

One very important feature of the agreement is the decision that the Frontier Areas will be entirely free to choose the method by which they will be associated with the Burmese State, and a conference of representatives of the Frontier Areas is being convened to discuss this question. In the meanwhile, there will be free intercourse between the Frontier Areas and the rest of Burma—a development which will no doubt bring a rapid extension of A.F.P.F.L. influence in these areas.

There are important financial provisions annexed to the agreement. Burma has already received an interest-free loan of £8,000,000 for the year October 1945-September 1946, and a loan of £7,500,000 in similar terms has already been granted for the year October 1946-September 1947. These or some part of them may be converted into gifts if Burma's financial position requires it, and there may be further grants towards Burma's budgetary deficit.

The main feature of what Mr. Churchill described as "this dismal transaction" are by no means surprising to those who have followed the development of affairs in Burma since liberation, and although the haste to conclude an

agreement in time to permit the Burmese delegation to return by the end of January is plainly apparent, reflection shows that Great Britain had a simple choice between clear alternatives—either to negotiate the agreement which has been reached, or else to prepare for a large-scale campaign in Burma. What that would have implied may be discovered from the present position of France in Indo-China. Even had a campaign been successful, the problem of establishing a workable form of government would have remained for solution at the end of the fighting, in an embittered atmosphere. Further, refusal to negotiate now would probably have thrown A.F.P.F.L. into opposition, and would certainly have weakened its position, in favour of extreme and less responsible organizations. Finally, the break-down of negotiations with Burma would have prejudiced the chances of securing a workable compromise in India.

It is not necessary, therefore, to praise A.F.P.F.L. and its leaders with the enthusiasm that has characterized some press comment, in order to agree that great wisdom has been shown in this agreement, which will unquestionably incur hostile criticism in Burma. Nor, in view of some of Aung San's recent utterances, would it be wise to assume that Burma will be content with anything less than full independence. One of the most striking features of Far Eastern politics to-day is the similarity in outlook and structure of the various Nationalist movements. Revolutionary as these movements may appear, in contrast with the parties which existed before 1939, those more responsible movements are in turn under fire from Communist and other organizations which have sprung up behind them. No one wishes to see the Chinese tragedy resurrected on a smaller scale in Burma or elsewhere. It can be prevented if the new Nationalism is met upon a footing of equality and with liberal proposals. Even if this latest move should show that "virtue is its own reward" and that no other reward, in gratitude or otherwise, is forthcoming, that can at least provide an object-lesson in a world in which morality in international affairs is not unduly conspicuous.

One last point must be made, in respect of the financial clauses. It is possible to argue that this country is in no position to make gifts or interest-free loans. Such an argument, however, misses the point that a large part of Burma's present difficulties is due to the chaos of the war years. Even if Burma had been independent in 1939, it is not improbable that to-day we should have been listening to her pleas for assistance. As a British possession, her case is so much the stronger.

## THE NEW GERMAN TRADE UNIONS

BY MELTON S. DAVIS

SINCE it is generally accepted that any revival of democracy in Germany will have to come from the working people, their efforts are being critically watched by labour elements in other countries over the world. Against a background of looting, hunger, disease and fear these people are attempting to solve the problems of their land, a land that all too often seems completely unrepentant.

There are very few experienced leaders of labour in Germany to-day. The young people distrust the old who failed to stop Hitler. The older people distrust the young as still full of Nazi-taught doctrines. The Allied occupation authorities look at both warily.

This is all part of the legacy Hitler left. Union officials and labour politicians were high on his list of groups to be "taken care of". To start with he used an interesting technique. A well known union official would be placed in gaol for four or five months. Then, with no more reason than that given for his arrest he would be allowed out. If, during the time he was out, he made the slightest move to contact any of his old co-workers, if he engaged in any political activities, if he made statements that were not always definitely pro-Nazi, back into prison he would go. Then the process would be repeated a second time. The third time he stayed in.

Hitler also had a technique to keep union members in line. Workers were given jolly parties, plenty of pigs' feet and sauerkraut and beer. They were loaned money to build houses. They could go to the opera for 50 pfennigs. They could join attractive organizations like *Kraft durch Freude* (Strength through Joy), which provided organized trips to Norway or the Canary Islands. Travellers were chosen by the owners of the factories. This called for some extra apple-polishing by employees. The cost was small, about \$1.50 a month for the average worker. Paternalism is cheap, if you only worry about the financial cost.

Everybody belonged to the *Deutsche Arbeits Front*. There were no jurisdictional arguments. There was collective bargaining, nicely prearranged by the industrialists and Nazi party officials. The D.A.F. had all the independence of a brightly painted marionette. It jiggled when the employer said "Jiggle!" and it bowed when the late and unlamented Robert Ley pulled the necessary strings. The average German worker was fed a continuous flow of carefully selected propaganda, cleverly calculated to keep him satisfied, silent and sweating for Hitler's war machine. The Gestapo had special instructions

to take steps—strong steps like concentration camps and executions—to prevent any semblance of democracy in the German Workers' Front.

In virtually every European country, labouring men formed the basis for resistance movements. Germany was no exception. Despite accusations to the contrary, members of organized labour in Germany provided a very substantial underground.

But these organizations had the highest death rate in the world. One Berlin *sub rosa* anti-fascist group had around 600 members in 1936. By 1942, 400 members had been executed. That was the year their leader was caught and beheaded. They had been putting up posters, printing pamphlets and hurriedly chalking anti-Nazi phrases on pavements, in public rest rooms, on train windows. A group of Communist brickmakers once burnt into bricks which were sent all over Germany: *Rot Front lebt noch—Annawerk Oeslau* (The Red Front still lives). There is no such place as Oeslau in Germany! In the plot of July 20, 1944, there were many labour men. They took a leading part in this attempt to kill Hitler and overthrow the Nazis.

To-day they are starting out anew through revitalized and joint trade union organizations. There are over 830,000 members in more than 500 trade unions in the American occupied zone. This means that about thirty per cent. of the labour force there is now organized. The British more industrial zone, has in excess of 1,200,000 members in 170 unions. British Military Government is looking forward to even fewer but larger unions. Including the Russian zone, memberships come to about 5,760,000. That is about half of the trade unions' pre-war strength. Berlin, under joint Allied control, has 411,000 organized in unions, against a former 600,000.

Only those employed are allowed to be members at the present time, since there are so many people not working that the main trade represented would be that of the unemployed. There are 800,000 without jobs in Berlin alone.

Uniform social insurance is tending to be set up on the contributions of ten per cent. of the earnings of workers and an additional ten per cent. by employers. This will cover payment for unemployment, illness, accidents, old age and funeral expenses. Dues are about one hour's wages per week and are collected by shop stewards.

Works councils once again have been re-established. A new law allows employees to elect a *Betriebsrat* to represent their interests (trade, social and economic) in dealing with the employers. These councils negotiate on the operation of collective agreements, submit ideas for improving production, co-operate in preventing war production, aid in the de-nazification programme, and help in the creation and management of social works. This is a pretty full programme, but for men who have not known opportunities of this sort for twelve years they do pretty well. Works councils are beginning to take the place of shop stewards.

Labour courts have been set up throughout the American and British zones.

This is one of the mediums used for arbitration of labour disputes. In cooperation with trade unions, the works councils negotiate on the application of collective agreements. Then, minor disputes in connection with these agreements go before the labour courts which are similar to impartial referees used in America and England. Other cases are taken up by arbitration committees composed of panels suggested by trade unions and employers. Each group has equal representation. The chairman of this committee is appointed by the labour department of the State government. Arbitration proceedings follow much along the lines of those used by the American Arbitration Association for labour management disputes. Arbitration is not compulsory unless it involves military security.

In the Russian zone, arbitration courts have been abolished to be replaced by a Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The membership consists of one-third representatives of management, one-third union delegates and one-third State officials who are experts on labour and production questions. All contracts are passed on by this board. Once they are accepted, the State police enforces them. Under the Weimar Republic, the arbitration courts tended to side with management. This is presumed to be the reason for their abolition. An example of labour organization in the Russian zone is Union 17, comprising musical soloists and stage artists, film and radio workers, vaudeville and circus performers, orchestral musicians, theatre technicians, authors and composers, painters, architects and journalists. The admission of medical men, scholars and scientists is envisaged in the future. The locals of Union 17 are attached, when possible, to producing units; each theatre, newspaper, radio station, etc., being a separate grouping. Membership is open to all workers without professional examination. It is also with minor exceptions obligatory, on the principle of "open unions and closed shops."

Virtually all unions in the American and British zones are organized along industrial lines. This includes clerical employees and supervisory personnel as well as manual workers. There are few unions solely for white-collar workers.

The review of German Labour laws enacted since 1932 has been started. Most of them have been inoperative under the occupation. The whole of the infamous Nazi "Labour Code" enacted in 1934 will be discarded. Military Government authorities are beginning to release some of the properties formerly owned by the trade unions. Frankfurt, for instance, had a workers' bank, one of the largest in the city. Other unions owned newspapers, life insurance companies, housing companies, office buildings and theatres.

Plans are being made to re-open the Academy of Labour, the workers' college in Frankfurt. Classes in philosophy, psychology, history, and natural science will supplement the courses in trade trends, employment problems, and finance to be given to the fifty men originally enrolled. Expenses will be paid by the various labour organizations sending them to the school.

Bavarian trade unions have established a training school near Garmisch-Partenkirchen for young trade union members. In Stuttgart, last October, the W.B.G.B. (Wuerttemberg-Baden Trade Unions) sponsored "Youth Trade Union" held its first assembly. The 300 delegates between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, represented 15,000 young people. The union, or *Gewerkschaftshygend*, is a social, recreational and cultural organization composed of apprentices and young factory workers.

Before 1933, all labour organizations were also federations but to-day the picture is spotty. In Berlin and Bavaria unions are highly centralized. In Greater Hesse, individual unions are autonomous. In North Wuerttemberg, the W.G.B., which is the *Wuerttembergische Gewerkschafts Bund*, gives assurance to local unions by helping with organization, recruitment, and denazification. But they retain some measure of autonomy. The dominant union, in fact, the only union in Berlin, is the F.D.G.B., *Freier Deutscher Gewerkschafts Bund* (Federation of Free German Trade Unions).

In Frankfurt, the dominant union has the same name, F.D.G.B., as the Berlin group but it is not a part of it. Within the structure of the Frankfurt F.D.G.B. are autonomous unions who negotiate their own contracts, control their own treasuries, set up separate educational programmes, and conduct their own vocational training. The F.D.G.B. is used more or less as a clearing house for various representatives to exchange information, confer on common problems and plan co-operative action.

The W.B.G.B. (Wuerttemberg-Baden Trade Unions) have formed into a federation similar to the Frankfurt group with possibly even more independence for the individual unions. They publish a weekly in Stuttgart. Frankfurt unions also get out a weekly. The Bavarian trade unions are now publishing a twice monthly paper calculated to reach 100,000 circulation. In Berlin, the F.D.G.B. publishes a daily.

Local trade unions are being amalgamated in each zone so that if there is ever a united German nation, they can fit themselves into national federations. Those unions that tend towards centralization say it is a form of organization which is necessary during this traditional period when the main problem is getting members and forming them into working units. This overall problem is felt to be more important than the specific objectives of any particular union. To-day wages and working conditions are frozen so that collective bargaining does not mean much.

There have been several work-stoppages in the American zone which were settled before they became serious strikes. The only strikes have been "prestige strikes", resentment against being searched, against loss of rights, and "political strikes", against verdicts on Schacht, von Papen, and Fritzsche.

In the British zone, strikes have taken the form of protests against the cutting down of rations, and the eviction of Germans to provide housing for English families. There has been no word of strikes in the Russian zone,



though the right to strike is admitted. Wages and prices are frozen there.

On May 2, 1933, when Hitler made out his own union card, the trade unions were being torn by continuous political fights. There were three major labour organizations, two of them strongly political, while the Christian Trade Unions were tied in with a particular religious group. They had no joint programme for crisis periods. Socialists, Communists, Catholics were continually fighting each other within the various trade union confederations. This left them wide open for Hitler. To-day all three of these have agreed that it was this very division which enabled the Nazis to walk in over the ideals of working men. One of the present union leaders, Willi Richter, recently said that "it was difficult to face union leaders in other parts of the world because German unions had not stopped Hitler's rise."

However, the same old lines seem to be forming again despite the efforts of Allied occupation authorities. For instance in Berlin, trade union elections are supposedly not held on the basis of political affiliation. But the next day after the voting, results are listed in all newspapers giving so many positions to this political party and so many to that.

The non-political affiliation ruling for Berlin trade unions was originated in a manoeuvre by which Communists and left-wing Social Democrats outwitted those Independent Social Democrats who refused to merge into a working-class party with the Communists. The ruling was effected in February when only a few people knew of the plans for a combined S.P.D. (Social Democrats) and K.P.D. (Communists). Thirteen S.P.D. men were elected to the Executive Board of the Berlin F.D.G.B.; fourteen K.P.D. and three C.D.U. (Christian Democratic) candidates. When the merger went through, in April, S.E.D. (Social Unity Party of former S.P.D. and K.P.D.) claimed twenty-four members of the Executive Board since ten of the S.P.D. men lived in sectors of Berlin where the merger was successful. The remaining three, Dr. Suhr, present Secretary of the Independent S.P.D., Nikolaus Bernard and Herr Hoeger lived in other Allied occupation sectors which had set up independent S.P.D. groups. Now that S.P.D. has won the Berlin municipal elections they will press their claims for fairer representation on the F.D.G.B. Executive Board.

The Social Democrats had been winning shop steward elections for some time before the municipal voting, even in the Russian sector. They swept into victory, on October 15, carrying *bourgeois* districts as well as working class sections. On March 12, 1932 (Berlin's last free election) S.P.D. won only twenty-two per cent. of all votes. The Communists had twenty per cent. and the Nazis thirty-eight per cent.

This Berlin election can provide a crystal ball for events in the rest of the country once Germany is unified. At that time, S.P.D. is likely to be the strongest political party in the country, the Christian parties, numerically stronger, being ideologically split already. Its party programme is built up on "the basic theories of Marx and Engels; socialization of the means of pro-

duction and planned economy." Their appeal is alert, lively, especially so for a defeated, occupied country. They have a strong, dynamic leader, one-armed Kurt Schumacher.

As far as the Social Unity Party is concerned, once S.P.D. is allowed in the Russian zone, S.E.D. will have to become the Communist party and again fight for the workers' votes. In November 1932, Germany's last free election, it was fairly close, the Social Democrats having 7,237,000 votes and the Communists 5,974,000. Only a miracle can bring the Communists up to near the same parity again. Until that time, S.P.D. will claim to speak politically for German labour.

Trade union aims are broad in Germany. They include, as the Munich shop stewards have unanimously declared, "opposition to the reinstitution of a private, capitalistic economy and support of reformation along democratic and socialistic lines." The Frankfurt unions have come out for "re-shaping the individualistic-capitalistic system into a socialist one." There is hardly a trade union in Germany that has not expressed the desire for equal representation in economic and social institutions and asked for a voice in management. It is no longer a question how far the Allied occupation authorities will be willing to go along with them. In the Russian zone it is reported that factories are being capably managed by trade unionists. Working-class parties in the Governments of Britain and France will undoubtedly see that their fellow working men are given aid in preventing another war and building a true democracy.

In the American zone, the constitution of all three States contain provisions for socialization of basic industries. In Hesse, the largest *Land*, the constitution states that mines (coal, potash and ores), iron and steelworks, power plants and rail transport will become community property. Large banks and insurance firms also will be placed under State administration. The constitution also establishes the eight hour working day, specifies a paid twelve day vacation each year for every worker, safeguards the right to strike, but prohibits lockouts and forbids child labour.

Moreover, virtually every trade union in Germany has been strong in its call for a thorough de-nazification of business and industry. They all ask for uniform social insurance and healthful housing facilities. They have not hesitated to take a strong stand for the raising of the economic standards of living and the elevation of the intellectual and cultural level of all Germans. Along with this, they feel, will come better international understanding based on the well-being and the political awareness of workers all over the world.

(The author is a journalist who has recently served as an officer in the American Military Government of Germany.)

## A VISIONARY IN THE BEE-GARDEN

BY S. L. BENSUSAN

THE countryman old enough to have known veterans who kept bees safe from harsh winds in skeps under a garden wall, may feel that some of his happiest hours were spent in their company. If he does I claim kinship; *et ego in Arcadia*.

Turning back the pages of the years to reach those that deal with first bee-keeping experiences, I salute the gentle, lovable old bee-masters who "have drunk their cup a round or two before." They taught me all they knew about bees, and in the most attractive surroundings; no man could have had better or more patient masters. From earliest days the hive had been a mystery, perhaps it is to all boys, and the men who made me free of the hive meant as much in their way as Hans Andersen and the Brothers Grimm; they too gave me admission to fairyland.

From bee-watching to bee-keeping the transition was brief, I started an apiary with an outlay of five pounds at a time when the best price to be had for complete sections delivered to a great London store forty miles away was seven shillings and sixpence a dozen. If the buyer could find fault, however trifling, with any section he would demand two at the price of one, being a sound, alert man with no spiced conscience, who recognized young enthusiasts when he met them. The apiary grew, and with it the wonder and the delight of a service that involved punishment as well as reward. Gradually, noting the colour of the pollen brought home, I learned to know where the bees had been foraging; subtle shade and flavour told whence nectar had been drawn; it became possible to differentiate between honey from apple, clover and lime, while the sounds within the hive could tell of content, unrest or the imminence of swarming. Each hive was a distinct world, there were good and bad ones, angry stocks and placid.

At a time when I reckoned no fine day between May and September well spent unless it included an hour or two among the hives, a memorable experience rewarded me. Many years have passed, but the occasion still stands out defined clearly as the graver's line on a copperplate. It was a late May morning, such a ripe spring day as fills its lovers with a sudden sense of life made perfect. My apiary was in an orchard overlooking the Chelmer valley; sainfoin and white clover were grown nearby.

At mid-day a hive released the expected swarm; it flew right into the eye of the sun, effecting a marvellous metamorphosis. The light took all density from the body of the bees and turned them into glittering opals; yes, it was

nothing less than opalescence in the morning blaze, indeed it was something more, a sudden revelation of the relationship of bees to the sun itself. In half a minute or less the glittering pageant had passed, the jewels had become bees once more, the swarm circled round a pear tree, the dizzy flight found its centre in a rapidly growing cluster, and soon the precious gift of May was housed in a skep to await transfer in late afternoon.

Many other swarms followed, some travelled far and were lost, none renewed the splendour of the flight recorded, but with the memory of it registered among the most beautiful sights granted to me, I set to work to find out something more about bees than Columella, Virgil, Maeterlinck, Tickner Edwardes, and a dozen others had offered. I was not concerned for more honey nor larger apiary; we were already able to supply all home needs and to give freely to friends. For many years I sent my tributes far and near, as far as Max Gate, near Dorchester, to Thomas and Florence Hardy. No, the knowledge desired was of the place of the honey-bee in nature's scheme, her relation to the sunlight which for one ecstatic moment had seemed so intimate. I sought to know the fashion of her working, the secret of her marvellous hexagonal cell, the mystery of parthenogenesis that enables the virgin forager to lay eggs that produce the perfect drone, the conditions in which a queen-bee can be produced from a worker egg and why the hatching-out period is briefest for the queen, longer for the worker, longest for the drone. I sought to recover the lore of the old-time bee-garden still valuable although the skep had outstanding faults and led to the destruction of the best stocks. Explanations from rural veterans were of value even though they might not be of the kind acceptable to those who, as Oscar Wilde said of the cynic, understand the price of everything and the value of nothing.

Search was long and seemed hopeless, there were plenty of old facts enshrined in new and attractive form, but nothing fresh. Then one day a friend lent me Rudolf Steiner's lectures on bees, given to the builders of the Goetheanum at Stuttgart, and the long quest came to the end. Light shone on the apiary for the first time; I felt the truth that Richard Jefferies uttered: "the hours when the mind is absorbed by beauty are the only hours when we really live." For me those lectures brought back that unforgotten hour in May when the swarm flew into the sun, it answered questions that one may hesitate to ask in a world where all progress is estimated on a cash basis.

I have always been conscious of certain unrecognized relationships between us and the world. I remembered what W. H. Hudson wrote: "The blue sky, the brown soil beneath, the grass and trees, the animals, the wind and rain and sun and stars are never strange to me, for I am in and am one of them; and my flesh and the soil are one, and the heat in my blood and in the sunshine are one." Who, being a country-lover, has not shared this belief in some measure? Who in times of stress has failed to be consoled by it?

Small wonder if Rudolf Steiner's teaching found immediate response; it

seemed so right that all life should be seen as a unity, differing only in manifestation. How could anyone doubt the affinity of bees with the sunshine, after seeing them change into glittering jewels at the sun's behest? I felt that I had been the permitted witness of a revelation, so quiet was the countryside, so remote my apiary that anything seemed possible just then.

The neighbourhood still held many bee-keepers who kept their stocks in old-fashioned straw skeps and handled them without veils or gloves. When they died, their widow or child hung a strip of black cloth on each hive, and gave the bees solemn assurance that the new owner would look after them. Whittier recorded this custom in a charming poem called "Telling the Bees." Then, these quaintly credulous folk told me, the bees would not desert the hive as they would have done, lacking such assurance.

The veteran bee-masters never suffered from rheumatism, one and all claimed that honey kept them well. Was it their faith that made them whole? Whence came it, this collection of strange beliefs held as firmly as though they were based upon a prehistoric creed? Probably they had been passed down from father to son from a time beyond which "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary."

When Rudolf Steiner spoke of bees he talked as though he belonged to the hive; he praised the qualities that are their special endowment, even while stating that they cannot draw upon the universal wisdom because they do not possess a brain. They are acted upon by forces and bring what he termed the love-life of flowers into the hive, because they gather their food from what may be called the flowers' love centres. Hence the rare quality of honey that no other food in the world possesses; Dr. Steiner said it can stimulate the soul forces in man. All people, he declared, should eat honey, particularly when they grow old.

He noted curious facts. The eggs that the queen-bee lays in worker cells take just as long to hatch as the sun takes to turn on its axis, so that, as Rudolf Steiner saw them, they are hardly affected by the earth in pre-natal development, while the drone needs a longer time to hatch out and consequently does not enjoy the same solar association. The queen, needing less time than the worker to hatch out, is even more closely associated with solar forces, and flies to the light to be fecundated, while the drone that mates with her at the cost of life is the one that can fly farthest from the earth and is consequently most removed from its associations. His life must be the price of his intercourse with the queen in the empty, sunlit spaces, but out of the single brief association the queen derives the power to lay eggs at the rate of more than 2,000 a day in full season.

Dr. Steiner told us that the bee is blind and is drawn to the nectaries of flowers through the medium of a sense between taste and smell; he added that just before a new queen is born in the hive she has a certain luminosity visible through the cell, and that this enables the foragers to see for the first time, but only for a little while. It is necessary to remember that Rudolf Steiner was

clairvoyant; he enjoyed what is sometimes called an extension of faculty.

It is easy to reject his teaching as fanciful, unreal, even unreliable, the fact remains that the picture he paints is in itself convincing and has a most stimulating effect upon the bee-keeper's imagination. For those who have not studied his philosophy it may be hard to grasp his theory of correspondences, or to understand readily what he means when he says that there is a definite relation between man, the hive and the bees. Yet when you have read his books it is easy indeed to believe, and when you handle hives in the light of the Steiner explanations an extraordinarily intimate association is set up.

The bees' reaction to colour is not like ours, owing to the absence of sight. In front of a red hive they experience a sense of warmth; in front of a blue one the sense of cold; when light is admitted to the hive the bees only feel the chemical effect of it. The consciousness of things unseen is not peculiar to bees. Sleeping cats have it, they visualize things by aid of their sense of smell.

Dr. Steiner taught that in olden days beeswax was sacred and that the description of Canaan as a land overflowing with milk and honey was early recognition of the foods that contributed most to the healthy life of mankind. For some reason unexplained an angry or nervous man incites bees to attack him. Dr. Steiner pointed out that there are emanations from humans that affect the less developed forms of life; these apparently influence bees in their reactions. For example, certain of these outflowings are so pleasing to plants that he who has them obtains what is sometimes called the green finger or the growing hand—a gift all gardeners know.

By close study of the hive we learn much lying beyond its narrow boundaries; we must begin by regarding the bee colony as a totality, study the communal feeling and look askance at queens brought from a distance. Many bee-keepers have learned to their cost that bees do not always thrive on syrup or candy, but if thyme, camomile and a small seasoning of salt be added, they will take to it readily. Above all they must not be over-stimulated, and on this account Steiner rejected the much-praised American clover on which many apiarists rely. Do nothing, he said, to urge your hives to suffer strain. This is a modern tendency, greatly developed in America, and as bad for the hive as excessive milk yield is bad for the dairy herd. What you have done to your domestic animal you may still do to the hive if you subordinate the interests of the bees to the production of honey. Steiner insisted on this.

Even the orchard will not attract alone, in blossoming time there should be flowers in plenty of the kind bees like best. He did not name them but they are well known to bee masters. For the English gardens you want alyssum, aubrietia, and arabis, with borage and cornflower, canterbury bells and majoram, mignonette, nemophila, wallflowers and thyme, to say nothing of other flowering herbs.

In all probability, Dr. Steiner said, the aphid which may be recognized as living blossom is the finest honey in the world. Man does not appreciate this,

but the ants do. They capture the aphides and take them to their nests to house in what corresponds to our cow-sheds, milk them by stroking them with their antennae and so rescue the sweetness and freshness of blossoms.

Bees, ants and wasps communicate formic acid to the plants they feed on, and formic acid maintains flower-life. In days of old Dr. Steiner told us, peasants would never destroy ant-heaps. Their knowledge, traditional or instinctive, had taught them that the formic acid in ant-heaps enables woodlands to resist decay. Wasps, bees and ants, help nature to live and thrive, and formic acid is an essential part of the human body; it is produced from oxalic acid and can be taken into the human system through a decoction of wood sorrel or common red clover. When formic acid leaves the body, said Dr. Steiner, the body dies. All nature's processes, he insisted, are intelligent, and man's errors are due to his failure to consider nature's harmony, his readiness to believe that business interests are the matter of supreme importance. There is nothing superfluous in nature's design, everything has a part to play, but if we try to improve upon her methods we do so at our peril. Few can find any worth in wasps, but Dr. Steiner said that apart from their place as formic acid carriers, they must be recognized as the progenitors of bees.

Writing of the value of formic acid, he said that in districts where there are no ant-heaps, telegraphy is not easy, because it demands the presence of formic acid, and outside the towns the acid can only be produced naturally by ant-heaps. As so many of Dr. Steiner's more surprising statements were challenged, it would be of interest to inquire into the official view of this one, though it goes without saying that the executive official is not expected to be in touch with a subject so recondite. Steiner once declared quite bluntly that those who begin to study their science only at the point of what exists to-day give themselves up to illusion. "Many people will tell you that what I say is ridiculous," he remarked, "but I can remember when they denounced as ridiculous the proposal to build mountain railways." It was an apt illustration—no leader carried his followers to less familiar heights.

He accepted the value of the old bee-keepers' unpleasant remedy for rheumatism—a regular course of stings—and remarked that it would be effective if the patient's heart were strong.

He insisted that intelligence is not the special attribute of man, it pervades nature. When we are looking for purpose behind the eternal procession and march of life, it is our fault if we fail to find it. Should we think that we are qualified to teach nature her business and to show her short cuts, we are behaving foolishly. Nature knows, and we are either ignorant or merely groping after knowledge. If we offend man-made laws we are called upon to pay a penalty; we know what it is, there are statutes to tell us. If we offend against nature we also pay penalty, but the extent is unknown, for we cannot read nature's penal code, we can only experience its force.

He saw the earth as he saw the bee-hive, a living entity in whose work man

kind has an allotted part to play, that is to maintain the eternal harmony, to obey nature's laws. Steiner created a farming system, he taught a sane agriculture in which the earth is not exploited, in which the soil, fed on the organic substances it produces, maintains the rhythm of life. He warned us of the growing loss of fertility, the grave danger that, by misuse of the soil, men might perish in the midst of plenty. When he spoke about insects, fruit and flowers, he spoke as a practised and competent agriculturist whose knowledge was acquired on the land. He insisted upon response to nature's method of restoring soil fertility and warned men against the modern methods. "Plants under the influence of mineral manures do not enjoy a full life and after a time lose their nutritive value." Here is the kind of warning that sets thoughtful men pondering the errors of what we call progress.

From Virgil by way of a hundred writers, naturalists and philosophers down to Rendl men have written about the hive, it was left to Rudolf Steiner to put the story upon a plane not approached before. It was his to show the part that the bee together with the wasp and ant play in the world we tend so woefully to misuse, how their gifts though not comparable with ours, enable them to play definite parts in the Divine economy, how we can learn from them and how out of the poison, the formic acid associated with each, come healing and maintenance. It is like a romance or a voyage into a realm never before explored; we see suddenly a picture of world order, we grasp significance of acts not hitherto understood, though quite familiar. Dr. Steiner enforced a greater confidence in the working of the unseen forces that rule and regulate our being, and showed how the hive may be studied to afford a deeper intimacy with life itself. The most attractive writers have done no more than touch the outside of the hive, its depths were left for exploration to one who could travel farther than them all; we may perhaps be reminded of the triumph of Aaron over the magicians at the court of the Egyptian king.

Most of us take honey in our stride, so to speak; it may be as much to us as really good home-made jam and nothing more, but after reading the Steiner lectures, honey assumes what is perhaps pride of place on the list of foods that sustain mankind. It brings us, the earthbound, into touch with the sun, and we have the assurance that for the very old among us as well as the young it has a special value. Even those who cannot digest it readily can cure their disability by recourse to certain herbs that he indicated. Then, too, while many of us regard the hive as totalitarian, he raised its status and made the community appear more fascinating than ever before. Moreover, in associating the life and work of the bee with that of the wasps and ants, he added new interest to the study. Others have done the same, and at length, but no other man ever approached them from this angle or with equal vision. Yet these addresses were given to simple workmen engaged on the first Goetheanum.

That shrine of so many of Rudolf Steiner's hopes has long been burnt down, the teacher has passed, but his teaching endures.

## OVER THE DALES

BY PATRIC DICKINSON

OVER the dales spaced in an azure sky  
They dignify, move steadily and with care  
Snow-coloured clouds as round and whorled as snails  
Whose silver trails below the rivers are.

Their shadows brood like ghosts that haunt a scene  
Where they have been in violence stricken down,  
As if these bastions forcing the first flood  
Upon them trod and crushed them into stone.

In this colossal play we move; and in the pools  
The Caddis curls itself inside its leaf,  
The Butterwort traps its fly, and the Dipper's day  
Is some way seaward—all Time is alive.

(Clapped in a clock sullen it will not sing  
For Man, but cringes at the bars of its cage:  
The miner breaks his heart upon the rock,  
The cities stock the shops with Youth for Age

To buy back if it can :) and now the clouds  
Gather in crowds into a terrible one  
Lump bigger than London—O people it with Man  
From all life drawn up by the sucking sun:—

A dead wind blows it boiling blue as lead,  
The birds and beasts are afraid, earth nerves itself:  
Man bursts in thunder down—and the flowers grow,  
The river flows brimming its rocky shelf,

And across the skies miraculously clean  
Still and serene the clouds like snow-white snails  
Put out their horns again and with slow grace  
Resume their pace over the joyful dales.

## A WINDOW ON LONDON

BY PAMELA HINKSON

MY third floor windows look into the trees of the square and I see the world below through their branches. It is an old-fashioned square, surrounded by tall houses, my side built back straight up from the grass, front facing the street, the other three facing the square with the road between. The "Garden" is a long green sward planted with fine ash and plane trees. With the railings gone for war purposes, this became indeed a London Common, giving all the impression of a village green. The varying seasons hold each their changing beauty. In autumn the sward is a gold, russet and green carpet, beneath gold leafed canopies held on brown and gilded poles as the falling leaves reveal the tree trunks—the planes then shedding their bark; in winter, under snow, the square is almost loveliest, seeming lengthened and widened in its beautiful white austerity, criss-crossed by black branches, night-blue shadowed under them, dogs' paws or human feet moving with a crisp joyous sound, suggesting especially thrilling adventure when heard at night or in the first morning; by day the pink and yellow houses opposite might be those of a pre-war South German city. Their windows reflect the eastern sunrise and so send it to me facing north-west. In spring the green-tipped trees give an illusion of delicate, pale green, falling snow. Through such a lovely veil, white and yellow porches take on glamour of infinitely romantic possibilities within. The whole is insistent in its resemblance to a lovely ballet decor, accentuated in the autumn picture when gold leaves fall gently, tenderly, through the still air. Full summer, with its too heavy leaf, reducing the size of my wide-windowed room which is the centre box for this theatre, is the least lovely moment. But from the west, between the trees and the houses, the sunset comes into my room.

We are rich in birds. Owls call at night, pigeons coo in summer, court in the trees in spring. Blackbirds and thrushes shout their clear sweetness from the high branches. A blackbird coming to my sill for his breakfast saved me need of an alarm for many weeks, and how could I complain if on occasion such a morning song wakened me an hour too soon? Once at night a certain faint frightened twitter of the owls was a sure raid warning; by day pigeons and sparrows made a flight as before a storm when the explosion came.

We are not, thank Heaven, grand as are other squares, with wooden palings, gates and warning notices that dogs must be led. Once as I passed one of

those garden squares, I saw a little boy outside a gate and a little girl within, playing *Pyramus and Thisbe* movingly. "Can't Peter come in and play?" asked the little girl. "We don't live in the square," Peter's mother replied sadly.

But we have not set beautiful flower beds to be protected—only the strong trees, branches high overhead, a few lilacs and laburnums flowering in spring and the grass that grows green despite many passing feet. Those passers have told chapters of life and history. Once there were no children in the square, as in London. One has either seen a city without children, knowing the cause of that, or one has not seen it. One has seen and felt the children's return—or one has not had that experience.

There was young life then—a Victoria League Junior Officers' Club, a few doors from mine. The uniformed young figures—R.A.F. predominating—from the Dominions and Colonies, dark-skinned some of them, sat or lay out on the grass in summer, passed beneath my window, walking as in country fields. The Club's open windows showed games being played within, heads bent in friendship and talk, round dining tables. The grey street in front of the houses was lit by blue-clad groups wearing wings and decorations, as they came and went.

Then the war ended and the Club closed and all that vital young life scattered over the wide world, leaving a blank behind. There came instead presently a girls' finishing school, lovely youth again, to become part of our square life, walking and reading and sewing under the trees, girls' heads bent in the windows where there had been boys' heads. At evening there was a fencing class on the square grass. A circle of little boys (the children had come back) absorbed spectators. Later there was much amateur fencing, done with fallen sticks perilously, yet showing that the watching eye had learnt much. And "my Mrs. Brown" who "does" for me, had watched from my window, and told me that for all of one night she dreamed that she was fencing, troubled through the dream because she ought to leave it to get to her work in time.

The black-out finished; the windows were illuminated in the three walls of the square, the street lamps lit, a miracle to our eyes dwelt so long in darkness and again making a fairy stage scene. The lights brought new details of beauty to my uncurtained window at night with the room dark, painting delicate branches and leaves—swaying in a wind—against the pane, so clear that once I rose to open the window and touch them and found—only air.

The children came back—one by one, two by two, at first—then in a flood. They and the dogs—returning too where there had been few—took the square, but shut no gates and made no cruel segregation of youth and age. The old lady who walks half-a-dozen assorted dogs daily (is that her profession?) is joined always by a group of boys and girls. She moves in the midst of them like a queen, her head bent royally for all that there is to tell and hear. In

the cricket season an important looking man carrying a leather case (going to a Government office to rule our destinies?) stops for five minutes or so, to play cricket with a team of little boys. Later a white-coated hotel steward, basket in hand on his way to shop, does the same. Then each pick up case and basket and go on to the day's work, from this playing field of England. Hide-and-seek through the day is similarly an open event to all of us who pass. I have been included in many a game by a smile from the players, sent up to my open window. In the football season a young soldier coached a team of small boys. Sometimes howls from players young enough for that, told of casualties, and I looked out on first aid scenes, quickly effective.

One's village neighbours take on familiar identity. The old man who walks his black active and intelligent mongrel before breakfast; the two young girls who do the same for their spaniel; the fine black retriever who walks himself, galloping across the fallen leaves as over a ploughed country field. (This is country life, with the rules of it, about exercising man and beast.) Later, two small girls in green school uniform, exactly identical to the two tight brown plaits of each of them, pass, morning and afternoon, at the same hour. I look down on them through the branches of the trees, so that they seem to walk in a fairy-tale forest. (When there is heavy rain the square turns to a lake, out of which the tree trunks stand like a Florida cedar swamp.) On wet days the little girls run always hand in hand. Once they ran so, each carrying an identical large white envelope under one arm. Then—the R.A.F. Squadron Leader with wings and decorations, who comes out each morning with his small yellow-haired son who draws a yellow toy duck on a string, and, frolicking with them, a small yellow puppy. On the day that a slim girl with lovely yellow hair, could join them from her domestic duties, I saw where all the family gold came from.

The postman walks across this village green (if it is dewy in summer, mornings sometimes misted like a morning in India); a uniformed messenger with wise dog at his heels; a gold-braided Group Captain with many ribbons and an important paper case; a red-tabbed General taking his little daughter to school. Grandfathers and grandmothers bring out the children, wheeling them in prams or leading them by the hand. Skill and love of years and experience are discernible and also, perhaps, a touching satisfaction in being of use. The white socks, the dainty frocks and hair ribbons of the playing little girls—what each reveal of overworked mothers' heroism! A grey-haired young woman passes daily with her heavy basket, her little dark-haired daughter skipping beside her. Once one did not notice the natural dance of children, which is now significant and important. The small girl whose mother scrubs the opposite steps, plays in the square, running back at intervals to clasp her mother's knees and lift her face for a kiss, so, no doubt, lightening the toil.

Then the young fathers came home. One, with a stiff leg, played hide-



and-seek with a three-year-old blue clad and hooded daughter. She found him flat against a wide tree trunk and her laughter rose to me like a shower of flowers. Young father, child and dog became a familiar morning square scene. Or, reunited couples walked hand in hand, he carrying the basket that she had carried so long alone, one of those sights that lit London's post-war greyness. Watching the returned men with their children, I have wondered from where they came and what memories they carry—of Burma horror, Arnhem, Normandy beaches and a hundred others—endured for this.

I saw the first bonfire lit by boys who had been denied that joy—many fires afterwards, beautiful in the autumn and winter dusk, filling the squares with the haunting smell of woodsmoke and burning leaves, the firemen's illuminated figures joyously busy about them. Branches fall in our square and woodseekers gather them for the fire. Little red-capped and hooded elves take the place in winter of the pink and blue clad summer children.

There is great innocence in the square. One could not imagine evil coming into it—as though it had been consecrated for the children. We have no barriers or unkindnesses apparently. I have thought, watching from my box this London theatre, that here I have seen British civilization in an unconscious manifestation. We are a Commonwealth truly. A handsome young Indian father comes out to play hide-and-seek with his exquisite little olive-skinned daughter dressed in pale pink, dark hair tied with a great pink bow. A baby, put out in his pram, attracts a group of the little green-clad school-girls, who are motherly troubled and soothing if he cries, although their heads are hardly higher than the pram. I see a ten-year-old boy explaining the mechanism of a toy to an old woman who sits beside him on a seat. Again it is a dark African student from a Colonial Club, who sits beside a little boy as fair as he is dark, and the boy is showing him a toy aeroplane. Dark and fair head are bent side by side in shared absorption.

These African guests join the games and are wonderful with children, having the child's heart themselves; sometimes a group of them sit on the grass with a circle of children facing them. The picture suggests story telling. Strikingly implicit is the absence of race or colour consciousness shown by the elders mingling with the parties, and to which these children have grown up.

The dogs also are perfect mixers, perfect British world citizens. Does anyone remember the days when Pekes were snobs and were called Woo and Chen and such Oriental names? Now they are levelled democrats like everyone else. There is one called Tig who is exercised morning and evening in the square by a master as large as he is small. And I have met in the Park with his mother whom he was yet too small to leave, an infinitesimal Peke puppy of incredible spirit and adventure who was called "Jumbo," which suited him astonishingly.

I suspect that many enjoy our square who have not the residence qualifi-

cation, although the surrounding basements provide most of the children. Twice only in two years has an irate old gentleman demanded of noisy small boys whether they had any right to be playing here. On the first occasion I joined a Canadian soldier resident who fought the children's battle. Later I learned that there was no cause for worry. The little boys might make a temporary strategic retreat but would quickly return, guessing no doubt that majority vote was on their side.

From my height of vision earth and sky are mine, the tree-tops lovely against blue space. I have seen fly-pasts of many planes over those trees, celebrating the defence of London. For a moment those passing planes and others that fly singly, now on peaceful business, are caught into the life and symbol of our square, where once we were awakened by the sound of other planes; and owls, twittering, warned us . . .

Here there is human courting under the trees that I have seen silver, snow-edged under a moon, pure gold in an autumn sun, transparent pale green and again green, heavy as velvet. And in spring the pigeons act their love-scene outside my window—one to watch—the female pigeon flying softly from branch to branch, apparently indifferent, but with a bright glance over her shoulder, the male pursuing, making a feint too of indifference on occasion, not very successfully. I have watched sparrows gathering materials for house building—a symbol too—and have hoped that these would be happy homes.

All a world and its needs and desires seem held in this narrow square, which I see from my window on London.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## ITALY REVISITED

*To the Editor of THE FORTNIGHTLY.*

Sir,

At the British Institute in Milan we read in the December number of your review an article by C. M. Franzero entitled "Italy Revisited". We are painfully surprised to see such a disconcerting description of the actual situation in Italy.

What is most evident to the Italian reader is the anguished terror of the author for all that appertains to the political left, to the point of inducing him to confuse the seat of the socialist party with that of the communists, when he says that the latter have installed themselves in the "ex-casa del fascio" (fascist headquarters) in Milan. The communists, so far, have never dreamt of placing active propagandists at the corner of every street to entice the ingenuous public; unless Mr. Franzero happened to be in Italy during elections and, being unacquainted with democratic methods, did not realize that, just round the corner, he could have had the pleasure of listening to orators of the other parties.

For us, the most sensational assertion is that of the existence of a S.I.R.N. (Information Service for the Repression of Neo-fascism) which, according to the author, replaces the one-time O.V.R.A. We must frankly admit that Mr. C. M. Franzero is a remarkable journalist who in a few days "Revisiting Italy" succeeded in discovering so important a secret as would have constituted an authentic tit-bit for the numerous readers of the opposition newspapers.

The assertion that the F.d.G. (Front of Youth) is a new edition of the G.I.L. (Italian Youth of the Lictor) is not based on fact. As students ourselves, we can assure Mr. Franzero that up to 1943 no students could frequent any school or university without paying the subscription to the G.I.L. at the same time as the school fees. Whereas, at present, the F.d.G. is only one of several juvenile organizations existing in Italy and is not obligatory for anybody. The same may be said of the U.D.I. (Union of Italian Women).

Thanks to this, Italians feel as free as other nations and are doing their best to create a democratic State.

We should be obliged to the writer of your article if he would kindly point out to us in what public resorts we Italians can have "Lucullan meals" for only 800 lire, because at that price we can only find the meal necessary to a normal man (1,500/1,600 calories). Such a meal would cost in our restaurants at least 2,000 lire. The fact that Mr. C. M. Franzero fixes the price of a meal at eight shillings is of no importance; what we have to consider is that the average salary of an Italian runs between 12,000 and 15,000 lire per month. You will easily understand that this salary can only provide us with fifteen meals a month and that the other forty-five meals, as also the cost of clothing, rent and the maintenance of the family, are problems that have to be solved by expedients.

In the purely economic field we may point out that our country has emerged from the war with a consolidated public debt of four hundred billions, one thousand billions of paper currency and floating debts and eight thousand billions (in Italian lire) from dam-

ages of war and the German domination. Add to this several hundreds of thousands of dead, wounded and prisoners, and you will understand, especially as regards Southern Italy, which is poorer and less industrialized, why there are so many beggars in our streets and why thousands of persons in Naples are still compelled to live in caverns.

We are really sorry, moreover, to see Mr. Franzero accusing the Italians of nationalism when events, from 1943 onwards (the strikes in March 1943, the enthusiasm at the fall of fascism, the guerrilla partisans, the warm welcome to the Allied troops, and so on) are there to prove that the great majority of the Italian people are far removed from nationalism and, admitting that we have suffered for this nationalism in the past, we are now completely cured.

In conclusion Mr. Franzero in "Italy Revisited" expresses his opinion that the Italian Republic "is a joke"; which is in absolute contrast with the arguments contained in "The Birth of a Republic" by Elizabeth Wiskemann (THE FORTNIGHTLY, July 1946). We may assure Mr. Franzero that were it so, the Republic would never have been born.

Yours truly,

GIULIANA FERRERO, Student of medicine.  
GIORGIO GALANSINO, Student of medicine.  
GIANNI CAMERINI, Student of law.

Milan.

Mr. C. M. FRANZERO writes:

The criticisms contained in your correspondents' letter are surprising coming as they do from residents in Milan. Everybody passing through the famous Galleria or crossing the Cathedral square can see and listen to the communist propagandists. I was in Italy in July and August, and there were no elections. Perhaps during the winter months the propagandists go into hibernation.

If your correspondents have never heard of the S.I.R.N. it is because they are too young—confidences of that kind are not usually given to students.

As regards the price of meals, I really wonder whether your correspondents have ever entered any of the "smart" restaurants. I pass for a well-travelled man of the world, and during my stay in Milan, Turin, Rome, etc., I found that the average price of an excellent meal in a first-class restaurant was 800 lire, sometimes a little more but often less. Whether prices have now gone up is another matter. With reference to the position of salaries and cost of living, your correspondents are merely repeating what I wrote.

Finally, I did not say that "in my opinion" the Italian Republic is a joke—I said that "the new Republic is everywhere treated as a joke."

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## VICTORIAN FICTION

BY GRACE BANYARD

WHEN Oscar Wilde wrote: "The nineteenth century dislike of Realism is the rage of Caliban seeing his own face in a glass" he was careful to close the loophole by adding: "The nineteenth century dislike of Romanticism is the rage of Caliban not seeing his face in a glass."\* How little Wilde on this occasion sacrificed accuracy for the sake of an aphorism was demonstrated, in the field of literature at least, by the exhibition of Victorian fiction at the National Book League, 7 Albemarle Street, London, which has just ended. If, as the catalogue calls them, 'Novels of Manners' were characteristic—Mrs. Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters*, Anthony Trollope's *The Way We Live Now* or Wilde's own *The Picture of Dorian Gray* are cases in point—just as characteristic were those of 'Social Protest', like Mrs. Trollope's *Michael Armstrong* and Mrs. Craik's *John Halifax, Gentleman*, with their accounts of child labour and machinery riots in the factories, Charles Reade's plea for prison reform *It is Never Too Late To Mend*, or *Sybil*, subtitled "The Two Nations", the rich and the poor in one community, by Disraeli.

The 1947 Caliban seems to be rather more the "savage and deformed slave" of Shakespeare's description and consequently likes his reflection even less than his nineteenth century equivalent. Though, either because his honesty or his disillusion is greater, "romanticism" he now calls escapism.

And a very pleasant piece of escape this exhibition was. Those whose memories cannot go back before 1901 found much for wonder and surprise.

Having in mind the reprint in good type which cost 4s. 6d. pre-war, is an inch thick and measures at most seven by five, it is hard to imagine the tyranny exercised by the circulating libraries for so long, when the same text was stretched over the three volumes shown, priced at 31s. 6d. without illustrations. This stranglehold of course was on a society which accepted that books were meant to be borrowed and only bought by the few. Naturally library copies in good condition are exceedingly rare and 'Three-deckers' gave a unique opportunity for seeing their evolution from drabness about 1840 to their blossoming "into a riot of competitive gaiety" fifty years later. To quote from the notes on this section:

If the three-decker was to die, the great fiction firm of Bentley was determined that it should die gloriously . . . The discount to the lending libraries was 50 per cent. and the publisher and his author could make a respectable profit with a sale as low as 1,000 copies. Since Mudie took 1,500 of any Bentley novel, sight unseen, there was plenty of margin for butterflies, silk bows, chintz and inset calling cards.

The course of George Moore's quarrel with Mudie, who banned *A Modern Lover* published by Tinsley, could be traced with the retaliating pamphlet on view, and 'The Parlour Bookcase' showed a comprehensive selection of Bentley novels such as a family, eccentric enough to buy instead of borrowing, might have assembled.

It was the popularity of *Pickwick* which in changing the status of the part-issue made it a serious challenge to the three-decker. To those who have heard, if grandfather could be believed, of a whole nation waiting for the next shillingworth of Dickens! it was most moving to see the pile of booklets, illustrated by Robert Seymour and Phiz, called *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* just as they looked to readers of 1836

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impatient to discover what Sam Weller was up to now. In 'Part-issues' examples of George Eliot, Marryat and others were also shown, and boys of all ages would be lured by the 254 penny parts of *Black Bess* with garish pictures.

In 'The Giants' the reprint of *Pickwick* (lent by H.M. the King) published in 1866 was opened to show Dickens's inscription to Queen Victoria. His signature, underlined seven times, seems to indicate some of the flamboyancy which to modern eyes, though not to ears strangely enough, mars his work.

It was the reprint which helped still deeper to dig the three-decker grave. The former borrowers were quick to take advantage of the reduction in price from 31s. 6d., or a guinea for two volumes, to 6s. or less. 'One-volume Reprints' had twelve of them and, compared with present custom, the time between the issue of the original and its successor was short: a year for a Mrs. Henry Wood and a Miss Braddon, three for a Wilkie Collins, and for an Amelia Edwards but six months, according to agreement with publishers and libraries, whose "artificial conventions" were not influenced by the royalty system until the 'eighties.

The process by which one thinks of the author and then of his titles seems to have been reversed in Victorian times. On the spines and covers in this exhibition "*Birds of Prey*" by the author of *Lady Audley's Secret*", for instance, is now only a riddle. And in one case where Thackeray's name was printed, I was agitated by the bookseller's ugly little label which had been pasted over all but the first and last letters.

'The Railway Bookstall' of "some not too precise date between 1860 and 1880", designed by Mr. Osbert Lancaster, with its lack of magazines provided one of the biggest surprises. Apart from a couple of annuals the display was of cheap yellow-backs to match the mostly somewhat cheap fiction. Of course, journals like the *Cornhill* only printed stories incidentally—and Hardy, Meredith and Trollope among others appeared in parts in THE FORTNIGHTLY—but it is hard to understand why such periodicals which thus qualified for the fiction stall were apparently not attractive reading for a long journey. The answer is probably that when people were able to think comfortably in terms of years, magazines were only to be procured by annual subscription.

One need not be a Victorian to appreciate 'Some Popular Favourites'. Surely most of these would be enjoyed now; though I never read a 'Ouida' novel I would be glad to try *Under Two Flags*. Here too were Jessie Fothergill's *The First Violin* and the *Trilby* with the engrossing illustrations of George du Maurier, two cherished childhood memories of books about music. There were three really, for though elsewhere the catalogue says Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins* was "an early manifestation of feminism" in that same memory it is the cathedral bells of Morningquest chiming the magic phrase from Mendelssohn's *Elijah*: *a, a b b b b a, f-sharp d c-sharp, e d*. "He, watching over Israel, slumbers not, nor sleeps." Alas, these were tattered copies to be burnt after scarlet fever, sent by one of those nice grown-ups not too concerned with "suitability". A child who loves books will read anything; nevertheless the taste of that child may be trusted. There were plenty of publishers at the opening of Victorian Fiction; would it be impracticable for one of them to pass by the Austens, the Brontës, etc., which are receiving attention anyway, and to reprint some of these other so readable stories, to make a bridge between the "classics" and the more cautious reader?

In 'Some Dark Horses', "most of which were neglected by their contemporaries" is a remark to arouse the expected controversy. One of them at least, *A Village Tragedy*, seems to have had considerable success. The author, Margaret L. Woods, in some delightful reminiscences written for THE FORTNIGHTLY\* stated that Rhoda Broughton sent this first novel to her own publisher and added: "I am glad to say it justified her recommendation for it at once attracted attention, was immediately translated into French

\* THE FORTNIGHTLY, March 1891.

\*Oxford in the 'seventies. September 1941.

and favourably reviewed . . ." In this section too the searcher after reprints might browse.

There was much in the exhibition not touched upon here; particularly in the sections devoted to 'Illustrators', 'Historical' and 'Political' novels, 'The Irish School', 'Sport and the Open Air', 'Tales of the Sea', and 'Sensation, Mystery and Crime' with, to supply the proper moral note, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* opened at:

Violence does in truth recoil upon the violent, and the schemer falls into the pit which he digs for another.

Apart from being a most remarkable collection of fiction, these six hundred books symbolized a way of life for ever past, whose graces at least may be yearned over by the twentieth century.

For the catalogue\* with its copious annotations a separate review would be just. It is so authoritative and with a scope so wide that its permanent place is on the shelf with the other books about books. Mr. Michael Sadleir writes a Foreword, and no one better fits, seeing that the majority of the exhibits were lent from his collection. And as Mr. John Carter, who arranged the exhibition, is an established bibliographer his Introduction is most erudite. Not least of the attractions of this catalogue is its cover design, adapted from that of *The Parlour Library*, in which the head of the household is reading without background music to his womenfolk, who neither knit nor darn—they are listening . . .

**THE FUTURE OF GOVERNMENT**, by Herman Finer. *Methuen*. 10s. 6d.

**THE STATE OF THE WORLD**, by Adam de Hegedus. *Cape*. 10s. 6d.

If there is one lesson that we in our generation have learned it is that economic factors are not the decisive influence in human life and governance. Here are two books very dissimilar in character which command attention because each in its own way gets down to bedrock, acknowledges the primacy of politics. Professor Finer is known for his standard work on English Local Government and for a massive tome, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, which appeared in 1932. The present volume was originally conceived as a supplement to that earlier work, containing as it does a critical analysis of political developments in Germany, France, Great Britain and the United States between 1932 and 1939. But it stands on its own feet by virtue of the prefatory section on our contemporary experience of dictatorships and, above all, by its assessment of

democracy's tasks in the days to come.

In the inter-war years, we are reminded, men's preoccupations could be summed up in the economic depression and the menace of war. The democratic systems have emerged triumphant from the ordeal—to the extent that their peculiar properties of political equality and the service of freedom have been vindicated. Yet the "tough bitter secular problems of government" remain, and we have still to ask ourselves seriously the question whether the democratic form of government can be maintained. Professor Finer provides no wholly satisfactory answer. He is a little too prone to marvel that so much has been accomplished. This age of ours, like that of Hobbes, he points out, has plumbed the depths of violence and social passion, and, all things considered, it is, he thinks, a remarkable thing that so many countries still have democratic government and so many more seek it.

The actual lesson he commends to us is 'back to the individual'. Not the class struggle is the source of our troubles but the individual's ignorance, his incapacity to appreciate the needs of

others, especially those with whom he is not in immediate contact. How then are people to achieve this mutual concern? Neither religion nor science can provide the necessary unifying ideal. The only thing to do, according to the author, is to recognize that there is no common faith and to draw the appropriate social conclusions, chief of which will be what might be called the principle of reciprocity of freedom, the principle that freedom for all is the necessary condition of freedom for each. This does not seem to square somehow with what we know of human psychology—or at any rate it involves an educational problem which the author conspicuously ignores.

Mr. Adam de Hegedus—whom I know only as the author of that slight but useful study *Hungarian Background*—is a horse from a very different stable. His book is marked (in civil service parlance) for James Burnham, the author of *The Managerial Revolution*, but he is at pains to relegate economic issues to the second place where they belong. Mr. de Hegedus is not offering any prescription but an analysis, a review, of what is actually happening in the world to-day.

He finds, accurately enough, that nationalism still remains the greatest political force of our time and explains that it involves in the first place the persistence of a 'state of war' between the highly assertive national-States in which we conduct our group-life—and have done for 400 years. The nation-State, he reminds us, has a tradition and a prestige which is lacking, for example, to socialism. Modern science enables us to understand the reasons for the tenacity of nationalism, to the frustration of nineteenth century aspirations: thus socialism, or any other intellectual conceit, appeals only to the roof-brain, and the experts have shown that the roof-brain accounts for no more than ten to fifteen per cent. of human behaviour. And "the most typical and important fact about nationalism is that it is urgently separatist in character". Yet the fact remains that the nation-State is "a prison for man-

kind, a prison with large and small cells."

If we still look in vain, however, for the *horizontal* revolution which will abolish certain privileges of the nation-State, nevertheless interdependence is an actuality, and, human history being regarded as a record of the gradual integration of mankind, it can be said that "the nation-State, the highest existing form of integration, is fighting a losing battle against the facts." To-day we are at the stage of monopoly-nationalism, with the 'spheres of influence' of the Big Three superseding the large number of sovereign States of our forefathers.

There is a deal of repetition in Mr. de Hegedus's "short natural history and descriptive anatomy" of nationalism, and perhaps he would have done well to differentiate between nationality and State-power in the compound product. But he has done a useful job of secular exegesis.

WILLIAM CARTER.

**PSYCHOLOGIST IN GERMANY**, by Saul K. Padover. *Phoenix House*. 15s.

Paradoxically, this book gains in value from the fact that it is out of date. It is a somewhat repetitive, but always readable, account of an investigation of the mentality and behaviour of a large group of Germans between September 1944 and May 1945; and our attitudes towards the Germans have been so completely transformed in the less than two years that have passed since their defeat that it comes as a salutary shock to be reminded of how they thought and behaved while Hitler was still alive, while his people were still prosperous from the loot of Europe, and confidently superior to the millions of slaves they were systematically working to death.

Before America entered the war, Dr. Padover had gained a reputation as a historian who had specialized in the life and works of Thomas Jefferson, a hero whose ideals were obviously very near to his historian's heart. There is no evidence

\**Victorian Fiction: an exhibition of original editions*. Cambridge University Press. 2s. Illustrated 6s.

to suggest that he has ever been a professional psychologist, but his ability to conduct a psychological interview, together with his fluent knowledge of German, fitted him for his work in the last nine months of the war, of which this book gives a narrative account. He was the head of a front-line intelligence team, whose work was to interview as many Germans, soldiers and civilians, as possible, with the aim of guiding more exactly the propaganda and morale-breaking activities of the American and British Psychological Warfare Teams, and discovering, if possible, any nuclei of resistance to Nazism in Germany to whom help and assistance could be given. The optimistic accounts of left-wing German refugees suggested that such movements existed and were relatively numerous.

As should be well-known now, such expectations were completely erroneous. Although Dr. Padover found a number of people who had ethical objections to some of the Nazi practices, and an enormous majority who were ready to blame Hitler for losing the war, it was only an exceptional and very aberrant individual who refused to profit by the loot and slave-labour, and none at all who risked verbal protests, sabotage, or slowing-up of war-work. Even the staunchest anti-Nazis, the Social-Democrats of the working classes (the undiscovered communists apparently never recovered from the demoralization produced by the Nazi-Soviet pact) never considered it possible to do anything other than work diligently at carrying out the orders given. A typical example of the attitude is given from the staunch Social-Democrats in a suburb of Krefeld, who were anxious to do anything to demonstrate their democratic principles and help their American liberators (they hailed them in those terms):

We said that if they were so anxious to show their appreciation, why did they not take pails of water and go out and wash off those offensive Nazi slogans and signs that were plastered all over Krefeld? A hushed silence fell in the room, and Peter Bollig, the fire-eating Socialist, asked in an incredulous voice "Ist das erlaubt?" (Is

that permitted?)

This was the attitude of the best Germans, the middle-aged ethical democrats, the only group from whom one could hope to construct a German democracy. They shared with their compatriots what an avowed Nazi called the German sickness, *Kadavergehorsamkeit* (cadaver obedience), obeying any order like robots, even against their innermost convictions. Where they differed from most of their fellows whom Dr. Padover interviewed, was in the fact that they were not completely unprincipled. The general picture, most convincing in its detail, is of complete moral abjectness, a universal willingness to deny the men and the ideas they had sedulously followed and profited by, coupled with a feeling of complete irresponsibility for the atrocities about which nearly everybody knew (my experience confirms Dr. Padover's) and excused on the grounds that they were not personally implicated, or, if they were, were merely carrying out orders.

Now that, in our sentimental fashion, we are paying far more attention to the sufferings of the Germans than to those of their victims, it is salutary to be reminded how the Germans behaved, until their last hope of victory was gone, and how, one has every reason to suppose, they would behave tomorrow if the chance arose. We must remember what the German character is like, and what it is capable of. This book also gives a most illuminating side-light on the inadequacies of American military government, faced with such complex problems; that, too, is salutary reading.

by GEOFFREY GORER.

**THE GERMAN QUESTION**, by Wilhelm Röpke. Translated by E. W. Dickes. *Allen & Unwin*. 10s. 6d.

Among the prolific literature on the problem of Germany this book takes a high rank. Seldom have the historic roots of the disaster which befell Germany, and later the whole world, been more carefully presented than by this writer whom Professor Hayek in his In-

roduction calls rightly "an economist of unusual brilliance and versatility." Professor Röpke deals particularly with the question so frequently asked and yet so incompletely answered: why, after Germany's defeat and political collapse in November 1918, following a few months of anxiety, Prussia, the Junkers, and the heavy industries emerged actually strengthened from the general collapse?

He shows that the right moment for a conversion of the Germans had been lost: "The essential reason was that both in Germany and the victor States there were but few far-seeing men familiar with the German problem who realized the necessity of accompanying Germany's moral revolution with a political and an economic and a social one." It is perhaps understandable that such persons did not come forward in the victor States. Have ever victors

produced a genuine feeling for the national traits and imponderabilia of the vanquished? It is far less understandable why the new spirit which was required did not generate within Germany itself; it is more difficult to explain this lack of genuine democratic attitude if one agrees with Professor Röpke about the "fatal separation of individual and collective morality, which distinguishes the German from other nations."

The author has not scrutinized in detail the material and materialistic circumstances which made a development of a German economic liberalism, in the British and American sense, an impossibility. Such an explanation might well have been expected from a man who has devoted the best part of his life to an intense and fruitful study of economics. Here and there some interesting examples of Germany's economic dilemma are

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given, for instance where *en passant* some rural problems are discussed. But for the author the German Question is far more a political, socio-political and administrative than an economic one. For this reason in his Epilogue which makes particularly suggestive reading he is more concerned with the political and formal reconstruction of the *Reich* than with the necessity of abolishing its economic incongruities. Even those who, like Professor Hayek in his foreword, favour a decentralized Germany should not forget that such a Germany may not be less unstable and unsettled than a centralized one if economic conditions are not definitely better-balanced than in the previous *Reich*. More consideration of the agricultural, industrial and even distributive conditions required to make the future of Germany economically sane would have been an asset to the book, but such considerations would also have required a full analysis of the economic implications of the typical middle-class Germany and its widespread reactionary elements.

The earnest character of the book is sometimes marred by digressions of a lighter kind which have here and there a comic touch. On page 111 it almost seems as if Professor Röpke wishes to reaffirm the idea of some Germans that "*die deutsche Eiche*", the German oak, is absolutely unique; for though he does not mention that popular tree he gives a vivid account of German forests and claims for Germans "a specially intimate relationship with nature and great respect for her." We cannot see in this a particular German characteristic, but what is certainly a peculiarity of the German attitude to nature is its nationalistic glorification. Inhabitants of a peaceful Germany of the future may be advised—and the middle-classes in particular—to travel more abroad and to see for themselves whether Professor Röpke's contention is right that there is no industrial country "in which it was possible to make grander trips far from the

main roads." This small point shows how dangerous it is to interpret national character by sweeping sociological generalizations. Otherwise Professor Röpke's work deserves the greatest attention not only of those who explore Germany's past but also of those who have to devise her future.

HERMANN LEVY.

**BOMBER OFFENSIVE**, by Marshal of the R.A.F. Sir Arthur Harris. Collins. 21s.

Our air offensive against Germany has been under fire from the critics from two separate quarters. It has been shot at as being, first, militarily ineffective, secondly, ethically indefensible. There is a *prima facie* case to be met on both counts. Serious students of the subject have been waiting for the book that would give the adequate answer that is possible to both criticisms. Sir Arthur Harris's is not that book.

It does not meet squarely Sir Henry Tizard's allegation (in an address at the Royal United Service Institution on March 27, 1946) that "the actual effort in man-power and resources expended in bombing Germany was greater than the value in man-power of the damage caused." It does not address itself directly to the disconcerting fact brought out in the United States Strategic Bombing Survey's report that despite the tremendous onslaught on the industrial cities, German production was higher in mid-1944 than it had ever been.

Nor does the book deal adequately with the ethical objection, sometimes crudely expressed in the parrot cry that strategic bombing was nothing but "baby-killing" on a grand scale. (It has been so termed by a recent military writer, Major Hoffman Nickerson, in his *Arms and Policy*, with almost wearisome emphasis.) Sir Arthur Harris's main reply to such a charge is to point to the 800,000 Germans (including women and children) starved to death by our blockade in the first world war. This

argument, admissible if used with discretion, may become a dangerous one; pressed too far, it might be used to excuse gas or plague bombs.

But why not use them, if, as Sir Arthur Harris says, there is no international law of air warfare? The only agreement ever made, he states, was one between the French and the Germans in 1870 about dropping explosives from balloons. The substance behind this statement is, one may surmise, a Hague Declaration of 1899 on balloons and explosives, to which, however, neither France nor Germany was a party. He says nothing about the Hague legislation of 1907, which did touch on air warfare, though very scrappily, and he is also silent on the subject of our Government's undertaking of September 2, 1939, to bomb only military objectives (admittedly an elastic term). It could be argued that that undertaking went by the board when Germany started indiscriminate attacks;

but Captain Harold Balfour stated in reply to a question in the House of Commons on March 11, 1943, that it was still our policy to attack only military objectives, and his chief, Sir Archibald Sinclair, implied that also in statements which he made. There is a disquieting element of mystery here.

In Sir Arthur Harris's view the general offensive against industry was the sure road to victory. He had no doubt about the rightness, from any angle, of such a policy. He disclaims having inaugurated the practice of target area bombing, but he certainly worked it for all it was worth. He has little patience with the other school of thought which favoured the selective bombing of special targets—"panacea targets" he calls them—and which seems, on the whole, to have been supported by the experience of the war; for it was by selective bombing that the Allied air forces deprived the enemy of the means of movement by road and rail and thus made

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his situation militarily and industrially hopeless. That is not to say that the blanket attack on industrial centres was thrown away, but the alternative method gave quicker results.

The book is more satisfying in so far as it is a record of the growth and development of the magnificent striking force which Sir Arthur Harris commanded in the years 1942-45. It is particularly informative about navigational and other scientific improvements which made our offensive so much more effective in the second half of the war. Bombing had previously been a rather slapdash business. Hamborn, he tells us, was attacked in mistake for Essen in March 1942.

Two small *errata* may be noted: the last raid on Berlin before that of the night of January 16, 1943, had been on November 7, 1941, not "in December of 1941", as stated at p. 135; and the big raid on Brunswick in October 1944 was on the night of the 14th-15th, not the 4th-5th as stated at p. 245.

J. M. SPAIGHT.

**ONWARD FROM D-DAY**, by Major-General H. Rowan-Robinson. *Hutchinson*. 16s.

**TASK FOR COASTAL COMMAND**, by Hector Bolitho. *Hutchinson*. 12s. 6d.

To be interesting about the war is as difficult now as it was easy two years ago. If Squadron-Leader Bolitho's book had come from the press even a month or two after the war ended, I know that I should have read it through without putting it down. It is a concise, vivid, admirably written account of some of the most difficult and important work done by the R.A.F. Every third page is a story of courage and skill. And yet I confess that to me, at this present moment, it is difficult to read. The fault is mine, not the book's; or rather, I am not even sure that the fault is mine. It is a fault of the time and place in which I read. Here is a sample of the tale that Hector Bolitho

tells: "When I was up at St. Eval last night I saw C., who sank his first U-boat a few days ago. He was half excited and half depressed. His brother has escaped from a prison camp in Germany and he has telegraphed to say that he is on his way to Cornwall. C. said: 'I am on operations to-night so I won't see him until I come back in the morning.' I heard later that a signal was received from Headquarters while C. was flying, announcing his promotion to squadron-leader and an award of a D.F.C. When I went down to breakfast the miserable news came through that he has not returned."

The difficulty with this kind of thing now is that it is not near enough to be topical, not far enough away to exert the emotional appeal which it will certainly acquire in ten years' time, perhaps sooner. Meantime this book, and many like it, must stand as a reminder of the difficulties which face publishers in the present period, and the shortages which prevent the publication of books at the time when their appearance would be most effective.

Major-General Rowan-Robinson has solved the problem of topicality because, though his book begins as a commentary on the campaigns from D-Day to the surrender of Japan, it does not end with the end of the war. The retrospective chapters are indeed a remarkably lucid survey of the closing months of the struggle. Their main interest lies, however, not in their own narrative but in the conclusions to which they force the author in his later chapters. The historical part of the book is, as it were, the curve of a graph drawn from known data; it is when the author continues his curve forward into the unknown that he becomes most certain of attention. Wisely he does not stress the obsolescence into which atomic power has driven many of the weapons with which the war was concluded. Too much has already been written on that subject for the average reader to be in need of reminding. What the author does stress

is the indication of the shape of future land warfare, as it was to be seen in the troglodyte fighting and cave defences developed by the Japanese. Nothing that has been revealed of atomic power so far, has indicated that land armies are no longer likely to be required; but the army of the future is likely to depend on air transport for supply, and on air mobility when mobility is needed. At all other times the army is likely to be driven underground.

On the subject of Imperial defence, General Rowan-Robinson emphasizes the importance of instant readiness as opposed to reliance on potential strength—in other words, that if industry and manpower are to have time to make war at all, they must be ready for war throughout the years of peace and not merely at the moment when a war appears likely. Here, though the author does not say so, is the German theory of *Wehrwirtschaft*. From that premise one is driven inevitably to the conclusion that no country can consider itself capable of its own defence unless the morale of its industry in peace is as high as that of its army in war. The final point of his projected graph is therefore that the relationship between leaders and led in the industry of tomorrow must be that which existed between officers and men in a good regiment in 1945. "Let the Government," he writes, "aiming at such happy relations, adopt the Eighth Army's slogan: 'we are all in this together, and together we will see it through.'"

GORDON WINTER.

**OLD KOREA**, by Elizabeth Keith and E. K. Robertson Scott. *Hutchinson*. 42s.

Korea is not only a country of great interest but, at the present time, one of considerable political importance. We know very little about what is happening there, and any book which helped to explain the situation would be of considerable service to all students of international affairs. It must be said at once that this

is definitely not such a book.

It may be objected that a reviewer has no right to criticize a work for not being something different; and certainly the authors, by affixing an adjective to their title, have made it clear that they are not describing present conditions. Nevertheless, they suggest the recent emancipation of Korea as a reason for publishing these notes of a journey undertaken nearly thirty years ago.

Miss Elizabeth Keith and her sister spent a few months in Korea in 1919, and the haphazard notes of which this book is composed (it runs only to seventy-two pages) were compiled mostly from the conversations of the various missionaries with whom they stayed. They are for the most part of a somewhat generalized and sentimental kind and do nothing to explain the structure of Korean society.

There are a great many full-page illustrations, of which sixteen have been reproduced in colour. It is perhaps unfair

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to judge the quality of a painting only by its reproduction, but there is in these nothing to suggest that the originals are more than competently executed water colours. A general lack of vitality is apparent in the monochrome illustrations, the majority of which are portraits, as indeed are also those in colour.

The chief objection to this book is that it gives an entirely false picture even of the old Korea. In every one of the illustrations the people are depicted either in ceremonial dress or the colourful native costumes which were discarded for general use a very long time ago. This is as misleading as it would be to suggest that the people of, say, Holland invariably wore the picturesque clothes in which before the war foreign tourists were so fond of photographing them.

The book is dedicated to General MacArthur, Lord Louis Mountbatten and Admiral Nimitz "who were the means of freeing Korea from her oppressors. Korea must forever be indebted to them." I wonder! Meanwhile, the present position is that Korea is occupied partly by the Russians and partly by the United States, whose respective armies stand facing one another on the line dividing the two zones. The Russians will not allow anyone to visit the part of the country at present in their control, but we do at least know that they have already stripped it of all its plant. Owing to the ideological conflict between the two occupying powers the Koreans themselves are no longer politically homogeneous, and this charming country, so long oppressed by the Japanese, has now become the chief danger spot in the Far East. But of these matters the authors of this book make no mention.

JOHN MORRIS.

**IN THE RAIN AND THE SUN.**  
by the Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery. *Hutchinson*. 21s.  
**JAN SMUTS**, by F. S. Crafford. *Allen & Unwin*. 21s.

Under the olive trees of Taranto during the first world war, while their train was

getting ready, Mr. Amery and General Smuts were recalling the stores of Horace and of English poetry which they could remember. This was, and happily still is, by no means the only field in which these two are worthy champions. Statesmen are not often as physically active in later years as Field Marshal Smuts who—a poor sailor, we are told—travels unceasingly on behalf of South Africa and the Empire, while Mr. Amery's exploits on the mountains of various Continents are commemorated by the mountain in Alberta which is named after him and enables him to decorate his book with a frontispiece more unusual and more grandiose than the ordinary photograph of the author.

It would be hard to imagine a life with fewer wasted moments than that of Mr. Amery (who casually informs us that he talked to so-and-so in Turkish, Russian, Afrikaans or Serbo-Croat). He must have regarded with great sympathy an old fellow in South Africa who had saved up £1,500 and was proposing to settle down in Cape Town to educate himself. In this he resembled a wealthy peasant I chanced to encounter in Serbia who, being an old bachelor, had built a church, a museum and a school for his village and was going to enter the latter in order to learn how to read and write. He had been spared the unpleasantness of which certain Mashonaland chieftains complained to Mr. Amery, then Secretary of State for the Dominions, namely the increasing tendency of their wives to run away. We are not told what advice Mr. Amery gave them; no doubt it was as sensible as what he here gives for the treatment of the Assyrians who should, he says, relieve the strain on our military system by being formed into a Legion of homeless warriors with the Poles and others.

Very seldom does Mr. Amery's memory play him false, but in the next edition of this very full book he should amend the statement that the Russian monastery on Mount Athos is called Lavropedi, into which word he appears to have joined

the two Greek monasteries of Lavra and Vatopedi. He tells us that in the Russian monastery he found his command of the language became increasingly fluent as the libations proceeded, so that it seems he did not remember that he was at a place known as Pantaleimon. Otherwise we always feel that we can admire and trust him even as he admires Gertrude Bell, the famous Orientalist who was also 'a magnificent climber'—he instances her fifty-seven hours' ascent of the east face of the Finsteraarhorn—and even as he could trust the Austrians in the first world war to observe the principle governing Balkan warfare, the unwritten truce to cover the midday meal and subsequent siesta. "Absolute safety," said his companion Admiral Troubridge at Belgrade, "till 3.30; after that sudden death."

When the old Boer general, Piet Joubert, was told in 1885 of the discovery of gold on the Rand he said to his informant, who believed himself to be the bearer of glad tidings: "You would do better to weep, for this gold will cause our country to be soaked in blood." The part taken by General Smuts in the subsequent warfare has often been described, as have his political conflicts with General Herzog and others. To all this Mr. Crafford, whose pedestrian style compares unfavourably with that of Mr. Amery, has little to add. He achieves merit in avoiding the adulation of his hero, never hesitating to tell us that as a young man and afterwards he failed, for some reason or another, to be popular with his fellows. The outspokenness in his character, which has frequently been described as tactlessness, was displayed when in the United States he compassionately said that black men were "the most patient of all creatures next to the ass." But his absolute refusal to be diverted from his high aim had its reward when in the first world war he joined the British War Cabinet and was given all manner of honours in this country. Receiving the degree of LL.D at Cambridge, his old University, he was referred to as

"like the younger Scipio, our Second Africanus." "Long talks with Smuts and Amery," so wrote Sir Henry Wilson in his diary when Smuts wisely declined Lloyd George's offer to take command in Palestine. Perhaps one day the B.B.C. instead of a Brains Trust, would stage a long—it could not be too long—talk between Amery and Smuts on their contacts in bygone years.

HENRY BAERLEIN.

**THE LIFE OF LLEWELYN POWYS**, by Malcolm Elwin. *The Bodley Head*. 15s.

Already Powysian literature is expanding rapidly as interest grows in a family distinguished not only for diversity of artistic talent, but for affectionate loyalty as well. Mr. Louis Marlow's study, *Welsh Ambassadors*, gave an admirable general outline, furnishing much information about the three best-known members—John Cowper Powys, famous as

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—Rev. xi., 19; iv., 4, 10.

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Llewelyn Powys was born at Dorchester in 1884 and his childhood was a particularly happy one. He lived for some years at Montacute in Somerset where his father was vicar. It was in November 1909 that he experienced his first attack of the consumption which was to shadow him and shape his life in the years ahead. The effect of disease on the growth of talent is a subject with which many literary historians have been concerned. Mr. Elwin does not underestimate its importance in regard to this pagan poet whose appreciation of life and philosophy of happiness was intensified by the knowledge of the nearness of death. On the practical side it compelled him to meditate, to turn aside from other employments, such as teaching and lecturing.

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While lying ill in Switzerland, where he had journeyed to recapture his health, Powys tried to recall the beauties of his beloved Dorset villages and downs and valleys; he made up his mind to live as fully as possible savouring the hours as they passed. Perhaps it is in the autobiographical writings, as in his novel *Apples Be Ripe* and in the spiritual autobiography *Love and Death*, that we come close to an understanding of a simple but nevertheless, bewildering personality.

"I rail against God," Powys once wrote, "but I don't want him to hear it." In his attitude to Christianity and to religious problems, Llewelyn Powys differed markedly from his elder brothers. Both J.C. and Theodore Powys broke away from that orthodox Christianity their father served, but they retained a belief in the soul's survival or in the angry omnipotence of God. Llewelyn was a hedonist with a contempt for Christianity. To him all religion was synonymous with superstition. Mr. Elwin is not unsympathetic to this uncompromising attitude, because a full knowledge shows how honest and sincere Powys was. Though he lacked philosophic impartiality, which marred such controversial works as *The Cradle of God*, *The Pathetic Fallacy*, and *A Pagan's Pilgrimage*, he had in his heart a passionate ardour and a kindness which might well have been the envy of religious men. Llewelyn Powys for all his denials and denunciations, comes within that category if religion can mean love of man.

It is early yet, as this biographer suggests, to make any forecasts about the place Llewelyn Powys will eventually occupy in English literature. It seems fairly certain that he has earned a reputation as a stylist which will not easily be set aside. Those books in which he writes of the customs and traditions of the West of England, works such as *Dorset Essays*, *Somerset Essays* and *Earth Memories*, will take their place beside the poetry of Herrick and the prose of Lamb.

E. W. MARTIN.

## BOOKS ON THE TABLE

WHEN Hitler dissolved the women's organizations in Germany he was creating a big part of the problem which the Control Commission are now trying to solve. The numerical superiority of German women and their subordinate position are factors which make their re-education imperative. The education branch of the Commission asked the Women's Group on Public Welfare to send nominees to report on the prospects of developing associations for women. Helena Deneke, closely linked with Women's Institutes, and Betty Norris, a member of the staff of the Townswomen's Guilds, both fluent German speakers be it noted, undertook the survey, one of the results of which is the publication by the *National Council of Social Service* of *THE WOMEN OF GERMANY* (1s.).

Both think there is good material for establishing freedom in Germany and that some women there are ready to lead the way but, without material aid for repairs to buildings, the supply of utensils, and the replacement of worn-out clothing, it is difficult to see how teaching in democracy can be made to hold good. Above all, "two basic needs remain unsatisfied: a ration for the ordinary consumer that allows of full work, and sufficient fuel." The suspicion that pamphlets are not read is disquieting here; all who long for, all who are working for peace in the world should buy this one.

#### Going abroad

Another cheaply-priced booklet which may not receive the attention it deserves is *INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES* by Phyllis Bottoms (*Allen & Unwin P.E.N. Books*. 2s.). The author's choices are America, France, Germany, Austria and Great Britain and her emphatic opinions are much her own. She is entitled to these by virtue of her wide experience and discerning eye and her essay "France of Today" (even with the Panthéon printed

as 'the Parthenon') is particularly penetrating.—*MOSCOW* (*Hutchinson*. 15s.) is a series of sketches by ten of its inhabitants, translated by Peggy Cochrane. The city's chief architect, the director of its Music School, a distinguished member of its University, an actor whose family is identified with the Maly Theatre, an executive in one of its great factories, are some of these. The note of earnest endeavour is sounded as clearly as usual but fails to detract from the enticement of a place which for most of us is unknown.

#### Farmers and farming

And those about to go further south might begin with *THE AUSTRALIA BOOK* by John Norwood. (*Crisp*. 5s.). This has been written primarily for English boys and girls and its outline of Australian history, its descriptions of the human, no less than the animal and bird way of life there should succeed in the author's avowed wish to incite children (and their parents) to read further. His hope that you may one day "visit the country and see all these things for yourself" is reinforced by the many photographs which so ably illustrate the book.—Back to English farming we come with *THE BUDDING MORROW*, yet another of the delightful books of Adrian Bell (*The Bodley Head*. 7s. 6d.). His experiences have ripened in him a philosophy of living to which only extensive quotation could do justice. The land has so far 'got' Mr. Bell that he can say: "Work on a farm is not just a thing you do; it is something that you are." And happy associations arising out of prisoner of war employment make him exclaim: "If only a common personal contact could be substituted for this damned press patriotism, all over the world . . ."

#### "We all go mad after a war"

How to define *THE SHOP ON THE KING'S ROAD* by B. Ifor Evans (*Hodder & Stoughton*. 8s. 6d.) is a puzzle. It seems to be a compromise between a novel

and a "documentary" of post-war London, which in places reads like a guide book. Autobiography, though written in the first person, it certainly cannot be, for the episodes impart no feeling of being integrated as if part of a woven pattern. Those who do not look for great originality or depth of thought will enjoy the quiet observations of the ex-service man who buys a bookshop on impulse. But after reading, the thought is left that had he not rushed off to the Picasso exhibition, to matins at the nearby church, to Dora Gordine's sculptures at the Leicester Galleries, to the British Legion display in the Albert Hall, to the home of the Chelsea Pensioners—all in working hours—he might have found in his own bookshop more satisfactory answers to his riddles. In other words, he was lucky in these days to have a Mrs. Porlock and a Grace to look after his goods while he went gallivanting and he was unlucky in being able thus to avoid the spiritual discipline which might have grown out of hard and interesting work. All of which presumably is not the effect the author intended. Awed by his scholastic eminence one is perhaps naïvely surprised that a Doctor of Literature should not write an entirely satisfying book.

### Regency revels

It is always a great pleasure to be able to read a play that one has enjoyed and in *THE FIRST GENTLEMAN* by Norman Ginsbury (*Hammond, Hammond*. 8s. 6d.) the pleasure is enhanced by the discovery that it reads still better than it played. The stage characterizations hovered rather uneasily on the edge of caricature, with Robert Morley (surely rightly, for the Prince Regent's sense of humour must have allowed him to guy himself occasionally) not even hovering. Into this atmosphere of semi-burlesque Amy Frank's Caroline, Princess of Wales, magnificently played, intruded with sombre tragedy. The book shows less sign of divided aim and we can now be sorry

for Caroline without feeling uncomfortably that perhaps the author intended us to laugh at her. This leaves us free to appreciate the ironies of Prinny when, for instance, his appearance is greeted by a volley of vegetables, or his instinctive lapse into melodrama as he leaves her bedside to discuss his daughter's funeral arrangements. These people ring true; that they do not rely on a stage to bring them to life is surely the sign of a good play. Only a Bernard Shaw may break the rules.

To those who saw the play the numerous photographs of the production will serve to keep the memory green, and aspiring playwrights should be able to take courage from the author's introductory remarks.

### Story tellers

Aled Vaughan edits the first group of what is to be an annual collection of tales called *CELTIC STORY* (*Pendulum Publications*. 6s.) designed to represent the work of writers from Scotland, Wales, the west country and Ireland. Some of the authors are well known, and not exclusively for short stories. The invitation to would-be contributors seems to indicate that this is a medium for new writers, though one at least of the present pieces has been published before—"Moon is only moon" by Elizabeth Myers strikes a pleasant chord of memory from its appearance in *THE FORTNIGHTLY* in May 1941. The editor however in his foreword says the stories "are not experimental; it has been the aim of myself and the publisher to give a discerning public a volume of entertaining stories that follow the trend this form of art has taken during the past six years." Though the regional thesis can be pushed beyond reason, a sense of poetry not being peculiar to "Celticism", these stories do indeed reflect humour, pathos and imagination, and the book makes good company for the idle minute.

GRACE BANYARD.

# THE FORTNIGHTLY

APRIL, 1947

## THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY

BY W. FRIEDMANN

IN attempting to solve the problem of Germany at Moscow, the Foreign Ministers cannot but reflect with grave hearts on the results of the first two years of Allied Military Government in Germany. The success or failure of that gigantic experiment cannot be measured by cheap comparisons or phrases, such as: "Think what the Germans would have done" or: "They have asked for it". These phrases tripped easily from the tongues of those, both inside and outside Military Government, who wanted to find a ready excuse for their own indifference or unwillingness to face the facts. The only proper measure is the task set to the Allies when they entered defeated Germany, as masters over the fate of a big and highly developed country, more absolute than any victors have ever been.

The task was a two-fold one; first, the joint government of Germany as an essential step towards Allied integration and super-national government; secondly, the conversion of Germany into a peacefully-minded, reasonably contented but not menacing country. The accomplishment of these tasks demanded a width of outlook, a clarity of purpose, an art of government and administration and a spirit of devotion without comparison. Total control meant total responsibility. The Germans could not and, to a large extent cannot even now, do much more than offer the body of the patient on whom a new kind of operation is to be performed. But after a brief narcosis the patient regained consciousness and watched the operation with feelings mixed of pain, curiosity and an increasingly cynical scepticism of the skill of the doctors. Here indeed we have the first turning of the tables. In their very misery and agony, the Germans know that the four Allies depend on the success or failure of their German administration no less desperately than they themselves. They have linked their own mutual relations, their prestige and, to a large extent, the peace of the world with it.

None of the foreign ministers can be under any illusion that the balance sheet of the first two years is a bad one, both for the Allied nations jointly and for each of them separately in regard to the administration of its special zone. Politically, the aim of joint Allied control of a German administration, with zonal sub-divisions, has been turned into the practical division of Germany into four countries, halfway between states and colonies, (the economic union between the British and American zones has now restored a partial union between these two zones). Nor has any of the four nations succeeded in gain-

CLIX

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ing the lasting respect and sympathies of the Germans in their zones.

They have failed for different reasons. The Russians, who came in with the immense prestige value of their military victories and of a political and social system which seemed the great antithesis of Naziism, have failed mainly owing to three factors: the understandable but deplorable total collapse of discipline, especially during the first six months, the indiscriminate but often contradictory character of their economic policy, the mixture of industrial reconstruction and destruction due far more than is generally believed to conflicting Russian policies; and finally the realization by the Germans that the Soviet attitude towards individual liberty was fundamentally akin to that of the Nazis. The French, bent as before mainly on the incorporation of their zone of occupation into the French orbit, have failed again in their attempt to persuade Germans of the blessings of being Frenchmen. They have, on the whole, the easiest zone to administer: the zone least destroyed and most thinly populated, with the rich Saar territory in it. Their failure is mainly due to the indiscipline of their troops and the openly professed objective of getting as much as possible out of their zone, regardless of the consequences. Economically, both the Russians and the French have undoubtedly got something out of their zones. The net benefit of the thousands of machines and factories dismantled and transported to Russia and France respectively is sadly out of proportion to the damage suffered by German industry. The very manner of dismantling made many machines useless from the start, and the transport, in conditions of chaos, often took many months, spoiling a large proportion of the machines which did not get lost on the way. Much more substantial is the benefit from current production of such German industry as remains.

Britain and the United States have failed for different reasons. Having suffered less immediate damage at the hands of the Germans, they did not set themselves the primary objective of getting out of their zones what they could. The amount of open reparations—except for certain items such as merchant shipping—is very small in relation to the burden of keeping the zones fed. One qualification is needed: hidden reparations, in the form of patents, trade marks and, above all, thousands of special machines taken away for the use, more often than not, of specific industrial competitors, are substantial and should be accounted for as an item of reparations. In many cases, it is true, the effect has only been to make a particular patent or trade secret hitherto known only to one firm in this country available to all. Again, the negative effect has been greater than the positive. Many hundreds of German firms feel that the result of the work of generations has been taken away from them, often by disguised competitors under thin official pretence, and the psychological effect far outweighs the material benefit. But the British and American failure is mainly a political one. They have both failed, though for different reasons, to impress Germans with the superior value of Western democracy. (The French have laid more emphasis on their cultural and

artistic superiority; but exhibitions of modern French paintings have not entirely made up for empty stomachs). The Americans have done their best, and not altogether without success, to introduce their conception of democratic institutions. But no one can pretend that their occupation forces have lived up to the ideals of a superior civilization. Before a special currency was introduced for occupation troops, the amount of money sent home by the American occupation forces, in one month, was three times the total pay owed to them. Generosity, indiscipline and rapaciousness are strangely mingled. But the greatest difficulty is the mental gulf between the average American and the European problem.

For the first year of occupation the British alone seemed to have won the genuine respect of the Germans. They were, on the whole, reserved but humane and seemed essentially intent on keeping the rudiments of life going or restoring them. There was little corruption. The last year has brought a radical change: this is due to four factors. For two of them the British have only limited responsibility. First, in the zone which has by far the biggest concentration of ruined towns and destroyed industries, the influx of nearly two million old people, women and children from the east has been disastrous. But the British Government could not help this, once it had given its fateful assent to the *de facto* frontier with Poland running along the Oder-Neisse line. Secondly, the British made a psychological mistake in doing everything, during the first year of occupation, to keep industry going on the substantial accumulated stocks of raw materials, while starting to apply the dismantling policy and closing down of industries in the second year when the physical and mental reserves of the Germans were exhausted and their readiness to accept such measures was far smaller. The Russians and French here have a psychological advantage in having been ruthless at the very beginning. There is however thirdly, an undoubted deterioration in the British personnel, both civil and military. This is hardly so at the top level; but the trained military government officer and the disciplined veteran soldier have been replaced by a mass of second and third-rate business men, and by young troops whose first period of active service means barrack discipline in duty hours and absolute power off duty. Lastly, initiative and improvisation have been replaced by an incredibly complex bureaucratic system handled by a conglomeration of people inferior in quality and integrity to the trained Civil Service at home.

A balanced account of the situation after two years of military government must however weigh the factors outside the immediate control of the four Allied governments against those within their control. The Germans are only too apt to forget that even the wisest and most efficient Allied administration would have been faced with the inescapable consequences of nearly six years' war. The physical destruction alone would have meant many years of ceaseless reconstruction in a world of plenty. And while the destruction



of the towns is largely the result of Allied bombing, the transport chaos is mainly the result of the insane and criminal policy of the Nazi leaders in the last few weeks of the war, the senseless destruction of almost every bridge, the blocking of waterways, etc. Again, the desperate shortage of raw materials and food in Germany is only a more intensive aspect of the world shortage of coal and food (especially fats) which is hitting the rest of the world, with a few fortunate exceptions.

Unfortunately, this factor, which is largely a German moral responsibility and compels Britain, for example, to provide food for Germany out of her meagre resources of foreign exchange, is so mixed up with factors for which the Allied governments are themselves responsible that it is doubly difficult to remind hungry and weary Germans of their own responsibilities. Two facts overshadow all others, both in their economic and political consequences, and in their psychological effect upon the Germans: the mass expulsion of Germans from Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia, and the disintegration of Germany into four zones which symbolize Allied disunity.

The futility of justifying these mass expulsions by comparison with German actions has already been stressed. Economically, the expulsions from the East mean that the richest grain producing area in Central Europe is to-day largely a wilderness, while the people who cultivated it are an unwanted addition to the overcrowded West, mainly to the British zone. Hundreds can witness the desolation of the East which the Poles are unable to fill with adequate numbers of settlers. Of the three million Sudeten Germans, the Czechs have expelled about two-thirds, realizing at last that they were not equally guilty, and, above all, that many of them were among the most skilled craftsmen, engineers and farmers. But the practice, recently adopted, of retaining the skilled men, while continuing to expel their families, is not much superior to the practice of the Nazis. Even a fusion of the four zones of Germany could not to-day produce anything approaching self sufficiency in food, because the bulk of Eastern Germany is outside.

Psychologically, it is impossible to exaggerate the effect of the mass expulsions on the Germans.\* There, to the minds of both idealists and cynics, is a living and ever-present vindication of the Nazi theory that victory means only a turning of the tables and that the worst thing is not to make war but to be beaten. Britain may have been hard pressed when assenting to this calamitous decision on the *de facto* Polish frontier but she must share with the other Allies the responsibility for a decision the disastrous effects of which are incalculable and can hardly be mitigated now.

The disintegration of Germany into four zones again has an economic and political, as well as a psychological aspect. Economically, it has meant, until recently, and it still means to a large extent that the paralysed economic life of Germany circulates within areas which are not only too small but utterly

\* cf. the warnings in "Multi-National States" in THE FORTNIGHTLY, May 1944.

unbalanced. The British zone, with its concentration of heavy industry and dense population, is heavily under-productive in food; but its industries, such as coal mining, textiles and engineering, formerly received much of their specialized equipment from Saxony and Berlin. The machinery of administration, already immensely complicated through the double hierarchy of Allied and German administration has been made even more difficult by inter-zonal problems. Moreover the zones are essentially the result of the accidents of military occupation and of horse dealing rather than of any plan. The worst example is the frontier between the American and French zone. Two of the oldest, most liberal and best balanced states of Germany, Württemberg and Baden, with a population of three million and one and a half million respectively, have been cut into half. Their capitals, Stuttgart and Karlsruhe, are at the very southern end of the American zone. Through the hardening of zone boundaries the northern and southern halves of these two states have been drawn more and more apart, against all political economic and psychological reason. Even the attempt to remedy the worst consequences through an exchange, by incorporation of the whole of one of the states in the American and of the other in the French zone, has failed. A better way of both suffocating a sound regional and federal system, and of reviving national mythologies, can hardly be imagined.

Worse however, is the general psychological effect of the division. Every German constantly sees before him the four different systems set up by the Allies and their thinly disguised conflicts. There is, it is true, an Allied Control Authority in Berlin. It has passed a small number of orders, between thirty or forty laws, and a similar number of directives. But with the exception of a directive on de-Nazification (even this is far from uniformly interpreted in the different zones), of taxation, and of the establishment of certain machinery for labour relations,\* these joint measures are concerned with relative trifles, such as the confiscation of Nazi literature, the establishment of a uniform time throughout Germany, the demilitarization of sport, etc. Essentially, the four zones have become four different worlds in which the Allies exhibit their different conceptions of government, of humanitarianism, of social progress, etc. Strangely enough, it is the British, with all their record and experience in indirect government, who have been more governess-like than any of the other powers and have exhibited a zeal for the introduction of speculative reforms which has increased the gulf between the zones.

\* Some of these decisions were made after many months of discussion; others were reached with astonishing levity. Thus, a Control Council Law of May 10, 1946, fixed the tax of cigars—which, in Germany, are the small man's smoke—at ninety per cent of the retail price. This meant a tenfold increase of the price and led to the immediate paralysis of the cigar industry largely concentrated in the British zone and employing some 30,000 people. The decision was made without consultation of the Trade and Industries Divisions concerned. After months of protest and both British and German endeavours, the British Authorities reduced the tax to eighty per cent, deferring the rest, and the industry—a typical craftsman's and smallholder's industry of the type to be encouraged—was restarted.



The most important British measure in this field is the reform of local government which has replaced the traditional German system of full time administrators (Landrat in rural areas, and Burgomaster in towns), responsible, before the advent of the Nazis, to rural and municipal parliaments, by the English system of full time unpolitical town clerks and honorary, politically elected mayors. This system, by no means unquestionable in this country, has meant, in Germany, a duplication of machinery and cost, at a time when there is a desperate shortage of capable administrators and there are hardly any people with the means and leisure to fill the honorary posts. Invariably either the honorary mayor, who is the nominal chief and has the superior title (a matter of outstanding importance to Germans) or, more frequently, the permanent official runs the show. The immediate result of this well meant but misguided reform, the objects of which could have been accomplished by a shortening of the terms of office of the permanent officials, has been the flight of some of the most capable administrators to the American zone which, in this respect, has been handled with much more discretion. The Russians have of course interfered even more fundamentally with the German system, but they have done it indirectly, through the sponsoring of a German party which they presume will carry out Soviet policy.

The economic effect of the recent economic fusion between the British and American zones—which has been described in a recent article in *The Times* (March 4) should not be exaggerated; it has created almost as many problems as it has solved. The fusion smacks of a western state which the British and American governments are rightly anxious to avoid as long as there is any prospect of a re-establishment of a central German administration. Consequently, the fusion is limited to certain functions: industry and trade, agriculture and transport. The zones remain separate politically and, to an uncertain extent, socially. The bi-zonal administration are directly responsible only to military government and, indirectly, to the constituent states of the two zones which creates a dangerous tension between the needs of central planning and particularist tendencies. The social conceptions of the two Allied governments, especially on the question of public ownership of industries, differ considerably. Yet, this fusion is the first big step forward, in so far as it partially heals at least one of the zonal divisions and restores freedom of movement and communication between them. How far the split has gone in the less than two years of occupation is shown by the fact that the bi-zonal administration for food and agriculture has so far had the greatest difficulty in inducing the southern states to throw their relatively greater resources in food into the common pool.

The next factor of disorder, which is squarely an Allied responsibility, is the confusion of economic policy. The Russians have vacillated between a policy of utter spoliation of their zone and a partial economic reconstruction, the latter policy being advocated by the Russian military government, the

former by Moscow. The French have gone for downright exploitation of their zone, and this may alter only in the case of the Saar which they now consider to all intents and purposes as French. The Americans have executed the most radical turnabout, from the insane Morgenthau plan of complete de-industrialization (including the closing down of coal mines) to the Byrnes policy of restoring the German economy to reasonable prosperity. The British have, in principle, pursued a policy of moderate reconstruction from the beginning but have been far too weak and inconsistent in carrying it out. During the past twelve months, the British have, for instance, sacrificed their own much more sensible construction of zonal authorities for very questionable American constructions of confederate government. The basic fallacy lies however in the principle of the Level of Industry Plan. It is not the actual level of production determined in the Plan which has so far caused the greatest trouble. Steel capacity for example, is left at seven and a half million tons of which more than three-quarters is in the British zone; but the zone cannot produce at present more than three million tons. It is the principle which is wrong. It involves the control of German industry almost factory by factory, by an inflated staff of controllers and is therefore as difficult to execute in practice as its philosophy is wrong. The alternative is the efficient control of certain keys of production, such as power generation and the import of certain raw materials, coupled with a system of inspection through a very much smaller staff of highly skilled inspectors.

The other dilemma created by Allied policy is the burden which it casts upon the Allies, especially the British and American governments, because of the German inability to produce and export. Here again, the bi-zonal fusion marks the beginning of good sense; the German import and export agency, under the control of an Anglo-American agency, has been instructed to work out an export and import programme, enabling the two western zones gradually to pay their way. It means an initial further investment of Allied resources, through the import of raw materials. But this is much more realistic and sane than the previous policy.

(Dr. Friedmann, who has just been appointed to the Chair of Public Law at Melbourne, Australia, has been associated with the Military Government of Germany for nearly two years, first as a SHAEF Officer, then as adviser on economic administration to the American Command and finally as Director of the Organization Branch of the Economic Sub-Commission in the British Control Commission.)

A second article by Dr. Friedmann, in the May issue of *THE FORTNIGHTLY*, will discuss the main problems now to be solved.

## MAN-POWER AND STRATEGY

BY W. T. WELLS, M.P.

"THE prospective labour force of 18,300,000 men and women at December 1947," states the much-discussed White Paper "Economic Survey for 1947",<sup>\*</sup> "falls substantially short of what is needed to reach the national objectives." To help to fill this gap the Government is appealing to women to enter industry and is planning for the absorption, within the current year, of 100,000 foreign workers, to raise the total to 18,400,000. It seems clear that this latter figure is still materially short of what is required; before the American loan runs out, our exports must be raised to at least seventy-five per cent more than the 1938 volume, whereas this year the target aimed at is not more than forty per cent. increase on that figure. If the higher figure is to be achieved during 1948, either more workers will have to be found, or fewer will have to be engaged in production for home consumption, or more workers will have to be employed in production and fewer in distribution and similar services. The effect of adopting the second of these courses would be to lower the standard of living, while the effect of the third, even if it be practicable, is at present incalculable.

In this connection the White Paper published shortly before the Economic Survey, "Statement Relating to Defence",<sup>†</sup> gives rise to, and has occasioned, serious reflection if not actual misgiving. This Paper shows that, on December 31, 1946, the strength of the Armed Forces was 1,427,000 and the numbers employed in producing for the Services was 459,000; by March 31, 1948, it is estimated that the numbers of men and women in the Forces will have fallen to 1,087,000, whilst during the year 1947-48 the numbers engaged in production for the Services will be in the neighbourhood of 450,000. In other words, at a time of national impoverishment and man-power shortage between 1,900,000 and 1,500,000 men and women, instead of being engaged in productive work, will be, from the purely economic standpoint, merely consumers, paid from the results of the surplus productive capacity of the rest of the population. Is this a burden that the country can, at this time, bear?

It is certainly ironical to reflect that we are having to support forces of this size out of a labour shortage when, before the war, we were finding it difficult to recruit the Services at about a third of the present strength with over a million unemployed. Our international position is untenable without economic recovery

and we maintain armed forces solely in order to maintain our international position.<sup>‡</sup> The question is, are our armed forces going to undermine our chances of economic recovery?

The countervailing factors to be considered are succinctly stated in the "Statement Relating to Defence" (paragraph 7): "... developments in recent months have stressed the urgent need of restoring a balanced peace economy at the earliest moment, and by all practicable measures . . . But it is essential that the fruits of seven years of intense war effort should not be thrown away by an ill-considered jettisoning of defence responsibilities, however admirable may be the aim of lightening the national burden. Two major wars in one generation have pointed the force of this conclusion . . ."

Indeed they have, and to demand a reduction in our armed forces below what is necessary for national security would be the height of irresponsibility. But national security does not involve some static and clearly ascertainable requirement of man-power and material; it varies from time to time both with the international situation and with technical developments. It is a problem that calls for constant and almost continuous investigation. What are the demands of national security to-day? Are the plans now being proposed made on a realistic basis? These are the questions that this article sets out to examine.

The short-term problem is that discussed within the compass of the "Statement Relating to Defence". This contemplates, as stated above, the reduction in the numbers of the armed forces by 340,000 in the fifteen months from December 31, 1946 to March 31, 1947, that is to say a monthly rate of just under 23,000. The numbers, in fact, are being reduced by approximately one-third. On the face of it, this is a very rapid and even drastic reduction; but the period after the end of a great war is naturally the time for such a reduction, and it is right to ask whether the process cannot be hastened. The present rate represents a reduction in strength of less than two per cent. a month. While the forces have to be kept in being at all it is imperative to keep them efficient, and clearly there is a rate beyond which the units of any of the Services cannot be deprived of their most experienced and best-trained men without having their efficiency impaired. In this connection it must be remembered that since June 1945, 4,290,000 men and women have been demobilized, so that, inevitably, the quality of the forces cannot be now what it was then. At the same time, this rate of two per cent. represents less than the percentage of its nominal strength which any unit would normally have expected to have had absent on privilege leave during the war years. If, therefore, the maintenance of efficiency be the governing consideration that determines the present rate of release, some further explanation seems required why this proportion has been selected.

It may well be, however, that this has not been the governing consideration. If it has not been, what has? The only apparent answer is that our existing commitments govern the rate of release. If this answer is correct, the immediate question to arise is, what prospect is there of such a drastic restriction of our

<sup>\*</sup> Comd. 7045.

<sup>†</sup> Comd. 7042.

commitments as to justify a fall of 340,000 in the numbers of men and women in the Services; or, to take the Army alone, on which necessarily falls the main burden of our operational commitments at the present time, a reduction of over 300,000, from 896,000 in February 1947 to 590,000 in March 1948? What reductions in our commitments are likely within the relevant period?

By March of next year our troops will have left Italy and Venezia Giulia. It is to be hoped that the Austrian treaty will by then have been signed and that the period of three months, within which our troops will have left, will have expired; and it is probable that the remnant of our forces will have left Greece. The process by which our Army is to withdraw from India should by then be well in train, and there may be some reduction in the forces stationed in the Middle East, exclusive of Palestine. Even making the somewhat wide assumption that either the reference of the Palestine problem to the United Nations Organization is so successful that a substantial reduction of our garrison there can be made, or that the failure, and the insolubility of the whole problem, will be so apparent that the Government will decide on an unqualified withdrawal, it seems doubtful whether the forces stationed there can be materially reduced within the space of twelve months. It is hard to see from where else any material reductions, on operational grounds, can come.

If the limiting factor be the maintenance of efficiency, the rate of reduction seems rather over-cautious and too slow; if it be the discharge of existing commitments and the diminution or disappearance of these within the coming year, the assumptions governing the decision would appear to be rather optimistic. It may be that there is some other factor, but it is hard to see what it could be. Perhaps it has been decided to compromise between the two principles enunciated in the "Statement Relating to Defence"—the early restoration of a balanced peace economy and the avoidance of "an ill-considered jettisoning of defence responsibilities"—by taking some risks in the removal of units from theatres where they have operational responsibilities, whilst playing for safety in the quality of units by resisting their rapid dilution by men whose training has not been completed.

This short-term problem is important, but it is secondary to the problem of the strength contemplated for our forces in the post-demobilization period. How many of our human and material resources are they going to drain off in the intensely critical years that lie beyond, in 1949, 1950, and 1951? It is in one or other of those years that the American loan will run out and the real problem of the maintenance of our standard of living will become apparent. It is in one of those years, if the problems of fuel shortage and lack of generating plant are first overcome, that the shortage of our man-power for the productive tasks of the future will become manifest.

It is easy to say that we must cut our coat according to our cloth, but unfortunately the problems involved are too complex, and too many of the factors are imponderable, for any man to be able to tell what our cloth will be. A

weak defence policy is bad for our credit and consequently causes a shrinkage of the cloth that is available. Conversely, strength is respected and trade tends to follow the flag. But such strength must be genuine and well-founded, and an attempt to cover up intrinsic weakness by an ambitious defence policy would soon be exposed and would aggravate the disaster that it sought to avert. The "Statement Relating to Defence" has placed the problem in perspective and it is clear that we must cut non-productive expenditure to the minimum. What are the essential objectives of our strategy and how can they most economically be achieved?

This White Paper on Defence states that the meeting of three long-term commitments is "fundamental to our ability to fulfil our declared intention to support the object of the United Nations, which is to establish a stable system for the maintenance of peace." These three commitments are:

- (i) The Security of the United Kingdom.
- (ii) The Safeguarding of Communications.
- (iii) The Contribution to Forces of the United Nations Organization.

The statement of these essential objectives is unexceptionable, but it is difficult to translate them into the language of immediate tasks to be performed. From what, and indeed whom, is the United Kingdom to be secure? Is the primary danger sea-borne invasion, air-borne invasion, aerial bombing (with or without the atom bomb), destruction by long-range weapons (again with or without the use of nuclear fission), or bacteriological warfare? The adding of new dangers does not mean that the old cease to exist; it is good to note that in paragraph 21 of the "Statement Relating to Defence" the Government gives pride of place to "concentration on research" among the four principles to be followed in considering the supply of equipment to the forces, but research is of fundamental importance in fields other than the supply of equipment. The guiding principles in safeguarding the security of the United Kingdom should be to have a sufficient nucleus for expansion to meet the traditional dangers as and when the international situation becomes such as to make them proximate risks, to have a strong research organization to prepare the forces for these new problems, and a positive approach to defence questions that leads men to think not only in terms of dangers to be met, if the worst should happen, but also of opportunities to be exploited.

It is as evident that we cannot skimp on safeguarding our communications as that we cannot skimp on securing the United Kingdom. But precisely what communications is it essential to us, under modern conditions, to safeguard, and how are we to set about safeguarding them? The latter question involves many technicalities, including what is now the almost venerable controversy about the rôle and the usefulness of the battleship. It is obvious that we have to do our best to safeguard the ocean routes and that the rôle of aircraft is nearly, if not quite, as important for this purpose as that of the warship.

One question of broad principle does, however, emerge from the history of

the war and the controversies of the peace. Is there any object in our remaining a Mediterranean Power? Or, to put the question in a more realistic form, is there any object of sufficient importance to justify the expenditure, of man-power and money, that our position as such involves?

It goes without saying that it is, to put it at its lowest, a very great convenience to be able to move transports and convoys freely through the Mediterranean in time of war. In the last war we were deprived of this convenience from the time of Italy's entry into the war until the summer of 1943; and we survived. It is true that the routing of ships round the Cape and of aircraft across Central Africa was slow, cumbersome, and expensive; but our maintenance in the Mediterranean is expensive, too. It would be intolerably so were we merely guarding in peace positions that would become untenable in war. It is always difficult to avoid the nebulous in discussing broad strategical problems, but it is somewhat difficult to see how, in operations in the Mediterranean in the future, we could keep our communications open against a first-class Power with a full range of modern weapons, or how any other kind of Power could threaten them.

On the other hand, what should we gain by departing from our traditional policy of maintaining the Mediterranean as a line of sea communication? Apart from the conclusion of a treaty with Egypt, it would enable us to evacuate the Suez Canal Zone; it would remove all motives of international power from our occupation of Palestine; it would make it possible for us, if we wished, to evacuate Malta and Cyprus, though it would not necessarily follow from the fact of our abandoning the Mediterranean as a line of communication that we had found untenable in war that we must, in future altogether withdraw from that sea. With a friendly Italy Malta is tenable without being expensive, and to retain it is a comparatively cheap method of keeping our influence in the Western Mediterranean. Thus it is not necessary for us to lose our position and our influence in Western Europe simply because we withdraw from our costly commitments in the Eastern Mediterranean; and to abandon those commitments would make so material a reduction both in the size of our forces and in the volume of exports necessary to maintain them as to constitute, at once, a major economy of the character that the situation demands.

Is there any other mode of making a comparable saving as an alternative, or in addition to that to be expected from withdrawing from the Eastern Mediterranean? Apart from the withdrawal from India, it is hard to find one. The Dominions and Colonies proved themselves in the last war, as in 1914-1918, invaluable reservoirs of trained and devoted man-power. The Dominions have defence problems of their own, local in character, perhaps, but not necessarily lacking in magnitude. Australia's position in the Pacific, Canada's relationship with the United States, both limit the scale of their permanent contributions to Imperial Defence whilst at the same time the international position in which they find themselves restricts the possibility of their contract-

ing liabilities irrespective of their regional commitments. It is true that a more utterly ruthless colonial policy than any British Government has ever pursued with regard to the Crown Colonies would admit of a substantial recruitment of natives for peacetime service outside their own colonies, and of a consequent easement of our own man-power problems, but such a policy would be repulsive to our consciences and to our whole conception of inter-Imperial relationships, would prejudice the success of our policy of developing and modernizing the colonies, and would, in short, be full of political as well as moral, and perhaps military, dangers.

To withdraw from the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean seems the only means by which, once our troops have left India, our forces can materially be reduced. To adopt such a policy would involve some dangers. It is probably true that while one half of the world welcomes a British withdrawal as a mark of British sincerity, the other half deplores it as evidence of British weakness. It is equally true that if the third purpose for which the Services exist is to make a contribution to UNO, broadly speaking the larger the forces are, the greater the contribution can be; and it may be that the stronger our forces are, the sooner the Security Council and the Military Staff Committee can become effective authorities for the policing of the world. And the question of reducing the size of our forces in order to bring our commitments into line with our resources should not become too closely associated with the kindred, but essentially different, problem, of the size, character, and location of our forces in disturbed areas pending the post-war settlement. It may be good or bad policy, for example, to maintain British troops in Greece; the Government evidently consider it good policy, and if they are right it would be folly to prejudice the settlement of an Allied country and the conclusion of a sound peace for the sake of the comparatively small forces involved.

Whatever the nature of the transitional problem, the essential consideration remains, that no strategy can be sound which is not proportioned to our resources. The present level of man-power in our forces cannot be maintained for an indefinite period, yet short of a realignment of our strategy it is difficult to see what conditions would justify a substantial reduction from the figure of 1,087,000 aimed at for March 1948. This realignment, on this footing, is necessary, yet where is it to take place save in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean? Whilst other alternatives must be explored, the argument for the change in our traditional strategy here suggested seems difficult to answer. That it has certain disadvantages is merely a way of emphasizing that our whole future as a prosperous country and a world Power is bound up with the success of the United Nations Organization, and the diminution and fairer sharing of military burdens that would flow from it.

## STATE CONTROL BY A STATE BANK

BY M. A. G. HARTHOORN

NOT only has the second world war destroyed on a large scale the more durable capital goods in the form of factories, machinery, docks, roads, etc., which had been produced by the people during many years of toil, and prevented new goods from being added, but, because the production was chiefly directed towards the manufacture of such means of destruction as are needed in warfare, the production of the goods required for immediate consumption, such as foodstuffs and clothing, remained far behind requirements and resulted in a dire shortage. Man is now faced with the task of restoring what has been destroyed and of making good the shortage of articles of consumption as soon as possible. What is the best way of attaining this object? Naturally, we shall have to work hard, harder than formerly. But for labour to be performed there must be raw materials. The acquirement of the latter is conditioned by the availability of money.

It may be considered common knowledge that money is created by banks, notably the credit banks, which are institutions whose principal activities are the granting and raising of short-term credit. Those banks which deal in long-term credit, such as savings banks, mortgage banks, insurance companies, investment trusts, finance companies, agricultural credit banks and the like, do not come in question here.

Money, apart from the relatively small amount of coin in circulation, may be defined as a directly withdrawable credit with a bank, which is to be repaid by that bank on demand in legal tender money. This is possible only for the credit banks, as they alone are able to set off liquid assets against these withdrawals in the form of cash, bills of exchange, bills of lading, dock warrants, staple articles, current debentures and shares of ready marketability, which can, if necessary, immediately be converted into money through sale or borrowing. This is not possible for the other above mentioned banks, as they raise credits for a longer period, on which they allow a certain interest, which credits they invest in less liquid means yielding a higher interest. They therefore need not be prepared to meet immediate claims for withdrawal of balances. Any one who wants to be able to withdraw his money on demand, opens a current account against which he can draw at will with a credit bank, either by paying the amount involved or by pledging bills of exchange, dock warrants or securities. And anyone who wants to put out his money at interest, pays it into a savings bank, mortgage bank, investment trust or insurance company.

Another characteristic difference between credit banks and investment banks, a difference which is bound up with their dissimilar spheres of action is the fact that by granting credit which appears as a balance on a current account, the credit banks create money, since they call into existence directly withdrawable credits to their debit, which investment banks do not do, as the latter only accept money already in circulation and pass it on to others.

Banknotes, too, are directly withdrawable credits with a credit bank, notably the bank of issue. They originate from the granting of credit by the issue bank just as current account entries are passed to the debit of the credit banks in general. The only difference is that banknotes are legal tender, which current account balances are not. But in practice this difference is negligible, particularly when the issue bank, as is the case at present, is not obliged to pay banknotes offered to it in gold. That there is virtually no difference also follows from the fact that a current account balance is not considered to have a lower value than banknotes. They render equally good services in mutual payments, banknotes more particularly in the payment of small amounts, current account balances for large sums.

Apart from the comparatively small and therefore negligible quantity of coin, the volume of money in circulation in a country consists of the total amount of banknotes in circulation and the aggregate current account balances at the various credit banks. This quantity is by no means fixed, money being continually added and withdrawn. For, just as a credit bank creates new money by granting credits, which increases the existing quantity, every repayment to the bank annihilates money and causes a proportional reduction in the quantity of money. It is, therefore, only possible to speak of the average quantity of money which is in circulation during a certain period of time, say, a year. This money circulates, that is, passes on from one to another, more quickly or slowly, according as mutual payments take place briskly or otherwise. Given the average speed of circulation, we can calculate the annual turnover of goods based on the average amount of money available.

As against pre-war years, which showed a steady, though relatively slight annual increase in the volume of money, the latter increased greatly and was even multiplied, during the mid-war years. As to England, data from *The Economist* show that, while in 1928 the average amount of money in the form of banknotes and current account balances was around £2,300 million, this quantity annually increasing by a few per cent. until the war, so that in 1939 it had risen to £2,800 million, it has now risen to as much as around £6,300 million, that is, two and a quarter times the amount for 1939. And considering the turnovers effected only by payments through the Bankers' Clearing House, that is, among the banks themselves (payments between customers of the same bank, as well as the payments effected by means of banknotes and coins do not come into question here) we see that the turnovers shortly before the war amounted to around £38,000 million annually and those for 1945

£69,000 million. The money circulating in Holland in the form of bank credits, to be estimated at upwards of two and a half milliard guilders in April 1940, increased to approximately eleven milliard during the occupation of 1940-1945. Although, due to the financial re-organization, the total volume of money was reduced considerably by withdrawing part of it from circulation, it is still a multiple of the pre-war level, approximately five and a half milliard. The increase in the money circulation was accompanied by a rise in the national debt from approximately six and a half milliard to twenty-five milliard. It is chiefly on the security of this government stock that the credit banks have granted credits, by adding fresh money to circulation. For the Government was faced with an enormous expenditure, which could not be covered by the means accruing to it.

As against this enormous increase in money there is a quantity of goods materially reduced in part by destruction, in part through a production that has considerably fallen into arrears. Small wonder that the prices of these goods rose to a marked extent. They reflect the fact that the Dutch guilder has lost much of its value.

The first question that arises is: are we to attempt to raise this reduced value? Or would it be easier, in our reconstruction work, to put up with the present depreciated value of the guilder? It should be borne in mind that a public debt of Du. fl. twenty-five milliard counts more heavily when a pre-war value is assigned to the guilder than when it is based on the present guilder value. In the former case this debt would weigh most heavily on our economy, while, in the case of a depreciation to a quarter of the pre-war value, it would not be a heavier burden than a debt of six and a quarter milliards under former circumstances, if at least the conditions had remained unchanged. But this is not the case, since we have suffered great capital losses, resulting in a considerable decrease in productive capacity. As a consequence, a debt of twenty-five milliards, even if based on a guilder that has undergone a depreciation to twenty-five per cent., is at present a much heavier burden than a debt of six and a quarter milliards previously would have been. Taking into account, moreover, that this debt has by far the greater part been incurred in war time, when the guilder had already been considerably depreciated, it will no doubt be for the benefit of the Dutch people if the value of the money—it is fluctuating at the moment—is fixed at a much lower than the pre-war level.

Labour is an essential to reconstruction and prosperity in general, and the performance of labour is dependent on machinery and raw materials, for the acquirement of which money must be available. If there is money to make a start with, the Dutch people, who are quite willing to work if reasonable profits are to be expected, will set to work, thereby increasing the country's prosperity. The money to be spent for this purpose is furnished either by private persons, who take it from circulation, in which case the existing quantity

of money is not increased, or is created by the credit banks, in which case this quantity does undergo a corresponding increase. As the credit banks, by creation of money, are capable of meeting money requirements to an unlimited degree, there need be no lack of funds. The only question is, how far they may go in this respect without jeopardizing the stability of the monetary value. The latter must be maintained as far as possible in order that sound economic conditions may be ensured. If the creation of money serves unproductive purposes, such as in times of war, when labour is not directed to the production of goods that are useful to man, but to goods intended for destruction—when the increase in money is therefore not offset by an adequate increase of useful commodities—then the only result conceivable is depreciation of money, manifesting in a general increase in prices. If, however, the creation of money serves productive purposes, the addition of new money to the active circulation being counterbalanced by an increase in the quantity of goods, then the monetary value will not be adversely affected, and no increase in prices will ensue. Our slogan will therefore have to be: money should be made freely available for productive purposes.

In this connection it is of paramount importance who has to decide whether money shall be made available at all for particular purposes, and how much. This question was formerly settled by the credit banks on their own responsibility, and they were guided not only or even primarily by national interests, but, like other privately-owned bodies, by personal interests, even if these ran counter to the public good. They by no means restricted themselves to granting credits to customers in their own country, but they also sought outlets abroad, even if the prevailing conditions were unfavourable. Incited by competition, or too readily responding to the profitable prospects held out, they granted credits to undertakings at home and abroad, which in the long run proved to be unable to hold their own, or to foreign countries which failed to meet their financial obligations, as a result of which milliards were lost. And just as they granted credits abroad, they also raised credits from abroad, which were sometimes to the advantage, sometimes to the disadvantage of the native country. It is clear that this granting and raising of credits exercises a direct influence on the value of our circulating medium, our money, that is, our national currency. Enormous interests are at stake, the gravest responsibility for the weal and woe of our country and people is therefore entrusted to private bodies. For, on the maintenance of the value of our national currency depends nothing less than our national credit, since our national credit is reflected in this value.

This view was held long ago. The credit banks were subjected to government control, a state-planned economy was contemplated. But would not it be a much simpler plan to attain this object by abolishing the private credit banks and letting them merge into one single State bank? Such a condition would present considerable advantages. If the Government wants to direct the



country's economy, it cannot do this more effectively than by taking the credit policy into its own hands. Owing to the far-reaching consequences for both country and people, the Government should not even partially leave the responsibility involved to private persons, but should bear this burden itself. It has to decide whether credit is to be granted, and how much, to particular concerns and under what conditions; it alone decides whether credit is to be granted or raised abroad, and how much. By means of its credit policy it will be in a position to maintain the stability of the national currency value with respect to that of other countries.

If such a State bank is established, it is advisable to make the provision that the directly withdrawable credits with this bank, and these alone, are legal tender. The existing distinction between banknotes as legal tender and current account balances with credit banks, which are not legal tender, may safely be dropped. Only the credit of the State bank is money, is legal tender.

The obvious result of such a provision will be that current account customers of the existing credit banks will withdraw their balances from these banks and entrust them to the State bank. If credits are withdrawn by the public from the credit banks in question, their assets will have to be sacrificed for this purpose and these banks will therefore have to discontinue their activities.

In this connection it is important that as a rule payments should as far as possible be made through the State bank. To this end everyone who possesses funds of his own should open an account with this bank, where his receipts are credited and his payments are debited to him. The majority of payments can take place through the usual transfer system. In respect of payments to persons who want to have immediate certainty that the transfers will indeed be effected in their behalf, use might be made of forms previously stamped by the bank, showing the amounts requested by the applicant and in settlement of which a corresponding part of his credit balance is reserved by the bank. Banknotes and coins, now used to make small payments, may then disappear from circulation altogether. The use of this method will give a true picture not only of the existing quantity of money, as indicated by the total amount of current account balances held by the bank, but also of the turnover effected with it during a certain period of time.

It should be borne in mind that money derives its existence from the granting of credit by the bank, and remains in circulation, by passing from one to another, until it is finally paid back to the bank by the one who raised his credit there, thus disappearing from circulation. It follows therefore that the bank is capable of continually putting fresh money into circulation, more and more quickly according as the credits are granted on shorter terms and are therefore paid back sooner. In order that the bank may be able to grant new credits as often as possible, and therefore to issue new money without the active circulation being increased permanently, it will have to refrain from granting long term credits, as this would keep the credits locked up for too long

periods. It would be bad policy if the bank were to finance deficits on the national budget by lending the Government money to cover them, as this money would long continue to weigh heavily on the circulation. These deficits must be financed with money which is already in circulation, to be provided by persons or institutions that place their savings at the disposal of the State. This, for that matter, applies to all granting of long-term credits, even if they are to be used for productive investments which, however, do not bear fruit until after long periods of time, such as the establishment of new industries. The money required for this purpose must also be attracted from private persons out of the active circulation. If private enterprise should fall behind in this respect, it would be desirable for the Government, if necessary, itself to found an industrial bank, which, in the same way as a mortgage bank, borrows money from the public for long periods, which is subsequently used for making long-term loans to particular industries. Nevertheless the State bank can of course mediate in ensuring success for such long-term investments by accepting the shares and debentures in question as a security for loans.

The mere capacity continually to lend money on a large scale to persons or institutions that need it for short periods enables the bank to exercise a powerful influence on the entire economic life of the people. If it were at the same time provided that imports and exports may not take place without its consent, and that foreign exchange required for this purpose or obtained thereby shall be paid from or deposited in a fund controlled by the bank, just as this ought as a rule to be prescribed with regard to all purchase or sale of foreign exchange, then indeed will its influence on the entire economic system be so great that each concern, however large its capital may be, is subject to its power. It is the State which, by means of its bank, through its various control boards, directs economics and plans what will and what will not be produced.

If the entire settlement of financial affairs is concentrated in one bank, the State bank as sketched above, it is unnecessary, even undesirable, for undertakings to be nationalized, as is widely advocated. For is not their control the object of their nationalization by the State? This control, however, is already ensured by the nationalization of the credit banks, which take up a key position. Their nationalization automatically places all other enterprises under State control.

The Government should, therefore, refrain from nationalizing other undertakings. It is desirable that private enterprise should be left free in its development within the bounds set by the Government. Self-interest is still man's most powerful incentive to work. It functions as a lever, and leads to ever-increasing production. The community would cause itself an infinity of harm if it removed or reduced this stimulus of self-interest.

There is still another great drawback to nationalization. According as it proceeds, private persons are increasingly denied the possibility of investing

their means in profitable concerns. This must necessarily have a very adverse effect on the people's propensity to save, which again is bound to have unfavourable repercussions on production in general. For, as we have explained above, the State itself can in the long run not grant money to be used for long-term investments without impairing the health of the nation's economic conditions, as this would only result in a continual increase in the volume of money, with the attendant drawbacks of inflation and depreciation of the national currency; for such investments the money of private persons should be attracted. In the case of complete nationalization or communism, private persons cannot but invest their money in Government securities. It is very doubtful whether there would be great inclination to do so. The people would most probably be deterred from saving and convert all their money into articles of consumption.

Still another danger lurks behind nationalization: that the Government becomes directly involved in the many difficulties caused by the labourers' demands for wage increases and those affecting other conditions. The Government as a poly-archy is not in the same degree as a private employer suited to solve these problems smoothly. Would it not, also in this case, be wise for the Government to pursue the policy of leaving this solution to the private employer and private labourers, as being the persons directly interested in their undertaking, and to be content with the rôle of mediator? Or, in the case of State exploitation, does it want a way out, as in communist Russia, by introducing compulsory labour and issuing a prohibition against striking, under threat of heavy punishment in the case of transgression? A consideration of the constraint to which the Russian labourer is subject will be sufficient to turn one against this régime.

In Holland a much better system is developing, which while leaving the enterprises their private character, tends to reconcile the mutually conflicting interests of worker, employer and consumer. I would point to the preparation of a Public Economic Boards Act, which aims at ensuring that in a certain group of undertakings the labour conditions, production, price fixing, sales and other related subjects should be settled by the three above-mentioned groups of interested persons, under the supervision of the Government for the protection of the social interests involved. These suggestions show the channels through which the economic life can be gradually guided into corporative organizations. I feel convinced that the efficient co-operation between the various interests envisaged under the foregoing scheme will ensure a free and peaceful development of the productive forces of the country.

The gist of the above argument is that the entire settlement of financial affairs should be concentrated in a single bank, the State bank. I may in this connection indicate a very effective manner in which taxes may be levied under this system. The Government should provide that in the case of each transfer of money, a certain percentage should on both sides be deducted from the sum transferred, and be credited to the Government. It might be advisable to

observe some graduation in fixing this percentage, in the sense that it is fixed lower according as higher amounts are transferred. Even if the percentage is kept low, which must be the intention if the monetary transactions are not to be unduly hampered, the State receipts flowing from this source will be very considerable, as the total turnover is so enormously large. The great advantage of this kind of taxation is that the relevant amounts can be easily determined and be paid as soon as they fall due. Nor can this tax be felt as unfair or unreasonable, if it is regarded as a remuneration for the service rendered by the State in that it has granted a credit to make the transaction possible.

It has been shown that just as the State bank effects the monetary transactions at home, it is advisable for it to handle the payments between its own country and others. The Government would then have to determine fixed rates of exchange between the foreign currencies and ours. While formerly these rates of exchange often showed violent fluctuations when supply and demand were given free play, they will now form a firm basis for the value ratio of the several currencies, since they are fixed by the various countries by mutual arrangement and are governed by a deliberate credit policy.

It is intended to establish a world bank, a bank of the United Nations. In America as well as in England appropriate plans have been worked out. They differ in many respects, especially as regards the sphere of action to be allocated to this bank. It seems to me that these plans are too comprehensive. Would not it be preferable to begin modestly and provide only that the world bank shall function as a clearing institute of the various States for the adjustment of their respective claims? In performing even this task the world bank would be able to render invaluable services. It would be easy to arrive at an agreement on this point. Further activities would then follow automatically.

If the plan for a State bank were executed, it might be greatly instrumental in realizing the aims laid down by the various nations in the Bretton Woods agreement.

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## THE CHILD AND THE AFTERMATH OF WAR

BY JOHN A. F. WATSON

NOT long ago a class of boys in an approved school were required to write an essay. In one—its author was about fourteen—was this revealing sentence: "The world is full of people who keep on saying 'I was once a boy myself' but who never show any signs of it." At a time when the nation is perturbed about juvenile crime it is well to remember that in the appointment of magistrates to the juvenile courts an undistorted recollection of one's own childhood is a useful qualification.

What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, and what applies to magistrates applies scarcely less forcibly to their clerk; which being so, anyone concerned with children will read with delight a recent book, *The Juvenile Courts: their problems and their work* by F. T. Giles.\* The author is a lawyer with a logical mind; as a Cornishman he has wit; as an ex-Chief Clerk of the Metropolitan Juvenile Courts the experience that entitles him to write. I may perhaps be allowed to add, as a magistrate who sat with Mr. Giles in a London juvenile court during most of the war, that he was not merely once a boy himself; he has never quite emerged from that delectable condition.

Few of us, I suppose, who take part in the work of the children's courts are wholly immune from the taunts of our friends; good humoured taunts for the most part, for the average Englishman is fond of children and has nothing cruel in his make-up. Even so, he is inclined to fear that all to-day is not as it should be. "Children should be seen and not heard", "Spare the rod and spoil the child": these were the precepts that coloured his own upbringing—and not such bad ones either. So he tells us that we are sentimental and that juvenile courts are sloppy, while the gentleman who recently declared that psychology was "all baloney" was sure, as Mr. Giles observes, of strong popular support.

But most of our critics exaggerate the size of the problem with which we are faced. They should read Mr. Giles's book. They will smile, as I did, at the story of the indignant old lady, who was asked by the author how many English children in every thousand she supposed were charged with serious crime each year. She replied without hesitation: "More than half I shouldn't wonder." It was a bad guess, for even in wartime the number per thousand

has never exceeded ten.

And yet the figures seem to suggest that something is wrong. For long before the war the number of persons found guilty by the juvenile courts each year showed a steady increase, with a sudden leap upward on two occasions—after the passing of the two great Acts of Parliament that were aimed at improving the system. The explanation of this apparent anomaly is not, as some of our critics would have it, that the principles underlying these measures were ill-conceived, but that in trying to assess the extent of juvenile delinquency the statistics of children found guilty by the courts can be gravely misleading. It is not suggested that the figures themselves are wrong. What is wrong is the assumption that the number of children who commit offences has remained proportionate to the number charged.

There was a time, Mr. Giles reminds us, "when a self-respecting policeman would no more think of making a charge against a child than a self-respecting angler would think of bringing home a minnow." And until quite recently a responsible citizen having detected a child in wrong-doing would think, not twice but several times, before taking him to the police station. A hundred years earlier there were more than two hundred offences punishable by death and in the first two decades of the nineteenth century it was no uncommon thing for children to be sent to the gallows. Can one imagine that even in those days, when such dire consequences might ensue, the average Englishman was quick to charge a child with some trivial theft? One may be sure that the great majority of juvenile delinquents were punished outside the courts with unofficial but summary justice.

But the times have changed and with them our whole attitude toward young offenders. The Probation of Offenders Act of 1907, based on the belief that the public interest is best served by reforming the law breaker, provided for hopeful cases an alternative to imprisonment. The Children Act of 1908 established juvenile courts and abolished imprisonment for children under fourteen. Finally, in 1933, the Children and Young Persons Act expressly provided that every court in dealing with a child "either in need of care or protection, or as an offender, or otherwise" shall have regard to his welfare. In the light of these reforms, and as people have gradually come to understand that to-day the purpose of the courts is not merely to punish children but to help them, it is not surprising that the public have allowed themselves year by year to charge an increasing proportion of children detected in wrong doing. And from this it follows that although the number of children found guilty by the courts as between one year and the next *may* reflect an increase in juvenile crime, the figures over a long period are entirely unreliable for this purpose.

The more that the ordinary member of the public comes to understand the purpose of the juvenile courts the more efficient they will become. It is only right that he should do so, for the moral, no less than the physical, health of

\* George Allen and Unwin. 6s.

the rising generation is a matter with which every citizen should concern himself. And if in relation to children any good can be said to have resulted from the war, it is the extent to which under war conditions children have obtruded upon the public notice. Again and again, despite a shortage of newsprint, they have captured the headlines.

First, the grim business of evacuation. Looking back on those days, when the town went to the country and one half of the world discovered how the other half lived, it is pertinent to recall that the first outcry was against the schools. It was all the teachers' fault—the dirty habits, the lousy heads, the spoiled mattresses, the denuded orchards. "Look at the millions we have spent on education," people said, "and *this* is the result." Only later did they come to realize that the fault lay less in the children's schools than in their homes. What can the teacher achieve in the few hours at his disposal, when the child lives all the rest of his life in squalor? It is safe to say that the acute awareness to-day by all classes of people of the paramount need for good housing conditions is due in no small measure to the humiliating experience of evacuation.

And then came a series of incidents, all concerned with the treatment of children, which stirred the public conscience. There was the "birched boy" case at Hereford; the agitation for the setting up of a committee on homeless children; the London Remand Home Inquiry; the tragic death of Dennis O'Neill. And arising out of all these sensations we did in fact make progress. The Curtis Committee was appointed, and the machinery of the juvenile courts and the administration of remand homes were scrutinized and overhauled. Yet surely the cause of all this was something deeper than that war conditions had forced these children upon our notice. War is failure. A generation that goes to war has failed in the supreme test of its civilization. And so, amid all the carnage and destruction, one thing alone seems worth fighting for: the happiness and security of the next. It is no coincidence that those two great educational measures—The Fisher Act of 1918 and the Butler Act of 1944—were passed during world wars.

Alas, there is another side to the account. The war, as is well known, brought grist to the mill of the juvenile courts. The reason is obvious if it is conceded—a fact which is known to all who work amongst these children—that the basic cause of their troubles is not the cinema, nor lazy teachers, nor stupid magistrates, but broken and unhappy homes. Just consider for a moment all the happenings which in wartime have conspired to break up families and destroy homes. Is it any wonder that juvenile delinquency increased? And although the war may be over, in the juvenile court we have not yet finished with its evil consequences. We shall not have done so for half a generation.

Recently in London a play about a juvenile court has been drawing full houses in a west end theatre. From the genuine courts the public are ex-

cluded, but as I watched this very human play I found myself reflecting what an object lesson it would be to a great many people if, cloaked with invisibility, they could attend not the theatre, but the real thing. The case list in the juvenile court is as non-committal as the average theatre programme. A truant from school; a girl in need of care or protection; half a dozen cases of stealing; and finally a girl of seven surprisingly said by her parents to be beyond control. But as the facts of each case are unfolded, the invisible audience would find an absorbing and poignant interest, not so much in the offences, as in all the circumstances, social, economic and psychological, that have led up to them. They would also see for themselves the disastrous after-effects of war in relation to children's happiness—and consequently to their behaviour.

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The truant is taken first. Peter is thirteen and the school attendance officer has a sorry tale to tell. Last week his parents were convicted and fined for his truancy, which was held to have been largely their fault: indeed, it would have been difficult to conclude otherwise, for between September and Christmas Peter failed to go to school at all. During a later period, after these proceedings had started, he is said to have attended on seventeen out of thirty-six possible occasions.

The reason? Not for lack of shoes during all these months, as his parents allege; nor because of the catalogue of obscure diseases from which they declare he has suffered. The plain truth is that Peter *can't read*. From a quiet talk between Peter and the magistrates it transpires that his dislike of school is mainly due to this; for he is always bottom of a class of boys much younger than himself, which brings him a lot of teasing. And why can't Peter read? Because in the war he was evacuated not once, but on five occasions and to a different place each time. Sometimes he was in a foster-home, sometimes in a hostel, and all this coming and going played havoc with his education. The remedy? Not punishment, but a change of school and, if it can be managed, special coaching. And whom would you blame the most for Peter's truancy—Peter; or his parents; or the war?

Mary was picked up by the police near Waterloo station. She had been missing for a fortnight, by which time her father and mother were nearly distracted. She is nearly seventeen and might be pretty, but for the fantastic hair style, the vermilion mouth, and the eyeblack which is oozing stealthily down her cheeks. She was found with a soldier much older than herself; they were asleep together in a disused air-raid shelter where, if Mary's statement is to be believed, they had spent several nights previously. It is not the first time Mary has been in trouble, for the court is told a long story of her bad behaviour ever since she left school. Disobedience at home; lying to her

mother; losing her jobs; making undesirable friends; staying out late at night; on two previous occasions disappearing for two nights at a time. Again and again her mother has scolded her and warned her—but in vain. Why has Mary behaved like this? "She's not a bad girl," her mother assures us, "not *reely* bad, your Worships. When she was little she was ever so good, but lately I just don't know what's come over 'er."

Her mother is right. There is no vice in Mary: its just that at the most impressionable period of her life a whole set of circumstances conspired to lead her astray. Dad was away the whole of the war and for the greater part of it Mum was hard at work in the factory. And so there was little control at home; and Mary had always been weak; and jobs were to be had for the asking, and if you got fed up with your job and chucked it there were always plenty of soldiers with money to burn . . . The remedy? Perhaps a hostel, possibly a school; but first to the remand home to be medically examined for a necessary but distressing purpose. And where lies most of the fault? With Mary? Or with her parents? Or with happenings over which none of them had any control?

And now a few quite ordinary thefts. It is almost refreshing to our invisible audience, saddened by what they have just heard, to be confronted by a gang of adventurous young ruffians who have broken into a bombed house. They have stolen an extraordinary collection of oddments which are laid out, as though for auction, on the magistrates' table. Nevertheless the case is serious and, as before, the court is concerned not just with the offence, but with the background of each of the three boys who were mixed up in it.

The eldest, and clearly the leader, was in serious trouble in the same court only a few weeks ago. The magistrates know all about him and are giving him no more chances. He is sent to an approved school. But with the other two, who are brothers, it is different. Their father joined up in 1939 and was posted abroad at once. Their mother, within three months of his departure, deserted the home and went to live with another man. Before this happened the two boys had been evacuated, but they suddenly elected to return on their own and did so, to find the house empty and the front door locked. Tired, hungry, bewildered, they went round to Gran's. Gran of course took them in. She would. You have only to look at her, sitting behind them in court, to realize that. The tears chase each other down her old wrinkled face as she pleads with the magistrates for another chance: "They're such good boys at 'ome, Sir; for Gawd's sake don't 'ave 'em put away."

Beside her is her son. He has now been released from the army, but it seems his wife has left him for good. There is talk of a divorce. "It's bin 'ard on the boys," he says, "losin' their dad and their mum all at once like. O' course Gran's done 'er best, but she ain't as young as she was and they've bin a bit o' trouble to 'er from time to time. Not that I'm saying they're bad

Sir, they're good boys on the 'ole. But wot with stayin' in London all through the blitz, and their school bein' closed a lot o' the time, and all these bombed buildings around, and me only just got 'ome . . . Tell you wot it is Sir,—they 'ain't 'ad the chance they ought to 'ave 'ad. Its the war—that's wot it is Sir. If it 'adn't been for the war *none* of this wouldn't 'ave 'appened . . ." His voice begins to falter and he turns abruptly and resumes his seat.

He is right. The invisible audience has quickly divined the truth of what he says: "Its the war—that's wot it is Sir . . ." And the remedy for these children's troubles? Not surely to "have them put away"? What they need, and their father, and their Gran, is help: just the kind of help that a sympathetic but firm probation officer, who will befriend and watch over this little broken family during the next year or two, is there to give.

More cases of stealing follow. Several of the charges have arisen from no more than childish mischief. It must have been fun letting off those fireworks. The small organ pipes in the bombed church were simply asking to be made into instruments for the "swing" band. And if the Minister of Food, pontifically represented by learned Counsel, will persist in mooring his barges alongside Bermondsey wall, laden high with peanuts and unguarded, what on earth does he expect?

Even so, the more discerning members of the invisible audience will perceive from time to time something more serious than a spirit of lawlessness in these children. They will detect a certain fecklessness and want of moral standard in their parents. War does not heighten morals, and too often it is bad parents, not bad children, who make the troubles for the juvenile court.

And then we reach the last case, and perhaps the most tragic. Betty, aged seven, would be described officially as a "maladjusted child". As such she provides a fair sample of a peculiarly distressing problem; which since the war ended has baffled the juvenile courts in increasing numbers. Outwardly there is nothing to remark about her. A shy little girl, she stands with downcast eyes alongside the chairman. Yet her mother tells an alarming story of the dreadful way she has behaved since she returned from evacuation last year. Her foster-parents were very fond of her and it seems that by arrangement they kept her with them for nearly twelve months after the other children in the village went back. But then, owing to a death in the household, they could have her no longer and said goodbye.

Betty returned to London and from that day to this, her mother tells us, she has never had a moment's peace of mind. It is not just that Betty is disobedient and untruthful. They could put up even with her tempers and her sulks. The trouble is her dirty habits. She wets her bed almost nightly and is incontinent in the day-time as well. Worse still, she "plays with herself", a wicked practice she must have learned from those awful country children. Her mother and father have tried everything to stop her; they have scolded her and whipped her and tied her hands behind her back. But nothing seems

to do any good. And so, in desperation, they have brought her here.

The case is proved and inquiries are made, both by the probation officer and by the psychiatrist. The probation officer makes her report. This is how it reads:

The child's father was an engineer before the war. He was discharged from the Army in December, 1944—after he had been in a mental hospital for three months. He returned home in April 1945 and got a job as a labourer. He is a difficult man and was very silent and nervous when I saw him.

Mrs. K. has been doing a part-time job, but has given this up to look after the home. She seems very anxious to help Betty; at the same time she is extremely worried about her habits and is very much afraid that her two elder daughters may copy them.

When I saw Betty in the remand home she seemed to be happy and settled. I understand that her behaviour there has been completely normal and that there has been no indication of the excessive habit of masturbation reported by the mother. No complaints of her behaviour were received during evacuation, which took place when she was one year and ten months old so that when she returned her parents were more or less strangers to her. She seems fond of them, but finds the readjustment difficult, especially as the older children stayed with their mother. She is certain her mother prefers them to her "as they are always good."

Her recent conduct would seem to reflect factors in her present environment. It would be in the child's interests to remove her from home. She would do well either in an understanding foster-home or in a residential school for children of her age.

Once more, whose fault? Was it the father's fault, in that he went at once to serve his country and returned a nervous wreck? Was it the mother's, in that she heeded the official warnings and throughout the war left her youngest child safe in the hands of foster-parents whom she knew she could trust? Was it their fault, in that they came to love this child and brought her up as their own? Or was it the fault of happenings that not one of them could control?

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The last case has been heard and the court adjourns. The curtain falls, but there is no applause. Sadly and thoughtfully the great invisible audience wends its way home. It has seen in the children's court the aftermath of war.

(Mr. John Watson is the Chairman of South-East London Juvenile Court and a member of the Royal Commission on Justices of the Peace.)

## OPERATION VICTORY

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES GWYNN

FIELD-MARSHAL MONTGOMERY and Major-General de Guingand—his chief staff officer from El Alamein to V.E. day—have, in the last month, published two books of outstanding interest and importance. The Field-Marshal's book\* is a concise and clear record of the operations of the Forces under his command in Western Europe. It gives the strategic plans which governed the development of the campaign, their modification as circumstances necessitated, and the major tactical operations. It seldom, however, records the tasks set to formations smaller than divisions or comparable forces and the names of Commanders lower than those of armies are practically never given. The record therefore will chiefly be of value to military historians, professional students and others who make a serious study of the conduct of war. Yet many of those who took part in the actual fighting may be glad to learn the meaning of the tasks which they were called on to carry through. This in particular applies to the operations during the long struggle in Normandy which at the time may have seemed to many often to be purposeless failures. It is admitted that initial progress was slower than had been hoped due partly to the weather and partly to the policy adopted by the enemy, which eventually contributed to his undoing; but it is abundantly clear that there were few or no purposeless actions or complete failures. Ultimate success was the reward of steady and determined adherence to the essential features of the original governing plan as modified to exploit the great opportunities offered by Hitler's attempt to gain a decisive victory south of the Seine.

The whole book is essentially a factual record and non-controversial. Thus although we are given the alternative courses open to the Allies after the victory in Normandy, the arguments in favour and against the alternatives of a full blooded concentrated drive, or of the advance on a broad front actually adopted are fairly stated. It is not claimed that a mistake was made, although the effects on the 21st Army Group of the policy adopted are necessarily given, to explain the sequence in which its operations were carried out and the difficulties encountered. That the book achieves its purpose of giving a straight forward account of the great achievements of 21st Army Group is undoubted, but we have in the main a picture of a great and elaborate machine at work controlled by a skilled mechanic who had to deal with occasions when the load became heavy and power deficient. The performance of the machine is described clearly and is very interesting, though without the liberal supply of dia-

\* *Normandy to the Baltic*, by F.M. the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein. Hutchinson. 25s.



grammatic maps provided it would be difficult to follow. Human interest however is almost exclusively confined to the exercise of control, under varying circumstances.

What were the main factors in the efficient exercise of control? Primarily, I suggest, the reliance on morale as the lubricant to ensure smooth working. Secondly, a sense of balance which avoided over-straining working parts and ensured the retention of a reserve of power, immediately available for a crucial effort or to meet an unexpected emergency. Thirdly, confidence which led to firm and determined driving and to bold unhesitating decisions. These backed by great mechanical skill are all in evidence. That the machine he was responsible for could not have achieved its results without the closest co-operation of the air machine Field-Marshal Montgomery insists and he pays high tribute to the assistance he received. Where results were disappointing the inability of air power to exercise its influence owing to unfavourable weather was generally the cause. He expresses his admiration for the fighting qualities of American troops and his professional mind was deeply impressed by the speed at which the American machine worked. Nor does he forget to acknowledge the immense debt owed to our Russian ally.

To turn now to General de Guingand's book\* which is bound to have a much wider appeal. For one thing it is delightfully easy and pleasant reading and whether by design or not it provides pauses in which the reader can relax his attention to the historical narrative.

Unlike his chief he does not shun controversial subjects, and having unfortunately retired from the Army is free to comment on the actions and characteristics of individuals still actively employed. He does not however take advantage of this liberty to make personal attacks and expresses his opinions with great moderation and fairness although with a frankness which goes far to clarify many doubtful points.

General de Guingand writes only of what he had personal knowledge, either as a favourably placed observer or as an active participant, and his record covers the whole course of the war. Naturally his main theme is his great association with Field-Marshal Montgomery, first in the 8th Army and later in the 21st Army Group in Europe. He has however much of interest to tell us of earlier events such as when he was military assistant to Mr. Horé-Belisha, and later when as a member of the Middle East joint planning committee he had a close view of the Greek campaign. Later still as head of the Middle East Intelligence he had even closer connections with Field-Marshal Auchinleck in the Libyan campaign, and was in fact asked to express his opinion whether an attempt should be made to hold Tobruk after the battle of Gazala.

In common with, I think, the great majority of professional opinion from the first he considered our intervention in Greece indefensible as a military commitment; but he also holds that it was uncalled for, and equally indefens-

\* *Operation Victory*, by Major-General Sir Francis de Guingand. Hodder & Stoughton. 25s.

ible on political grounds because the Greeks had ceased to desire it and because the attitude of Turkey had been misunderstood. Mr. Eden's part in arriving at the final decision comes under frank criticism.

I wonder if General de Guingand is right in holding that the Greek campaign did not influence the postponement of the German attack on Russia. I agree that the land force employed in Greece was not large enough to affect the postponement: but the concentration of air force for the capture of Crete and the heavy losses of machines and highly-trained personnel suffered may well have had a more disturbing effect.

As for the earlier Libyan campaigns I find it difficult to share his view that, but for the Greek venture, Lord Wavell might have been able to reach and hold Tripoli. I cannot think that he attaches sufficient weight to the residual value of the Italians in Tripoli or to the possibility of German reinforcements reaching it before it could be effectively occupied. Rommel certainly would have been found there and the occupying force might have met greater disaster than it did when he struck. General de Guingand comments on the geographic conformation of Cyrenaica which provided a dangerous temptation, twice accepted, to thrust out into a highly vulnerable position. That Field-Marshal Montgomery resisted the temptation until he was in a position to minimize the danger is noted as an example of his sound judgment.

Before passing to Field-Marshal Auchinleck's campaigns General de Guingand pauses to compare the characteristics and qualities of the three Commanders-in-Chief under whom he served, and each of whom he greatly admired. He considers however that as a result of his immense burdens and of the disaster in Greece Lord Wavell lost some of his confidence and grip. His severest criticism is directed against the premature and abortive "Battleaxe" offensive undertaken to restore the position on the Egyptian frontier. He holds that neither in conception nor execution had it any merit and the only redeeming feature was Lord Wavell's prompt decision to call it off. He gives no details but recommends its study as an example of what not to do.

Field-Marshal Auchinleck's arrival and the energy he displayed created a refreshing atmosphere and the author admires his determined handling of the 1941 offensive. He has however some frank criticism to offer. He thinks that Field-Marshal Auchinleck placed over-reliance on what he calls the "Brains Trust" procedure. That is to say that he tended to consult too many people and took too long before coming to decisions, although when taken they were clear cut and definite.

At Field-Marshal Montgomery's conferences on the other hand officers were assembled to give reports and to receive orders and there was little or no consultation or discussion. Field-Marshal Auchinleck like Field-Marshal Montgomery was determined that headquarters should not be established in the luxury of Cairo or Alexandria, but whereas the former was content to accept unnecessary discomforts and inconveniences in the desert the latter insisted on

a standard of comfort which would ensure efficient working.

The record of the 8th Army's operations under Field-Marshal Auchinleck is broken, due to the motor accident in which the author was involved when sent to meet a Russian Mission in Persia. We are however given interesting sidelights on the opening phases of the original autumn offensive and on the events from the Gazala battle to the end of the retreat to Alamein. As for the former phase the circumstances under which Field-Marshal Auchinleck selected General Ritchie to replace General Cunningham in command of the 8th Army are clearly explained. The difficulty of General Ritchie's task when, as a comparatively junior officer with no previous experience of high command, he was called to deal with a critical and intense situation was great. No doubt he received much assistance from his chief but he deserves great credit for the important victory he gained. What he and the 8th Army achieved in that phase has never been fully appreciated by the general public. Personally I felt at the time that General Ritchie's position would be made all the more difficult because, coming direct from Field-Marshal Auchinleck's staff, he would almost inevitably tend to refer too many points to his chief for decision, with consequent delays. During active offensive operations the time factor would naturally prevent the development of such a tendency but General de Guingand hints that it did show itself when defensive operations and questions of retreat had to be dealt with. He does however absolve Field-Marshal Auchinleck of undue interference with General Ritchie's liberty of action. The fact that the former was controlling only one active Army of course added to the difficulty of determining the degree of liberty he could give his subordinate Commanders. Later General Alexander was to be faced with much the same problem and to an even greater extent abstained from interference and concentrated on giving Field-Marshal Montgomery all the support he required.

We are given a pretty full description of the Battle of Gazala and the retreat into Egypt; and are left in no doubt that the Alamein line provided the only rallying position which would deny Rommel opportunities of exploiting the open desert flank with his armour. General de Guingand gives credit to the foresight which had provided defence works there and does not omit to mention the great part played by the New Zealand Division in checking the enemy's pursuit. The Mersa Matru position was indefensible but by a notable counter-attack the Division gave Rommel's advanced troops who were working round to the South of it a very "bloody nose".

In July, much against his will, the author was moved from his appointment as Director of Military Intelligence at Headquarters to be Chief General Staff Officer to the 8th Army, a step towards the establishment of one of the great partnerships which sometimes fortuitously are formed.

At that time General Auchinleck was intending to relinquish direct command of the 8th Army and return to his main Headquarters. Consulting General de Guingand about whom should be selected for the Army Command he

received this remarkable advice: "You want a new man altogether; someone who hasn't any sand in his hair. The only ones I know with the necessary qualities are Montgomery and Slim." As we know Mr. Churchill saw the necessity of an even more extensive infusion of new blood; and the unfortunate death of General Gott led to the fulfilment of this prophetic advice.

From this point onwards Field-Marshal Montgomery dominates the book and it becomes a study of the man, his methods and achievement rather than a detailed narrative of events. Operations in Africa, Sicily and Italy are described fairly fully for with them the author was closely concerned. When however he later became chief on the Staff to the 21st Army Group on the western front he was less connected with tactical operations and does not attempt to describe all that occurred, dealing mainly with strategical problems and controversial questions.

All that we have heard of the amazing and immediate effect of Field-Marshal Montgomery's arrival in Egypt is more than confirmed, and although due credit is given to the influence exercised by General Alexander and to the assistance he gave his subordinate Commander we are left in no doubt that it was the originality and forcefulness of the latter's methods that revolutionized the situation.

Field-Marshal Montgomery's arrival and the steps he immediately took to get the 8th Army into his grip and to restore its confidence are given in illuminating detail. Urgent preparations to meet Rommel's imminent attack were necessary. The battle of Alam Halfa came just as they were complete and even more than El Alamein it was the turning point in the fortunes of the Western Allies. An admirably designed and executed defensive battle it finally eliminated the danger to the Middle East. This was an astounding result for the new commander to have achieved within three weeks after his arrival in unfamiliar surroundings. It is an intriguing question for speculation whether the methods he employed to assert his personality and to get a grip of his army were the result of deliberate thought or of inspiration of the moment.

The introduction of a fresh atmosphere and his technical mastery of the military situation within such a short period must rank as perhaps Field-Marshal Montgomery's most remarkable achievement if only because it was marked by so much originality of thought and action. That the change of atmosphere was felt immediately by all ranks from highest to lowest is an astonishing proof of the influence a single individual can have even when not a popular or well recognized figure. The determined resistance he offered to pressure to pass prematurely to the offensive after Alam Halfa is not the least of the debts owed him; and it proved not only his professional judgment but outstanding strength of character, although he received full support from General Alexander.

Before giving the story of El Alamein and subsequent operations General de Guingand pauses again to discuss the characteristics and qualities of his chief,

and this is perhaps the most interesting chapter of his book. It should allay many misconceptions regarding Field-Marshal Montgomery and settle many criticisms directed against him. Placed as it is this chapter enables one to check the qualities claimed for him as revealed in the subsequent narrative. His technical accomplishments, determination, clarity of judgment and power of quick firm decision; and his even more remarkable psychological flair in his appeal to his troops and to his fellow countrymen. The cultivation of morale and confidence was the foundation on which he built. His assertion that the surest way to establish morale is to give the troops victory is no mere platitude as it might seem. It accounts for the immense care he took not to commit his troops prematurely or till everything possible had been done to ensure victory. This has given rise to the criticism that Field-Marshal Montgomery tends to be slow and over cautious but there is plenty of evidence that he was capable of rapid action and daring decisions when the situation demanded.

The appreciation is the more convincing because it does not shirk discussion of criticism and does not deny that he was capable of mistakes and could be difficult. General de Guingand has however little difficulty in showing that many criticisms were either trivial or based on misconception of his chief's motive.

Where Field-Marshal Montgomery did not adopt what might have been the best operational course of action his determination to adhere to a second best plan was better than the risks of change. Yet that he was capable of changing his method, was illustrated in the Mareth battle after the failure of the direct attack, and also in the battle of El Alamein. Adherence to the main object rather than stubborn attempts to persevere in trying to gain a specific object was well illustrated in the Caen fighting.

The account of the campaign which carried the 8th Army into Tunisia vivid as it is does not add much to our previous knowledge and requires little comment. It increases however our appreciation of the greatness of the achievement. What is surprising is to learn that while Field-Marshal Montgomery was still involved in the campaign he was called on to make preparations for the invasion of Sicily. When he was free there was little time to carry through such an elaborate task and an immense strain was placed on him and his staff. The task was made no easier by the fact that a plan had been already drawn up which he did not approve and insisted on changing. As in the case of the Normandy landing he had his way but the only trace of bitterness General de Guingand allows himself is in his comments on the mistake of delaying the selection of commanders and of presenting them with plans they had had no voice in forming. The consequent changes of plans in each case added immensely to the difficulties of the staff and inevitably resulted in delays.

The 8th Army's operations in Italy are followed only to the end of Field-Marshal Montgomery's command. Preparations for the crossing of the Straits of Messina proved to be excessive but the enemy's reaction could not have been foreseen. The rôle subsequently given to the 8th Army which involved a long

time-wasting march along the South coast is severely criticized. The author holds that, an early attempt to seize Taranto and Bari, even although resources were not available to deal with a seriously opposed landing would, in view of the Italian attitude have been justified.

General de Guingand deals much less fully with the operations on the Western front. The immense labour of preparing for D-day, increased greatly by the changes in plan resulting from the belated appointment of the responsible commanders, is however instructively and fully described. There are pungent comments on the difficulty of co-ordinating air and land action as a result of separate services and although army requirements were fully met it was often after delays and much discussion. The need for a greater integration of the services is the author's conclusion which is supported by his experience of more rapid dealings with the American organization. The gallantry and skill of our airmen is however fully acknowledged. When it comes to describing the land operations in Normandy General de Guingand is mainly concerned in rebutting American criticisms which he finds are as a rule based on half truths which may be more misleading than downright misstatements.

After the battle in Normandy General de Guingand found himself for once at variance with his chief. He supported General Eisenhower's strategy of an advance on a broad front to the Rhine. He is convinced that it would have been impracticable from distant bases, and with inadequate road and railway communications, to maintain the momentum of the full blooded concentrated thrust into Germany that Field-Marshal Montgomery advocated. In that I entirely agree with him. Moreover the effect on American susceptibilities of condemning a large part of their armies to a static rôle could not be ignored. Field-Marshal Montgomery's plan if it had failed would have had disastrous effects on Anglo-American relations. General Graham, head of Field-Marshal Montgomery's administrative staff, in a letter to *The Times* however supports his chief's views and considers that the Channel ports would have sufficed to maintain supplies. Could this, however, have been relied on when General Eisenhower came to his decision?

Interest is maintained to the end and we are left with the impression that we have received a true and faithful picture of a great partnership and of a great commander, an accomplished technician and as a leader of men a genius. That he was fortunate in many ways we may admit and not least in having a staff officer of exceptional ability, possessing understanding, tact and loyalty to the highest degree. The book is certain to be studied by budding commanders and staff officers of the future, but it is to be hoped that they will not be tempted to imitate too closely Field-Marshal Montgomery's methods, which, suggestive as they were, depended for success largely on his remarkable individuality.

## EGYPT AND THE NILE VALLEY

BY L. JAMES

**A**LTHOUGH Egypt is situated in the north-eastern part of the African continent, its population, language, religion, culture and historical connections are more closely bound up with the neighbouring territories of the Middle East than with the continent to which it belongs in the conventional scheme of geographical classification. Yet, despite the fact that Egyptian politics are for the most part un-African in that her politicians seek the closest relations with Egypt's Arab neighbours (Cairo is the headquarters of the Arab League), Egypt is indissolubly bound to Africa by the Nile. As is well known, Egypt owes her existence to this life-giving river, and an understanding of its importance in Egyptian life is indispensable to an appreciation of Egypt's present problems.

If the Nile ceased to flow through Egypt, the economic basis of the country would at once be destroyed but the territory comprising modern Egypt would continue to be important because of the Suez Canal which turns the Mediterranean into a world highway connecting Europe and the Far East. Furthermore, Egypt lies at the cross-roads of world air transport. However, without the Nile, Egypt's importance would be something like that of a magnified Aden. Apart from the Nile valley and delta and the oases, Egypt consists of barren desert. There is a scanty rainfall on the coast—Alexandria gets eight inches of rain per year—but the remainder of the territory gets almost nothing. Egypt is not highly endowed with mineral wealth, although small quantities of petroleum, phosphate and manganese are worked, and so without the Nile water to provide irrigation, Egypt would be a desert area supporting only a small nomadic pastoral population with some primitive agriculture at scattered areas along the littoral.

Of the total area of Egypt, some 386,000 square miles, only one twenty-eighth is cultivated. Apart from the Nile valley and delta, the population lives only in the Canal zone and the oases of which the most important are Kharga, Dakhla, Siwa, Farafra and the Faiyum. The greater part of the eighteen million population gets its living directly from the land, and the fellahin constitute the largest single group. Like other peasant societies throughout the world, the problems of Egypt's agricultural workers are basically poverty, illiteracy and backwardness. Enervating diseases have an alarmingly high incidence, but they seem to have little influence on the growth of the population. The rate of increase is extremely high and the population is

growing faster than the present resources can adequately support. The extremely low standard of life is threatened with yet further depression.

To prevent such a catastrophe, the only serious hope lies in increasing the agricultural production, and this means in practice extending the area under cultivation, because it will be difficult to make the land already under cultivation produce very much more, except in the case of land still being cultivated by the old basin system of irrigation. The other means of relieving population pressure, emigration and further industrialization are not likely to help. Other countries in the Middle East are under-populated, but the Egyptian fella is extremely conservative about moving away from his home. The industrialization of Egypt has proceeded steadily from the first world war; the years of the second world war again stimulated industrial development, but there remain considerable difficulties to be overcome before Egypt can hope to absorb more than about fifteen per cent. of her occupied population in industry.

The additional food required to feed the increased numbers will have to come from Egyptian soil. Food production could be increased at the expense of non-food crops like cotton, but cotton forms the basis of Egyptian trade; any permanent diminution in the export of cotton would have serious repercussions on Egypt's trade relations. Ultimately the problem necessitates finding ways and means of extending the cultivated area, and this means better irrigation, so it is back to the Nile. It is the importance of the Nile that underlies Egypt's concern over the fate of the Sudan, and is the basic question in the cry of 'the unity of the Nile valley' put forward with vigour and insistence on so many occasions. To many people outside Egypt, the claim that the Egyptians should take over the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan seems both extravagant and indefensible. That Egypt should claim complete independence instead of the partial independence she has experienced since 1922 contains a measure of inevitability, but the claim to the Sudan made in the name of Nile valley unity can only make one reflect upon the strange phenomenon, witnessed so often in the treaty making in eastern and central Europe after the first world war, when nations which had put forward passionate pleas for emancipation from foreign and imperial yokes frequently proceeded (once their claim had been acknowledged as right and just) to put forward claims to territories not occupied by their nationals but which they desired on grounds of strategy or economics.

Egypt's claim to exercise sovereignty over the six and a half million inhabitants of the Sudan and its million square miles of territory can scarcely be put forward on cultural or historical grounds. The Sudan is the meeting place of Hamite and Negro cultures, and the southern part has long been the home of warring tribes. The majority of the Sudanese are still primitive, pastoral and nomads. In modern times the Egyptian claim to the Sudan goes back only to 1821, when Ismail (son of Mohammed Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt under the

Turks) went on an expedition of conquest to the Sudan and succeeded (by reason of his fire-arms) in subjugating the whole territory. With this conquest began a period of misrule, involving wholesale depopulation and extensive slave trading, that lasted until the Madhi revolt of 1885 when the Egyptians were expelled.

Following Britain's intervention in Egypt in 1882, she became involved in the Sudan with the expedition sent under General Gordon to evacuate the Egyptian forces from the Madhi revolt. Gordon's death at Khartoum eventually led to an expedition being sent in 1898 under Lord Kitchener; it was a joint Anglo-Egyptian force, and its success resulted in the establishment of the Condominium in 1899. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Egyptian nationalist feeling produced demands that the British should withdraw from Egypt, and these demands became more and more insistent and were expressed in violent terms. Egypt remained a nominal member of the Turkish empire until 1914, when a British Protectorate was declared over Egypt following Turkey's decision to join the Central powers. In the period after the first world war, disturbances broke out in Egypt, and although they were easily put down, Britain was obliged to regularize her position in the country. In 1922 Britain acknowledged the independence of Egypt, but in the eyes of many Egyptians (especially the Wafd) Britain reserved to herself too many rights and powers. The 1922 declaration was quickly followed by demands that Britain should make a similar declaration for the Sudan. This agitation culminated in the political assassination in Cairo of the Governor-General of the Sudan. After this unhappy incident, the Egyptian forces were withdrawn and replaced by the Sudan Defence Force.

Since 1924, the year of the assassination, the Egyptian share in the administration of Sudanese affairs has been comparatively small, and has formed one of the grievances of the Egyptians about the whole situation. The elaborate Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 endeavoured to make the Condominium into a reality, but the important principle was laid down that "the welfare of the Sudanese must be a primary consideration in the administration of the territory." The future status of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan has been one of the major problems in the negotiations for the revision of the 1936 Treaty. Egypt's attitude towards the Sudan is in very large part influenced by her internal problems. An increasing population gives rise to fears about the water from the Nile which gets its supplies from the East African plateau and from Ethiopia.

It is only in the present century that the full story of the Nile has been discovered, and even now there are some problems in the Nile Basin hydrography that are not completely solved. The fact that the Nile rose in summer whereas the other rivers of the Mediterranean diminished in the drought of the summer months, was a source of wonderment to the ancient world. The White Nile originates in the East African plateau region where the rainfall

is abundant. The Kagera River is considered to be the headstream, but Lake Victoria is a better definition of the southern source of the Nile. From this lake the river flows northwards to the swampy Lake Kioga region, and then the Victoria Nile (as it is known in this area) flows westwards. After leaving the Murchison Falls it enters Lake Albert and leaves this lake as a navigable river. Despite the variations in the rainfall of the East African plateau area, the actual volume of the Nile draining this region does not vary greatly throughout the year.

From Lake Albert the Nile flows northwards through a vast alluvial plain, first in the forest zone, and further north through the savanna belt. It frequently spreads out into swamps and small lakes in which papyrus and other reeds grow; huge masses of these get detached and float down forming the sudd which impedes navigation. The river loses enormous quantities of water through evaporation and seepage as it flows through this zone. This stretch of the river is known as the Bahr-el-Jebel. At Lake No it is joined by the Bahr-el-Ghazal flowing from the west, but the actual contribution of water is very small. From this point the river becomes known as the White Nile and it flows eastwards until it is joined by the Sobat which originates in the western highlands of Ethiopia. Until it reaches Khartoum, the White Nile continues to flow through an alluvial plain, but from this town it flows through a valley, narrow for the most part, over an eroded area of hard rock, and where the rock is especially hard, the six cataracts occur. These lie between Khartoum and Aswan.

At Khartoum the Blue Nile joins the main river, and lower down, the Atbara; the third main river flowing from the western Ethiopian Highlands, joins the Nile at Berber. The Sobat, the Blue Nile and the Atbara are extremely important for Egypt because they carry the monsoon rains that fall in Ethiopia during the summer months. The Blue Nile is particularly important for Egypt, for in addition to being heavily laden with silt (the greater part of Egypt's fertile soils of the valley and delta consist of the volcanic silt of Ethiopia brought by the Blue Nile) this river causes the Nile to rise in Egypt in the month of July; the level rises until it reaches its maximum at the end of September and the beginning of October. After this month the river level gets lower, and although the Blue Nile continues to flow throughout the year (unlike the Sobat and Atbara which dry up in winter) it carries little water after January. The flood waters of the Blue Nile have the effect of ponding the White Nile and the result is that when the Blue diminishes in volume, the accumulated water of the White Nile enables the Nile to continue to flow throughout the winter months, although in greatly diminished volume. By the months of April and May, over four-fifths of the Nile water in Egypt is derived from the equatorial zone, but in September, during the period of maximum flooding, the water comes mainly from the Ethiopian rivers and the equatorial zone contributes less than a seventh of the total volume.



From earliest times, the Nile floods have been of enormous importance to Egypt. The silt brought down from the Ethiopian highlands solved man's earliest problem of replenishing the soil's fertility when the principles of fertilizers and crop rotation were unknown. Man could thus cease the practice of migratory agriculture, imposed upon him because of the exhaustion of the soil, and could build up a more complex civilization than is possible for peoples forced to move their homes at frequent intervals. Control of the Nile water early necessitated some elaborate form of State control, and from pre-dynastic times onwards, the Nile forced co-operation upon the inhabitants. From scattered tribes separated by swamps, there developed the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt (above and below the delta); the union of these two kingdoms inaugurated the period of Dynastic Egypt. The Nile was an important factor in bringing about unification because control over the flood waters necessitated co-operation and a large measure of State control.

The earliest irrigation was of the basin type—the flood waters were enclosed by earthen banks and allowed to stand until the silt was deposited and the earth thoroughly soaked. The crops were then planted in early winter, and harvested in the spring; the land was afterwards fallowed until the next flooding. This method of irrigation is still practised in the valley, over about one-sixth of Egypt's cultivated land, but over the remainder, perennial irrigation has taken its place, and is being slowly but steadily extended to the remaining sixth. Perennial irrigation involves the building of dams and storing the flood water and then gradually releasing it through an elaborate system of canals and drains.

Cultivation in Egypt is entirely dependent upon the availability of water since there is no check to plant growth in the absence of a cold season. Where perennial irrigation has made water available throughout the year, two and often three crops are harvested. The usual rotation consists of cotton (the summer crop), with wheat, beans or clover as winter alternatives. The two main disadvantages of perennial irrigation are that silt is no longer deposited on the land (most of it is poured into the Mediterranean) and so the fellahin are obliged to use more artificial fertilizers.

Apart from the increase in the crop area that will come from the conversion of the area still using basin irrigation to perennial irrigation, it is estimated that Egypt has an additional one and a quarter million acres that can be cultivated if water is made available. To obtain this additional supply of water means taking measures outside Egypt. In the past Egypt has been the largest and most populous of the Nile valley political units, but the Sudan and possibly Uganda will in the next decades be concerned about Nile water. The progress of the Sudan is closely bound up with the ability of the irrigation engineers to increase the volume of water available for agriculture. There is some anxiety in Egypt that the extension of such schemes as that now operating in the Gezira will mean a diminished flow of water to Egypt at the very

time that pressure of population demands an increased supply.

There are three main schemes under discussion for increasing the amount of Nile water reaching Egypt. The construction of a dam at the outlet of Lake Tana in Ethiopia would regulate the flow of water of the Blue Nile and so make more water available in the critical summer months. The second possibility is for a stretch of the Bahr-el-Jebel to be canalized so that the present high evaporation rate is drastically reduced. A scheme to cut a canal from a point near Jonglei to the junction of the Bahr-el-Jebel and the River Zeraf has been proposed, and this would prevent the river from stretching out into huge swamps and enable more water to reach the lower stretches of the Nile. A further scheme has been worked out for the construction of a dam at Nimule, some 150 miles below Lake Albert. The building of this dam would flood the shores of Lake Albert and the Semliki valley to the south of it. Compensation would have to be paid to both Uganda and the Belgian Congo to enable them to assist in the resettlement of the displaced persons. The Belgian Congo is involved because its frontier with Uganda runs through Lake Albert southwards along the Semliki River to Ruwenzori. When the Jebel Aulia dam was built thirty miles above Khartoum, it flooded the banks of the Nile for some distance above the dam, and Egypt paid compensation to the Sudan Government for the re-settlement of the displaced Sudanese.

The construction of the necessary dams and canals in Uganda, the Sudan or Ethiopia would involve the expenditure of enormous sums, but population pressure in Egypt makes these long-term plans urgent. Hitherto there has been little friction over the allocation of Nile water; Great Britain has exercised a general supervision over the whole Nile valley, and Egypt's right to Nile water has never been questioned. There is likely to be greater competition for Nile water as the Sudan and Uganda progress in the economic sphere, but Egypt's fears that development schemes higher up the valley might bring about a diminution of Nile water are likely to be ill-founded provided the necessary engineering work is undertaken to regulate and increase the flow of carrying water by means of one or more of the schemes just outlined.

The carrying out of these schemes requires close and continuous co-operation between all the political units of the Nile valley, but it is doubtful whether this necessitates political union between Egypt and the Sudan. The majority of the Sudanese are not in a position to judge the merits and demerits of any such union. In their mode of life the majority of Sudanese differ greatly from the Egyptians. The British case has been simply that until the majority of the Sudanese are in a position to determine their own political future, there ought to be no commitment involving them in any act of union with Egypt. Both the Sudan and Egypt are vitally concerned with the whole question of the Nile, but the Egyptian claim has a certain illogicality that does not arouse ready sympathy.

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## PATTERN FOR GERMAN AGRICULTURE

By HERMANN LEVY

WHEN in the last quarter of the nineteenth century cheap grain and meat from overseas began to flood the old agricultural countries most of them made a successful attempt to meet this competition by switching agriculture over to the still profitable productions, in particular dairying, high-quality meat production, poultry keeping and market-gardening. This process of adaptation was particularly to be seen in Britain, in the Scandinavian countries, in Belgium and Holland and even in the eastern and north-eastern states of the U.S.A., when farmers there began to feel the irresistible competition of their western brethren. In the German *Reich* such changes were never attempted. Vast tracts of arable lands in the east-Elbian districts were unfit for any other agricultural productions than ordinary corn growing and cattle raising. The great urban centres were too far away from these zones to serve them as markets for agricultural products other than grain or meat. Even if the big landowners and Junkers had not refrained for political and family reasons from subdividing their estates into smaller holdings, the attempt to create another agriculture would not have been successful. These lands simply were not fit for the new pattern of west-European rural economy. And so it happened that large estates did not only survive in the eastern parts of Germany but remained the predominant type of holding. But this exceptional structure could only be retained by an ever-increasing wall of protective tariffs.

It was, indeed, on such tariffs that the main economic interests of Prussian landlords were focussed; to get and increase these tariffs they were prepared to assist the interests of the heavy industries which in other respects they regarded as their economic foes because industry drew labour away from the land. When Bismarck in 1879 conceded a tariff to the iron industry he did so because he wanted industrialists to vote for the introduction of duties on foreign wheat; as long as landowners had not felt any foreign competition they had been, as Bismarck was, "free-traders" because they wished to import agricultural machinery as cheaply as possible. Agricultural tariffs thus became co-responsible for Germany's high protectionist industrial policy. To east-Elbian landlords and other big estate owners in the *Reich* Lord Byron's words might have been applicable:

For what were all these country patriots born?  
To hunt and vote, and raise the price of corn?

("The Age of Bronze.")

There is one uninterrupted line leading from the beginning of protection for the land to Hitler's ascendancy. Even to those of the German Junkers who for many reasons might have disliked Naziism the temptation to secure through Hitler further assistance for east-Elbian agriculture was too strong. When the giant scheme of the *Osthilfe*—a measure of financial assistance to the land which served to put enormous sums into the Junkers' pockets—was approaching complete bankruptcy Hindenburg called Hitler to save the situation.

The German people to-day pay dearly for this agricultural policy and all its political consequences. But the price it paid for protection was heavy enough even in years of peaceful development and undestroyed cities. The tariffs had become a tax hardly comparable with anything known in commercial history. It reached the climax when in 1930 the tariff on wheat was raised to 25 R.M. per 100 kilo; this meant, if translated into English measures, a tariff of more than 50s. a quarter. At that time No. 2 Northern Manitoba wheat was quoted in Britain at 25s. a quarter. When the tariff on cereals was introduced the grotesque situation was that East-German corn could not even be used for the supply of all German markets; the distance from Königsberg to many districts in South Germany was too far to make it profitable to send grain there. In particular, in times of glut, East Prussian corn was exported to nearby countries and the difference between the home protected price and the world-market price refunded to the farmer by granting him export bounties.

It is appropriate to remember this economic situation at a moment when the re-shaping of a new *Reich* is gaining momentum. No economic aim of the Powers concerned in this matter should—apart from those relating to their security—deserve more approval than that to rid the German *Reich* once and for all of the disastrous, ever latent dangers of an impossible agricultural structure. The Junkers may by now have disappeared; the land never will. And on this land live Germans speaking the German language, feeling themselves to be conservative or socialist Germans, inclined to appreciate the land quite apart from any economic considerations. But however this may be the position is that these vast tracts can only produce corn at prices which at best are twice as much as those in countries overseas. It is of little importance to the problem that actually the cultivation of arable land in Germany was of high technical efficiency. In 1933-37 the annual yield of wheat per acre in Germany was 17.7 cwt., a little higher than in Britain (where it was 17.3), and almost double that of Poland or Yugoslavia. But this record "fertility", was achieved at constantly increasing costs—for the law of diminishing returns cannot be eclipsed, whatever the outlay of capital, on land already cultivated. The higher yields at higher costs were only a profitable farming proposition at ever-increasing prices.

This position cannot be altered by economic measures. It is complete folly to expect that the splitting-up of the big estates in East-Elbia will relieve the situation. On the contrary, small holding or medium-sized farms will be still

less in a position to cultivate these lands at reasonable prices than were the Junkers. The difficulty of creating economic small holdings in purely arable districts has become manifest in such parts of Britain as Norfolk or Essex; in many parts of East-Elbia these difficulties are even greater because there are no nearby large towns as a market for other products than corn or meat, provided there were an opportunity to produce these on smaller farms at reasonable cost. It should not be forgotten that for this as for other regions of Europe from the Baltic to the Aegean it holds true that "the future of peasant farming will largely depend on the extent to which peasant farmers can turn over from extensive grain growing to the production of live-stock, live-stock products, and fruit and vegetables."\*

For German land east of the Elbe nationalization does not *per se* provide an economic solution. We can agree with Mr. Alexander Baykov when, writing on Russia, he cautiously says in his survey: "The nationalization of large estates, normally accompanied by their subdivision, solves only the social and political elements in the agrarian problem in countries where small peasant landownership prevails. In itself, it does nothing to prepare the ground of solving the economic problem."† The question arises whether the new *Reich* for the sake of a so-called "national" integration will continue to carry the burden of highly unprofitable lands or whether it will sacrifice the present agricultural structure of Germany by abolishing the bread tax and subject these lands to the pressure of free trade. In the latter case there would be the alternative of large tracts becoming derelict with the tillers placed elsewhere in the German economy; or else to part with these lands altogether and allow them to form their own political existence centred economically in the preservation of a peasant community, supporting itself at enormous cost as compared with prices on the world markets. There seems hardly to be a way between. The position has to be boldly faced. It would be highly dangerous to endorse Professor Röpke's view that "the ending of agrarian feudalism east of the Elbe means that the Prussian system of great estates must at last give place to peasant farms and villages,"‡ when as a matter of fact there is not the slightest chance of making such farms a paying proposition and an agrarian collectivism of the Russian type would, as Professor Röpke agrees, only be "feudalism under another name."

But there is also a genuine small holdings problem in Germany which has more chance of an economic solution. Not unlike those in Britain—although in a somewhat less distinct pattern—farms in the *Reich* decrease in size as we move from the East and North-East to the West. While in the former regions holdings over 250 acres prevail, the West and South-West is peppered with

\* *Agrarian Problems from the Baltic to the Aegean*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1944, page 61.

† *The Development of the Soviet Economic System*, 1946, p. 321. Cambridge University Press.

‡ *The German Question*, by Wilhelm Röpke. Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.

small holdings of under twelve acres.\* This coincides with the growing density of the population in these largely industrial districts. Many of these holdings do not provide all the food requirements of the farming family; others are only just self-supporting, and still more have a good surplus to sell. Economic support is given to farming in many of these regions by the growing of vines, tobacco and hops; smaller farmers frequently assist the larger ones in harvest time. There is still much natural pasture land—as in the Black Forest or the Vosges—and the cattle in these areas supply milk with even more butter than in the best dairying areas in the coastal marshes in North Germany. Fruit and vegetable growing and poultry keeping flourished traditionally in these districts apart from the production of meat and meat-products. Of course in the more mountainous regions and the "backward" areas of Upper-Bavaria or Württemberg small farming is still carried on in a traditional way with little application of modern methods of soil cultivation; as far as meat production is concerned many of these yeomen-farmers would hardly have found it profitable to carry on if the prices of meat had not been kept high by the tariffs and by the prohibition of any chilled or frozen meat from overseas markets. But it may be noted that many of these smaller farmers have always been interested in buying feeding stuffs cheaply and for that reason they have at times voted for a more liberal commercial policy. Surrounded by a belt of urban and industrial districts they would be the first to appreciate that a high level of real wages of workers and townsmen, brought about by cheap imported grain and meat, would immediately increase their purchasing power for all those other rural products which the small and medium-size farmer is so capable of supplying.

Nearly half a million independent small farmers lost their holdings between 1933 and 1941 because Hitler, unfaithful to his promises to protect the small people, deliberately set out to destroy the small holdings, in order to drive the agrarian masses into his war factories. It is in the middle, the west and the south of Germany that any new settlement of these farmers would have good economic prospects. A small farming community could in these parts attain the prosperity enjoyed by many small farmers in Britain, Belgium, Holland or Denmark. They would not be exposed to the fate and risks of those small farmers now settled, mainly for political reasons, in the east and middle-east of Europe—on lands wholly unfit for other than arable farming and with the insufficient experience of labourers who through the dividing-up of land for political reasons have suddenly become farmers.†

A farming community in the *Reich* centred in those districts which can adapt their agriculture to the competitive strain of a free-trade policy, or one at any rate of moderate protection, must be regarded as the only possible economic

\* See the pessimistic views expressed about such farmers in *The Times* of December 19, 1946, "Land Reform in Hungary", where the new small farms will have to be "reorganized" into "larger and more economic units."

† See the instructive map in R. E. Dickinson's *The Regions of Germany*, p. 44. Kegan Paul.

solution of the problems of German rural economy. Such a farming community would at the same time be inclined to part with the former reactionary aims of regarding agricultural income as the justification of ever-increasing burdens on the population; a community far more democratically-minded which would regard the fertility of the earth outside the *Reich* not as a menace but as a boon to the progress of the world, including that of a new *Reich*. It is through this approach that the economic contentment of German small farmers has to be sought and not from the possession of slices of land unfit for small holdings.

The sharp contrast between the structure of agriculture in the East and North-East of Germany and that of the South and the West belongs to the many economic incongruities of the former *Reich*. It is indicative of the fact that the German economy was far more a conglomeration of divergent interests than a uniform pattern. Perhaps at the present time more political attention is given to the future shape of Germany's industrial and commercial organization than to that of its agricultural occupations. But the past shows that both interests cannot be separated from one another. Britain's greatness in the second half of the nineteenth century evolved from the development of an economic policy which set an end to conflicts of a "landed interest" with the other sectors of the economic community. The economic sanity of the future Germany depends on the elimination of this conflict which has worked to the detriment of Germany no less than to that of the entire world. For the German people the time should have arrived to consider earnestly that neither frontiers nor language can guarantee the real unity of a modern nation if the economic interests inside its borders are not kept in proper economic balance. While Switzerland has always offered to the world the spectacle of a unity of nationals speaking different languages it should not be forgotten that this small country does not know divergencies of economic interests or requirements. To remove the agricultural discrepancies of the former *Reich* should be a fundamental step towards a better shaped, though geographically smaller Germany.

## THE FUTURE OF THE ENGLISH COAST

BY L. RUSSELL MUIRHEAD

**A**MONG the more frugal-minded peoples of Europe, the wastefulness of the English has always been a source of wonder. That singular island race, as soon as it wins a victory, loses no time in flinging away the hard-earned fruits. Having acquired political and social liberty, the English appear to be willing to assume a voluntary servitude. There seems to be a political moral to be drawn from this, but that is not the purpose of this article. Rather is it intended to show how, having won the freedom of their own soil, the English are in danger of losing a priceless and irreplaceable asset out of sheer indifference, or at any rate from an apparent unwillingness to get away from parochial politics in dealing with a question of national importance.

The warning has been sounded, in a very quiet way it is true, in a recently published volume entitled *The Coastline of England and Wales*,\* described by its author, Mr. J. A. Steers, as a "physiographical treatise". It is, in fact, much more than that; and, most important of all, it is the first time that the coast of the whole southern half of Great Britain has been treated as a single entity, with due attention paid to the interplay of forces affecting large areas of coast at one and the same time.

The coast of England is one of her most precious possessions with a physical and psychological value that has, up to now, never been truly estimated. Thanks to the unique climatic position and geological nature of this island, we have a coastline that can show, in a relatively limited compass, almost every variety of shore and foreshore that can be found in the Temperate Zone. Its value, therefore, as a field for scientific examination, is enormous. Politically, the fact that our coast is our frontier is of historic rather than of immediate importance; but psychologically, the existence, within easy reach of every part of England, of a territory so varied, so characteristic, and yet so continually changing as is the English seashore, should be of inestimable benefit to the citizens of the fortunate island which it girdles.

Yet what have we done with it? We have shown but poor appreciation of the priceless treasure that is our common heritage. We have disfigured it in great stretches with mean and indiscriminate building; we have befouled it elsewhere with the scars and dumps of industry; and to-day the danger threatens that large sections of those coasts which have not yet been attacked by the speculative builder or the utilitarian industrialist will be permanently barred to

\* Cambridge University Press. 42s.

the public because of the demands of the Services for convenient training areas.

Mr. Steers has been accused of being completely dispassionate in his review of the coastline of England and Wales. In point of fact, he has a perfect right to be so, if he wishes, in a scientific treatise; but actually it is quite evident, from his own words, that he feels very strongly about the wastefulness that allows this great national possession to fall into the wrong hands or to be spoilt by careless stewardship. The quotation of a paragraph on the coast of North Wales is sufficient proof. "The whole length of coast from Llandudno to the Point of Air," says Mr. Steers, "is unfortunately spoiled in various ways. Natural conditions . . . are disturbed by extensive sea walls and promenades. Headlands . . . are badly disfigured by extensive quarrying. Farther east, along the dune and marshland coast, widespread and unplanned masses of huts and bungalows detract greatly from the natural landscape. Forethought and consideration for the future could very easily have given pleasure to all the people who visit this area, and at the same time could have kept it in a far more natural and beautiful condition."

This paragraph as a whole seems a fairly strong expression of the author's opinion as a public-spirited citizen rather than as a scientist; and the italicised passage (the italics are mine) strikes at the root of the matter. For it is a fact that the present-day treatment of the coastline tends to exclude more and more of the public from the beauty which they have a right to share. Unlimited mud has been thrown at the great landowners of the past; but in this respect they have been more generous than the owners of coastal "estates" to-day. A good proportion of seaside land is relatively worthless from the agricultural point of view, and landowners in the past have generally been very willing to allow access to the foreshore. As the larger estates have been broken up, this "sufferance" has become rarer; and in this respect no landowner is worse than a Government department—which usually means, in the present instance, a Service department.

As an old traveller, I have explored many miles of the less frequented shores of Britain—not with any scientific aim, like Mr. Steers, but merely for the sake of enjoying the ever-changing scene at the line where sea meets land. It is a harmless pleasure and one enjoyed by many. Let them enjoy it while they may, for it is a pleasure that is becoming less accessible every year—though recently there have been signs that something may be done to prevent further encroachment.

During the war, many square miles of "undeveloped" land, both coastwise and inland, were occupied by the Service departments for the training of men in the arts of war. Nobody objected then; but, as often happens, the Service departments have found these training-grounds extremely convenient, and are reluctant to abandon what they have held. Anyone who has followed the correspondence columns in *The Times* and other newspapers read by the thinking public must have been struck by the number of letters protesting against

the arbitrary action of this or that Government department in announcing its intention of using a stretch of undeveloped territory for bombing or artillery practice, or for training with live ammunition. Unhappily, the coastline is often particularly well suited to these purposes; and such areas as the south-west Pembrokeshire coast, Braunton Burrows in Devonshire, much of the Dorset coast, and Beadnell Bay in Northumberland are likely to be closed permanently to the public and irreparably damaged by high explosive or armoured fighting vehicles.

The latest word on the subject has been written by Sir Norman Birkett, as chairman of the Standing Committee on National Parks, as a result of a rather cursory report on the subject presented by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons. Sir Norman makes the same complaint that is implicit throughout Mr. Steers's book: that the question is being dealt with piecemeal, and not as a great national issue. He speaks, of course, only of those areas, coveted by the Services, which come within the regions recommended as National Parks; and he has a Standing Committee behind him. It is the less known areas that are really most likely to be lost for ever, and it is some of these that are of the greatest interest scientifically, even if endowed with a smaller share of what is known as "picturesqueness": the marshlands, dunelands, and shingle banks. These are the regions which a scientific explorer such as Mr. Steers finds most interesting, because most changeable; and it is here that the traveller in need of rest from crowded cities can find his best recreation. It is typical of the attitude of those who would bar these regions to the public that one of their chief arguments runs something like this: "We visited the area and saw only five people in three days; therefore there will be little harm done if it is closed altogether." Soon, I suppose, there will be no coastal areas left where it is possible to see only five people in three days, and it will be necessary to visit the seaside either at a crowded resort or at a holiday camp. Such localities are excellent in their way, but they depart a considerable distance from "the natural and beautiful conditions" of the seashore (to use Mr. Steers's admirable phrase) and it is a pity that there should be no alternative.

One unpleasant, but (it is to be hoped) only temporary result of this present-day tendency to disregard the convenience of minorities is that many seaboard localities which were used for military training during the war still remain in the condition in which the troops left them, with unexploded projectiles lying about haphazard. These areas also are barred to the public, and provided with large "Danger" notices; and in many instances it would seem that no effort is being made to clear them. One of the few parts of the east coast, between London and Yarmouth, that has not yet attracted the speculative builder, remains in this condition two years after the last troops quitted it. It is an attractive stretch of heathland, of a type not common near the coast, and being accessible only by rather inferior by-roads, is not likely to be crowded even in the height of summer.

There is, it will be seen, plenty of room for a consideration, on broad national lines, of the whole question of public access to the coast. Sir Norman Birkett has proposed a Joint Select Committee based on the consideration of National Parks; such a committee might well be broadened to include within its scope the problem of the coastline as a whole; and not only from the point of view of amenity but also with an eye to its scientific importance.

Another very different aspect of the problem of the English coast is treated at length by Mr. Steers; and here again the difficulties that have arisen are due to a failure to consider the matter from a national standpoint. This problem is the problem of coastal erosion—the effect of wind and waves upon the coastline. Fortunately the trouble nowadays seldom reaches a crisis of such magnitude as in February 1938, when the sea breached the dunes at Horsey, in north-east Norfolk, during a north-westerly gale and covered nearly 7,500 acres—including 750 acres of arable land, nearly 3,500 of pasture, and 260 acres of building sites and woodland. This calamity was by far the most striking and sensational result of coastal erosion in modern times—and it has had one good result; it attracted the attention of the central authority to the magnitude of the impending threat, and grants are now being made for the express purpose of erecting defences against the sea on the Norfolk coast.

Alarming though they were, the 1938 floods were only a single instance of a process that has been going on throughout the centuries. In many seaboard counties of England and Wales there are records of villages having been swallowed up by the sea. Some, indeed, have actually disappeared within memory, such as, for instance, a large part of the village of Dunwich (once the principal port of East Anglia). On the Holderness coast of Yorkshire a whole series of towns has been lost between Bridlington and Spurn Head; in the Isle of Sheppey the church and churchyard of Warden fell into the sea in comparatively recent times; and on the north coast of Morecambe Bay there are records of severe storms between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, during which many villages were engulfed. These records are all authentic and can be dated; beyond them there are the fainter folk legends of Lyonesse, and the Drowned Hundred of West Wales, which appear to be based on memories handed down from neolithic times.

The one fact that is certainly known about the erosion of the English coast is that it is going on all the time; but a great deal more study is required before we can be sure how best to deal with it, or, indeed, whether it is possible to deal with it successfully at all. Up to the present, such efforts as have been made to combat the onslaughts of the sea have been of a strictly local character; and while they have often been locally beneficial, they have usually been responsible for even worse trouble farther along the coast. Mr. Steers cites the well-known example of the stabilization of the mouth of the Adur at Shoreham harbour, which, by interfering with the normal travel of material along the south coast, caused, and still causes, serious trouble at Hove and Brighton. Seaford like-

wise suffers from the regulation of the Ouse mouth at Newhaven; Lowestoft from the construction of piers at Gorleston; and so on all round the coast.

The important consideration that emerges from all this—and every true lover of England should thank Mr. Steers for bringing it out—is that the treatment of our coastline is a matter for national action. If our coasts are to serve the citizens of this country in the way they should; if they are to *give pleasure to all the people* who visit them, it is time that their supervision was placed in the hands of an authority with broad responsibilities. It is not an expensive business—unless carelessness allows another disaster like the Norfolk floods of 1938—and the returns, both in amenity value and in cash value (from the protection and recovery of agricultural land), are colossal. We have a Ministry of Town and Country Planning, and the treatment and study of the sea-shore affects both the urban and the rural population. Mr. Steers has made a report—careful, detailed, accurate, and interesting—and it only remains to translate his recommendations into action.

*(The author is the editor of the Blue Guides and the Penguin Guides.)*

## MR. LONG

BY G. ROSTREVOR HAMILTON

O H yes, I remember the common tales about him,  
 His loafing and his swearing, an old salt  
 Who had done no good at sea, not saved a penny  
 Nor ever settled down: who drank his pension,  
 And quarrelled with his son and beat his wife.  
 And once I saw him myself come out of *The Doves*  
 Arm in arm with a sailor—Mr. Long,  
 Zigzagging down the dangerous road, and gulping a song.

But I was fifteen then, with a raw conceit  
 That I knew a thing or two. I had learnt at school  
 To think as others thought, and could no more see  
 Sharply, with eyes as clear as running water.  
 And so that picture fails, is half unreal;  
 It was the child of ten who knew and loved  
 And fixed each line of him beyond all change,  
 A rare old man, a legend intimate and strange.

Everyone called him "Mr."—Mr. Long  
 Would be up and out by eleven, leaning over  
 The river-wall and puffing a dirty clay,  
 At peace with himself, it seemed, and all the world.  
 Under his low peaked cap, a size too large,  
 His jet-black eyes narrowed and glimmered as if  
 A gale were blowing. His wrinkled skin appeared  
 Brown as a winter leaf against his small white beard.

One day, on purpose, trembling as I did it,  
 I threw my ball quite close to where he stood,  
 And ran to pick it up, not looking at him.  
 "Morning," he piped, "that's a fine ball you've got";  
 And then he fetched a sweet from his baggy pocket

And pushed it in my hand. His pinpoint eyes  
 Twinkled with kindness; fear was at an end,  
 And proud, with a purple face, I knew him for my friend.

Then, after that, we often stood together  
 With hardly a word between us, watching the tugs  
 Smoke along to Hammersmith Bridge with a train  
 Of lumbering barges, full of coal or timber.  
 But better he liked the trim white sailing-boats,  
 And, as the bellying canvas rose and swayed  
 And caught the sunlight, through half-open lips  
 He'd mumble, like a prayer, "I mind me o' them big ships."

Slowly, little by little, I heard his story:  
 A desk at Liverpool, where they made him sit—  
 "Worse nor at school"—and how he ran away  
 And soon got taken aboard a spanking ship,  
*The Rover*, bound with steel for Valparaiso:  
 A full-rigged barque, "the finest you could see,  
 And couldn't see to-day," a high four-master  
 With a great spread of sail—"none, in the wide world, faster."

He told it again and again, and I would listen  
 Wanting to hear nothing else: but he once brought  
 A likeness of *The Rover* done in paint,  
 Grey cloud above with a yellow jag of lightning,  
 And inky waves in a tumble. There she rode,  
 Amazingly white her wings, and tall her masts,  
 With a slight and easy curve from bow to stern,  
 The swing of her line at peace—"she didn't care a darn."

"But where," I cried, "are the sailors, where are you?  
 I don't see one." "Oh, they be there all right,  
 But the picture's of the ship, and natural,  
 For she'd a will of her own, to save or drown us;  
 And some she drowned." "But how did you escape?"  
 He did not answer, did not seem to hear.  
 He had forgotten me. He turned and frowned,  
 And muttered again, with a distant voice, "and some she drowned."

That night I dreamed of *The Rover*, a sliding ghost  
 Alone and proud as a swan on the earthy Thames,  
 White, all white; but the row of ports on her side



Stared at me angry and black as the pitch-black eyes  
Of Mr. Long, and specks of drowning sailors  
Bobbed on the waves and sank. And Mr. Long,  
Frowning, walked the decks, and I was there  
And tried to shout "Mr. Long," but could not make him hear.

He didn't know he had frightened me. Next time  
He smiled; we didn't speak, and he left me soon,  
To potter about in the empty boats on the foreshore  
And gather bits of driftwood. I was happy,  
As though we had made it up and were better friends,  
Both of us shy: and in a week or two  
I blurted out and begged him for a tale  
Of *The Rover*, like that picture, caught in a tearing gale.

He puffed a cloud of smoke. The *Mary Blake*  
Was chugging lazily by on the oily river,  
Making a wash, and the poplars on the tow-path  
Were like green candle-flames, no wind to stir them.  
I waited breathless. Then, "all right, my son;  
I'll tell as how—I've been in a many more—  
She was took in a hurricane once around Cape Horn,  
Her masts were broke, her sails were rags, and her rigging torn.

"She'd started fair. She raced a hulking steamer,  
And had her nowhere. South and south she ran,  
A spirit in her, all her sails a-blowing.  
And then her luck changed, and a dead calm fell.  
And when the wind returned, the sun was sick  
And the mists blew up all day and the tackle moaned,  
And the gale was at her, roaring like a bull,  
A many bulls at once, and charged, and struck her full."

His voice rose high and cracked. His fingers twitched.  
He had forgotten me—was talking now  
Some words not in the book, maybe, and others  
A great sea-language, sounding of the storm:  
The whaleback, something heaving dark and round,  
The crossjacks and the hawsers and the winches,  
The royal halliards, words that made a dance—  
Nothing yet everything, the cloud-shift of romance.

But through the clouds I saw her stream and glisten—

It was my dream again, but waking real—  
And plunge, and shake to free herself, and shiver,  
As those bull-roaring waves struck and recoiled  
And struck again. The boiling foam rushed over  
And swamped the deck, and the little soaked men struggled,  
And one, as the ship heeled over, lurched and fell  
A shapeless huddle, washed overboard, and sank in the swell.

They shouted and could not hear. They held as they could,  
Or slipped and tumbled powerless. The fight  
Was left at last to the ship and the howling madman  
Loose in the storm, that slashed with a knife above  
And pounded below with hammers. *The Rover* strained,  
But the iron gear was torn and wrenched on her deck,  
And her canvas fell to a shower of tatters and flapped  
And wrapped on her ropes and spars: and high, the fore mast snapped.

Then Mr. Long, the apprentice (but I saw him  
Still with the fringe of white and the wrinkled skin)  
Battled his way, set foot, and was wriggling up  
And rocking against the sky to clear the tangle.  
"The blasted wind pulled weights on me as I climbed  
And clung like hell and climbed in the crazy rigging.  
I cut, and the gear shot loose—a spar swung round  
And knocked me flat, so I must ha' fell, like a stone to the ground.

"They sorted me out in time; I lay like dead.  
And the next I knew, the storm had gone and passed,  
And *The Rover* drifted slack. My left leg ached,  
The same that has the limp; it's wonder I lived.  
For the mate was pinned to death, and four men gone  
Clean overboard, and not the first she'd done for.  
There was never a finer mate nor William Jones,  
As all allow, but the 'merican sharks had got his bones.

"But her—it needed more to kill that ship.  
To look at her, you might ha' thought the strength  
Was gutted out of her, all starved and twisted—  
Her bulwarks loosened and the stanchions broken,  
A scarecrow pointing up with blackened fingers  
And bits o' rag. Yet there was something grand,

## MR. LONG

Aye, grand in her. Though she was done and beat,  
She kept her sulky pride; she'd never own defeat.

"They brought her in, and though you'd not believe it,  
When Spring came round, she hoisted and set sail  
As trim and fresh as ever. Like a fool,  
I went in her. Truth is, I loved that ship."  
His voice dropped. There was silence. Then he grunted,  
"I've told you more than either bargained for.  
But take a warning, son; don't copy me,  
A fool who couldn't stick his job and ran to sea."

A Dutch boat with blue funnel and low masts  
Was creeping by on the tideway; in her wake  
Gulls mewed and circled, as the foreign sailors  
Threw titbits, idly lounging at her stern.  
He followed her round the bend of the river; then,  
No words for his contempt, he turned and spat.  
"But if the God-damned *Rover* sailed," he swore,  
"An' I had ten lives—by God, I'd 'a' done it ten times more."

## THE DAUGHTERS OF SIR THOMAS MORE

BY FRANCES PAUL

OF the three houses in which Sir Thomas More is said to have watched and guided the upbringing of his daughters, it is of the household in Chelsea which most records speak. "More hath built near London," wrote Erasmus, "upon the Thames side a commodious house, neither mean nor subject to envy, yet magnificent enough; there he converseth with his family, his wife, his son, and daughter-in-law, his three daughters and their husbands, with eleven grandchildren. There is not any man so loving to his children as he; . . . . You would say there were in that place Plato's Academy; but I do the house injury in comparing it with Plato's Academy where there was only disquisitions of numbers and geometrical figures, and sometimes of moral virtues. I should rather call this house a school or university of Christian religion; for there is none therein but readeth or studieth the liberal sciences . . . ."

Again in the fanciful dialogue of "Il Moro", between Sir Thomas More and his guests on the source of happiness, Ellis Heywood, the son of the dramatist and a connection of the More family, wrote that they "retired after dinner into a garden, distant about two stone throws from the house, and went all together to stand upon a small green eminence, and gaze on the prospect. The place was wonderfully charming, both from the advantages of its site, for from one part almost the whole of the noble city of London was visible; and from another, the beautiful Thames, with green meadows and woody eminences all around; and also for its own beauty, for as it was crowned with an almost perpetual verdure, it had flowering shrubs, and the branches of fruit trees which grew near, interwoven in so beautiful a manner that it appeared like a living tapestry woven by Nature herself . . . ."

In such a setting, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Cecily More grew to maturity and proceeded, after marriage, in the sweet pursuit of Renaissance learning. As Sir Thomas More himself advanced in wisdom and knowledge, so his house became increasingly the seat of the hospitality which it was his delight to offer. Scholars of the humanities, ecclesiastics and statesmen, both from this country and abroad, journeyed and were welcomed there; Erasmus, Linacre, Grocyn, Holbein, Colet, William Lily, Fisher, Tunstall and Henry VIII being but a few of the names of this brilliant assemblage. But this gracious cultivation was an outer manifestation of a deep spirituality founded on the Christian faith.

In many ways the organization of this small community was monastic in origin, and the Christian virtues the acclaimed achievements to which the cul-

ture was directed. Thus in his long letter to William Gunnell, a Cambridge ecclesiastic who was at that time acting as tutor to his children, Sir Thomas More wrote that they should be trained "to put virtue in the first place, learning in the second; and in their studies to esteem most whatever may teach them piety towards God, charity to all, and modesty and Christian humility in themselves," and so, in the development of his argument, joy could be experienced through the assurance of a future life in reward of innocence, and "these", he concludes, "I consider the genuine fruits of learning."

When Sir Thomas More was at home, it was customary for the members of the family to meet in the oratory of the New Building (which lay apart from the house, and consisted also of the library, study, and the gallery) for night prayers. These were conducted by More himself, when he recited with them the psalms of the Miserere, the Te Deum and the Deus misereatur nostri; to be followed by the reading of the *Salve Regina* and Collect, and a prayer for the souls of the faithful departed. Similarly on Good Friday they would gather in the same oratory to hear a reading of the Passion, which was given usually by John Harris, the secretary, in conjunction with a few words pronounced by Sir Thomas More from time to time, as direction for meditation. In addition to these devotions, were the attendances at the family chapel in the parish church of Chelsea, to which they would travel by river.

Duties which, according to the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, were assigned peculiarly to the daughters, were the intoning at table, and the care of the sick and needy. Until her marriage, each daughter was required to take her turn in the intoning of a Scriptural passage, and the reading subsequently of a short commentary upon it, either from the writings of Nicholas of Lyra or from one of the early Christian fathers. At the conclusion of this, Sir Thomas More would open, in Latin, a short discussion upon the reading to which they would all contribute. True then to the phrase which was so favoured by this balanced company, Henry Pattinson, the family fool, was called in "to make merry." For charity, Sir Thomas More was accustomed to visit, particularly during the important Church festivals, the back lanes of his village, and to give generously to any needy case with which he met; a task, when he was not at home, which fell to his daughters, and especially to Margaret Gigs, an orphan girl and kinswoman of the Mores, who was brought up in the household as one of the daughters. The supervision of a house in Chelsea for the care of the aged and infirm, which Sir Thomas More rented and maintained at his own expense, was in his absence allotted to Margaret More.

Turning to the early years at "The Barge" by Walbrook in Bucklersbury, where Sir Thomas More first took his young wife, Jane Colt, and which witnessed the birth of his four dear children, there is but a short extract amongst his English writings to enlighten us at all of the probable happiness that was lived there. Referring to the games of small children he wrote: "Take them as little babes untaught, and give them fair words and pretty proper gear,

rattles and cockbells and gay golden shoes. Such pretty plays as children be wont to play as cherry stone, marrow bone, "bokle pit," spurne-point, cobnut or quayling. As children make castles of tile-shards and then make them their pastime in the throwing down again."

When they were older, and possibly living at Crosby Hall, in Bishopsgate, where it is said Sir Thomas More moved after the untimely death of Jane Colt, and his second marriage with Dame Alice Middleton, widow of a wealthy City merchant (in thought, it is understood usually, of his little ones), he wrote some rhymes in Latin elegiac verse. As the lines, some of which are quoted, speak for themselves, the trying condition of his journey did not affect in any way his thoughts for them.

One though my letter be, it greets my four  
Sweet children, wishing them all health in store.  
As late I journey'd thro' the pouring rain,  
My nag oft floundering on the miry plain.

How warmly you are cuddled and caressed;  
What lots of cake I keep for you in store  
What apples ripe, and mellow pears galore;  
With many a pretty riband, which I kept  
To soothe my pretties when in pain they wept.  
No rod, save peacocks whisking tail, you feel,  
And then the ready kiss was there to heal;

If by too great indulgence I offend,  
Heaven only knows whenever I shall mend.  
And you, my rosy laughing troop, repay  
Your father's love as warmly as ye may.

On reading in the letter from Erasmus to Ulrich von Hutten, dated 1519, that "He (Sir Thomas More) is fond of animals of all kinds, and likes to watch their habits. All the birds in Chelsea come to him to be fed. He has a menagerie of tame beasts, a monkey, a fox, a ferret, and a weasel," it is likely that his children would have been trained in the care of some of these creatures, and in their handling. It is evident also, that the house itself, whether at Bishopsgate or Chelsea, was furnished with many fine examples of antiquity, and a number acquired on account of their curious nature. One of the treasures at Chelsea would have been the large painting of the family group by Holbein, which is thought to have been worked in tempera on a wall of one of the rooms.

As companions of their own age, in addition to their brother John, there are records of several children who, if not residing in the household, were educated with them. To the young kinswoman, Margaret Gigs, reference has been made already. She grew to be the most learned lady of her time in medicine and mathematics, and became the wife of Dr. John Clement, the distinguished physician and Cardinal Wolsey's lecturer in rhetoric. Anne Cresacre, des-

cribed later by William Roper as "a young gentlewoman in the summer," was a ward of the Crown, and heiress to Edward Cresacre, of Barnborough in Yorkshire. She became Sir Thomas More's only daughter-in-law. Alice Middleton, the beautiful and talented young step-daughter, who married secondly Sir Giles Alington; Frances Staverton, a niece of Sir Thomas More, and daughter of Richard Staverton, Attorney of the Guildhall; and finally, William Rastell, Sir Thomas More's nephew, and son of John Rastell, to become later More's printer and publisher. As the Mores and the Rastells lived near to each other in the City, it is possible that Margaret, Elizabeth and Cecily may have been taken occasionally to see some of the acting on their uncle's stage at Finsbury, and were no doubt encouraged to compose and take part in plays in their own home; a pastime of More's own boyhood.

The period in which Sir Thomas More was considering the academic aspect of his daughters' education, saw the Renaissance movement, emanating pre-eminently from Spain, towards the recognition of advanced scholarship for women; and he made the decision of offering to them this fruit of great worth. The young Catharine of Aragon, who was married at the age of sixteen to the heir of the English throne, had been schooled amidst the brilliant intellectualism of the Spanish Court at that time under the ruling of her mother, the Queen Isabella. It was here that women, although retrieving much of the piety and retirement of the medieval convent, took their cultural place with the men. Queen Catharine's influence in this country towards such accomplishment was felt throughout the Court, and particularly by those writers of the treatises on women's education. The principles of the movement were outlined by Juan Ludovicus Vives, a Spaniard engaged as tutor to the Princess Mary, in his treatise *de Institutione Feminae Christianae*, which was translated by Richard Hyrde in 1524; the same year in which Hyrde wrote his preface to Margaret Roper's translation of Erasmus's treatise on the Pater Noster, the first essay in vernacular English in favour of the higher education of women.

In writing of these principles Dr. Foster Watson states that "a combination of womanly culture and austerity was the distinct implication of Vives," and it was in accordance with these that Margaret, Elizabeth and Cecily More, with their companions, were trained. In his letter to William Gunnell, Sir Thomas More urged him to subdue vainglory, and "to warn my children to avoid the precipices of pride and haughtiness, and to walk in the pleasant meadows of modesty." To attain this end there was to be a daily reading of the New Testament, and of the writings of the early Christian fathers, such as of St. Jerome and St. Augustine: "Do you, my learned Gunnell, have the kindness to see that my daughters thoroughly learn these works of those holy men." Other practical writings on these questions, by such as Erasmus, were to be studied also. In addition to this, a scholarly knowledge of Latin and Greek was required, so that they could be used for the writing of both prose and verse, for translation, and reading, with thorough acquaintance, the classic writings of

Plato, Sophocles, Cicero, Horace, Livy, Sallust, Seneca and Boetius, the works of the latter being favoured especially in the More household. Music, both vocal and instrumental, was given no less a place of importance, each daughter, doubtless, being accomplished in the playing of several instruments, for example, the harp, the lute and the viol, as well as in the use of her voice for singing, both accompanied and unaccompanied.

But much knowledge, however, of the direction of these studies in which father and children collaborated with such happiness, such zeal, and such proficiency, is to be learned from the intimate and endearing letters which Sir Thomas More wrote to them. Beginning at the time when his absorption in Court affairs caused him great sorrow in the absence from home which it enforced, they continued throughout his public life until the months before his martyrdom; his last letters being directed almost exclusively to Margaret Roper. It is apparent also from the subject matter of these letters, that the children corresponded with him, in Latin, and wrote occasional letters as example of their work, to such distinguished personages as Erasmus, Cardinal Pole and the Bishop of Exeter.

From such personal commendations as "Elizabeth shows a gentleness and self-command in the absence of her mother . . . such conduct delights me more than all possible letters I could receive . . ." and of "Margaret's lofty character" the letters tell of the varying aspects of their training. One which is on letter-writing itself and which Stapleton records had been read so frequently that it was almost worn away, Sir Thomas More wrote to them: "Nothing can come from your workshop, however rude or unfinished, that will not give me more pleasure than the most accurate thing that another can write . . ." and then with a slight reproving, he continues: "Now I expect from each of you a letter almost every day. I will not admit excuses . . . How can a subject be wanting . . . since I am glad to hear of your studies and games, and you will please me most if, when there is nothing to write about, you write about that nothing at great length."

In others he writes of their tutors, of astronomy, and philosophy: "Though each of you is dear to me by some special title . . . no one is dearer to me by any title than each one of you by that of scholar . . . I rejoice that Mr. Drew has returned safe . . . If I did not love you so much I should be really envious of your happiness in having so many and such excellent tutors . . . I hear you are so advanced in that science (astronomy) . . . Go forward, then, in that new and admirable science by which you ascend to the stars . . ."

Again, to Margaret Roper, he wrote: "There was no reason, my most sweet child, why you should have put off writing for a day, because in your great self-distrust . . . But, indeed, my dear Margaret, your letter was so elegant and polished . . . I am, therefore, delighted to read that you have made up your mind to give yourself diligently to philosophy . . ." As though in support then of Vives's stipulation for the study of medicine (the translation by Lin-

acre of Galen's *de Sanitate Tuende* in 1517, of the *Methodus Medenali* in 1519, and other writings of the medieval school being responsible for the transition of the lady of the house towards becoming the apothecary and dispensing physician) Sir Thomas More continued in the same letter, "though I earnestly hope that you will devote the rest of your life to medical science and sacred literature, so that you may be well furnished for the whole scope of human life . . . a healthy soul in a healthy body . . ." In conclusion he infers that marriage should be no hindrance to such studies: "Farewell, my dearest child, and salute for me my most gentle son, your husband. I am extremely glad that he is following the same course of study as yourself. I am ever wont to persuade you to yield in everything to your husband; now, on the contrary, I give you full leave to strive to get before him in the knowledge of the celestial system . . . Salute your whole company . . ."

Marriage for each daughter was arranged at an early age, Margaret being only in her sixteenth year when she became the wife of William Roper. Of her two sisters, Elizabeth was married at the age of nineteen to William, son of Sir John Dauncey, and Cecily, at eighteen, to Giles, son of Sir John Heron. Vives stressed that at no time should the young girls' future place in the household be forgotten and urged, consequently, training in the domestic arts, such as weaving, cloth-making, and embroidery. There is, however, peculiar absence of any reference to such kind in the education of Sir Thomas More's daughters, and indeed, both he and Dame Alice are reputed to have had little patience for what Erasmus styles the "feminine trifles". But it is difficult to believe that embroidery, in accordance with the tradition of English culture, did not employ their fingers for many an hour, and contrary to the opinion that it would have set free the mind to roam in unwonted places, it would have afforded that quietude for reflection, so valued in the More household. Following marriage, the daughters continued to reside in their father's house, together with their husbands and their children, in the education of the latter being, no doubt, as watchful as their father had been of theirs. It is recorded that Margaret Roper, whilst staying in the house of her step-sister, Lady Alington, near Cambridge met there Roger Ascham from the University, and invited him to act as tutor to her children.

Of the three daughters, Margaret Roper is said to have been the most like her father in stature and feature, in voice, manner, intellect and wit; and she was, perhaps, his most intimate confidante. The gentleness which she called forth in his letters to her, moved Professor Chambers to make the interesting statement, and one upon which it is well worth pondering: "I fancy that More's children (especially Margaret Roper, and the foster child Margaret Gigs) did more for the Saint's education than anyone else ever did, even Erasmus or Colet."\* The correspondence which passed between father and

\* *The Place of St. Th. More in English Literature and History.* R. L. Chambers.

daughter during the months of imprisonment is imbued with a deep spirituality and emotional nobility, to close with the final scene on the last journey from Westminster, when she broke through the crowds to lay on his neck weeping, and crying "Oh! my father, Oh! my father." To her husband and children, and indeed, to all with whom she came in contact, she offered the same gentleness, the same graciousness, and the same wisdom.

As intellectual achievements, she translated from the Latin of Erasmus and the Greek of Eusebius, she corrected an obscure passage in St. Cyprian, and wrote a treatise of her own on the *Four Last Things* simultaneously with her father. Of her elegant and cultivated Latin prose, both Cardinal Pole and the Bishop of Exeter spoke in terms of the highest commendation. Erasmus dedicated to her his commentaries on a selection of hymns by Prudentius, and to her and her sisters he dedicated his commentary upon Ovid de Nuce. They were all renowned throughout Europe for their virtue and learning, and are said to have disputed on philosophy before Henry VIII and his Court. Their praises were sung by both Leland and Ascham.

In conclusion, perhaps, this quotation may be given from a letter of Erasmus to Margaret Roper, whom he addressed as: "The ornament of Britain." He makes reference to the sketch of the family group, which had been conveyed to him by the artist himself, Hans Holbein the Younger: "I cannot find words to express the joy I felt when Holbein's picture showed me your whole family almost as faithfully as if I had you before my eyes. Often do I form the wish that even once before my last day I may look upon that most dear society, to which I owe a great part of whatever little fortune or glory I possess; and to none could I be indebted more willingly. The painter's skill has given me no small portion of my wish. I recognize you all, but no one better than yourself. I seem to behold thro' all your beautiful household a soul shining forth still more beautiful. I congratulate you all in that family happiness, but most of all your excellent father . . ."

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# CAN LABOUR GOVERN?

BY JOHN ARMITAGE

THE political events of the last few weeks, the publication of the economic White Paper, the dismal reports from abroad of the foreigner's estimate of our chances of survival and our own realization of the magnitude of our plight have all encouraged from time to time the glance backward to July 1945 when the Labour party, glorying in an unexpectedly large majority, faced the future boldly. In a new Penguin, *Labour's First Year*, Mr. J. E. D. Hall, a journalist, tells the story of the start of this high adventure.\* His book is reportage without commentary and he achieves his aim of presenting the scene in Parliament with lively detachment.

In spite of the set-back the Labour Party's programme has received and the now obvious dangers into which a too zealous adherence to it has brought us, it is unlikely that the main bulk of Labour's henchmen has lost faith. There is even less likelihood that the Conservative Party have substantially gained. Local elections will give an indication of the direction of the wind but were we to suffer a General Election tomorrow it is probable that Labour's losses would not be more than fifty or sixty seats.

What may be seen, in the next twelve months and if Labour are wise, is a modification of the present programme. Truculent back-benchers stand in the way of this and to force the issue may well mean a break to the left. If so, it might be no bad thing for Labour. For this Parliament, after a stampeding start, to gain the epithet 'moderate' would be a great achievement. It stands whether people like it or not in the stream of history, half way between the extremes of America and Russia. If it can perform the miracle of holding the balance between those mighty nations and at the same time offer Britain a workable compromise, it will have served its purpose. Given peace abroad, Britain may then look forward to a period of consolidation, under one party or another, with its new course set.

Of particular interest in Mr. Hall's book is the reminder of what Mr. Herbert Morrison had to say in 1945 about the citizen and the State. This is a matter of grave concern to almost everybody at the present time and it is good to find that Mr. Morrison has not been unmindful of this problem from the start. In the debate on the King's Speech, Mr. Morrison said:

... Where necessary we shall socialize, but we are determined that both in publicly and privately owned industries efficiency must be the test and efficiency must be developed to the utmost. Where we socialize fair and proper compensation will be paid. We shall stop harmful, restrictive practices which prevent the most effective use of the country's resources.

In all this there is no real threat to civil liberty or the real freedom of the individual.

\* Penguin Books. 1s.

On the contrary, the liberty and real freedom of the people have been circumscribed and shamefully limited over long years by the economic imperfections of our industrial organization and sometimes by the tyrannical use of economic power. All this development and economic change, the emergence of a nation which is for the first time the master and not the victim of its industrial resources, spell emancipation in many ways and a higher standard of liberty than they have ever enjoyed before for millions of our fellow citizens.

Preserving the freedom of the individual within the State machine is a hard aim and many are far from satisfied with the methods the Labour Party are adopting to achieve it. If you believe, said a Labour M.P. privately in defence of his party, that the measures now being introduced are so important to the welfare of the people and hence to the individuals that they brook no delay, you will not quarrel with the use of the guillotine and the prospect that some of the legislation may be inadequately considered, rendering amending legislation necessary at a later date. But Mr. Hall gives chapter and verse of Labour's intention, before the guillotine was contemplated, to force legislation through with the minimum of delay, relying on the certainty of it passing as sufficient warrant. That is a doubtful argument and Mr. Hall does well to recall the scene when Sir Alan Herbert—possibly not without Burke and the dagger in mind—cast his private member Bills upon the floor of the House of Commons with this protest: "If I cannot present my Bills, I cast them onto the floor of the House as a monument to this interference with Parliamentary liberty and a challenge to despotic power." The intention of robbing private Members of their right to promote Bills and air matters of importance was bad enough but in many people's view the decision to carry over into peace the right to govern widely by Rules and Orders was far worse. More recently the practice of referring Bills of the highest importance to Standing Committees and not to the committee of the whole House has caused consternation and the later decision to apply the guillotine has increased the danger that Bills will be ill-considered.

No doubt the Labour Party have no evil intentions in all this. They are right no doubt to appreciate that old methods will not meet modern needs. But they must be aware that they are setting a precedent and that the day will come when they are no longer in power and a policy of speed may be used against them. The Committee work on the Transport Bill has been good and the Labour Party have shown a welcome willingness to accept amendments. Yet, 'slow and sure' has always been a good slogan for legislation. The 'slow' of to-day may be the 'fast' of yesterday, but how unwise to suggest to democracy that its voice is not being heard!

Can Labour govern? The Labour Party may reject it but this is the urgent question in everybody's mind and the pre-eminent fear of their supporters. Four or five strong men do not make a Government and Labour's ranks of administrators are painfully thin once illness or death begins to take its toll. Labour's second year, as a possible future book of Mr. Hall's may show, is not like its first. The public is now looking for results, hoping for better times, unwilling to accept excuses for bungling and incompetence at the top. There is no doubt that the public received a shock during the winter and that the Labour Government are for the first time seriously on trial with their supporters. Unpopularity for their measures was expected, incompetency in administration was not.

Great departments of State need sound day to day supervision by their Ministers. It is the gravamen of the charge against the Government that they have neglected this important aspect of their duty in favour of pursuing nationalization. It is plain that the pace must be slackened. The nation heads for disaster if the immediate demands of its body and spirit are allowed too long to languish while Ministers concern themselves with panaceas. The honeymoon is over; only hard work on bread and butter tasks will win the day.



**BRETTON WOODS FOR BETTER OR WORSE**, by R. G. Hawtrey. *Longmans*. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Hawtrey's latest book is in many respects a sequel to his small volume *Economic Rebirth*, published last summer and reviewed in *THE FORTNIGHTLY* of October 1946. The author's ideas about central bank and monetary policy and the trade cycle, as restated in the earlier publication, are here applied to a critical analysis of the Bretton Woods agreement on the International Monetary Fund.

The analysis is interesting to the extent that it throws light on some of the less obvious aspects of the Fund agreement. But neither the premisses on which it is based nor the conclusions at which it arrives, are convincing. The sub-title of the book makes it fairly obvious from the outset that the author's attitude to Bretton Woods is sceptical, if not altogether negative. When he states bluntly that "a country's right to alter the par value of its own currency should never be parted with" (p. 40) he goes in fact farther in his condemnation of Bretton Woods than many another critic. Logically, the full maintenance of a country's monetary, hence economic, sovereignty would exclude any hope of international agreement on even the broad outlines of world economic policy.

But Mr. Hawtrey's main criticism is not concerned with economic sovereignty. His belief in the monetary origin of the trade cycle is apparently unshaken. He holds that its fluctuations can only be levelled out by an internationally concerted credit policy. Such a credit policy requires the stabilization of the purchasing power (called wealth value by Mr. Hawtrey) of at least the main currencies, in preference to the stabilization of their exchange rates. Mr. Hawtrey's aim is an equilibrium position defined as "a state of economic activity always simmering, but never boiling over, marked by a remunerative, but approximately stable price level and full employment . . ." (p. 32). The conception of the Inter-

national Monetary Fund, however, is such, according to Mr. Hawtrey, as to render very likely the "overboiling" of economic activity, as it is weighted in favour of credit expansion. Safeguards against inflation are missing, particularly since central banks, under the influence of Keynesian economics and erroneous ideas about the bank rate, have abandoned the use of bank rate technique for credit regulation. Yet, the use of bank rate and "dear money" are necessary when inflationary trends develop in conditions of full employment.

It is no argument against Mr. Hawtrey that he stands almost alone in present-day economic literature in his defence of the monetary explanation of the trade cycle and his belief in the bank rate technique. The *consensus omnium* is no proof, as many learned to their dismay when they opposed—in times of severe unemployment—the expansionist economics preached by Keynes. Indeed, Mr. Hawtrey is no doubt right when he stresses that an inflationary credit policy, while appropriate in conditions of under-employment, is out of place when full employment has been reached.

But when all this is granted, Mr. Hawtrey's criticism of Bretton Woods seems to rest on subsidiary charges. The main charge is not brought. He has little to say about the course of United States economic policy during the inter-war years, which was undoubtedly one of the main factors in producing economic anarchy the world over. That policy consistently aimed at the maintenance of an export surplus in the balance of trade at a time when the U.S.A., having become the world's largest creditor nation, also collected a large annual income from foreign investment. Over the years 1919-39, the net surplus on both these counts totalled \$14,453 million of which only 4,600 million were offset by American credits to foreign countries. The loans stopped almost completely after 1929. The debtor countries were compelled to settle in gold \$10,800 million of the surplus. No concerted credit

policy could possibly have corrected so fundamental a disequilibrium. That disequilibrium originated from general economic policy far more than from monetary or credit policy and its chief expression was mass unemployment.

Thus, Mr. Hawtrey's statement (on p. 120) that "it is a mistake to look for any material part of the solution of the problem of general unemployment in international trade policy", while not surprising, given the premisses of his reasoning, is difficult to reconcile with recent economic experience. Mr. Hawtrey does not see the root evil of Bretton Woods, which is that it allows the United States to resume and continue its economic policy of 1919-39. All possible doubts on this point were dispelled by the publication of the American "Proposals for the consideration of an International Conference on Trade and Employment" (December 1945) and their sequel, the "Suggested Charter for an International Trade Organization" (September 1946).

R. P. SCHWARZ.

**THE IDEA OF NATIONALISM**, by Hans Kohn. *Macmillan*. 36s.

**ORIGINS OF OUR TIME**, by Karl Polanyi. *Gollancz*. 10s. 6d.

Professor Hans Kohn is the author of nearly a dozen scholarly works on the question of nationalism. His multinational background predestines him to be one of the chief analysts of this most destructive of all contemporary passions. His present work traces the origins of the idea of nationalism from the earliest days of the Hebrews and Greeks to the outbreak of the French Revolution. The enormous amount of material, however, really amounts to a rewriting of history aimed at the understanding of the present rôle of nationalism. Whether the attempt will be successful one could hardly judge before reading the next two volumes promised as the completion of the present work. They will carry on the subject to the final phase of nationalism as one of the conditioning factors of

twentieth century history. After the first volume one is not much nearer to the understanding of nationalism though one's knowledge of historical details is considerably widened.

A more immediately satisfactory study is Professor Karl Polanyi's sparkling re-interpretation of nineteenth century economic and social history. Although the author stops at the point where interesting and topical questions could have been answered, his history of the last 150 years provides entirely novel points of departure for the analysis of possible future trends. With the combined knowledge of a historian, economist, sociologist and anthropologist but with the enthusiasm of an adolescent, Karl Polanyi enters our dusty museum of the nineteenth century. He lifts the glass-cases, re-writes the old labels, replaces them by new ones and entirely regroups the exhibits, and the result is a totally new impression of the meaning and effects of that oft-interpreted but little-understood predecessor of our century. Broadly stated, Professor Polanyi's aim is to trace the collapse of the universal market-economy, leading to its replacement by regional groupings.

The central thesis of the study is that the 'materialistic' and sober society of the nineteenth century was based on the utopia of the natural self-regulating market. This very idea caused its downfall as the concept was based on a distortion of the natural development of society and the psychological characteristics of man. The set of fictions which this system developed regarding the elements of the market: labour, land and money, could not withstand the social progress which revolted against the classification of these elements as mere commodities. Against the ravages of this system society had to protect itself and ultimately it brought about the disintegration of market economy itself.

The social, economic and psychological effects of this utopia and its downfall are analysed in Karl Polanyi's book with a brilliance that makes the book compulsory

reading to any serious student of contemporary affairs. The involved arguments and deep analysis do not make easy reading but, as a compensation, the study is beautifully written and Professor Polanyi's gift for dramatic and colourful presentation makes every page of it immensely stimulating.

TIBOR MENDE.

**THE DECLINE OF LIBERALISM AS AN IDEOLOGY:** With particular reference to German politico-legal thought, by John H. Hallowell. *Kegan Paul.* 12s. 6d.

The sub-title of Mr. Hallowell's book is important, for it deals almost exclusively with the decline of Liberalism as an ideology in Germany, and even so, largely with reference to the theories of jurists. His analysis of their progressive emptying from the conception of the *Rechtsstaat*, and from the concept of law itself, of everything save a formal content is very interesting, but highly specialized; and it requires a considerable knowledge of the actual political evolution of Germany during the century before the arrival of the Nazis to clothe the dry bones with the flesh and blood. Mr. Hallowell's thesis is that the idea of liberalism in Germany had been practically eviscerated by the influence of sociological positivism years before Nazism emerged: and he traces the process by a careful analysis of the degeneration of the concept of law.

In a country where the *Gelehrter* has had such an influence, and *Doctor Juris* has been the chief qualification for the higher bureaucracy, the method is relevant and rewarding. And, in general, it is true that a healthy idea of law is essential to the life of a liberal society in that the law is the symbol and the means of man's voluntary but necessary self-limitation: it is the expression of his will for an ordered society without which he cannot exist, but for a society so ordered that any element of arbitrariness is eliminated. The liberal society is a society governed by

laws which its members make for themselves in order that they shall be as free as the necessities of social existence allow.

Unfortunately, this positive idea of the liberal society as the creation of the moral will of its members, was continually overlaid by a quite different conception. This was that the liberal society was automatically created by each man pursuing his own interests: positive government, positive law, must be reduced to a minimum, to secure the maximum of free play for individual interests. This essentially negative conception of the liberal society has long been practically discarded in this country; and since it was the idea most popularly associated with liberalism, this has fallen into discredit as a political label.

The positive idea of the liberal society is in urgent need of clarification and re-statement. It needs to be shown that, on the one hand, a continual extension of positive law to meet the definite needs of society are quite essential to a true conception of the liberal society; while, on the other hand, the fundamental freedoms of the individual, which liberalism traditionally defends, need to be understood as the means by which positive law is continually moralized, and defended only for that reason. In short, liberalism needs to liberate itself finally from its old atomistic individualism, in order to become the saving philosophy of the new integrated society, which has come to stay.

This clarification of liberalism requires a new appreciation of the all-important part played by conscience in the formation and structure of a liberal society. Mr. Hallowell says of "integral liberalism":

Conscience is the keystone of the whole structure . . . Only conscience bids the individual to follow the dictates of reason rather than those of interests. At the basis of this conception of law is conscience (theoretically, ethics) and upon the conscientiousness of individuals rests the choice between order and anarchy.

The italics are Mr. Hallowell's. For an abstract analysis of liberalism as a pure ideology the emphasis is correct; but it gives a false idea, of any effective liberal

society. For the conscience which is, as Mr. Hallowell rightly says, the keystone of the whole structure, is in any practical liberal society, expressed in political institutions which, though they require for their working a common sense of responsibility, do not make the tremendous demand on the individual conscience which abstract analysis implies. Abstract analysis suggests that a liberal society must be a society of supermen, or prigs: actually, it requires only a common agreement that certain fundamental freedoms (speech, association, etc.) shall be regarded as inviolable, provided they are not exploited against these fundamental freedoms. That common agreement does, in the last resort, rest on conscience and is, in fact, a common faith; but for the most part the conscience on which it rests is a socialized conscience, expressed in constitutional practices which have grown up organically, and have acquired "numin-

ousness". In other words, German politico-legal theory is a distorting medium through which to view liberalism; its nature can be apprehended only in the practices of an actual liberal society.

J. MIDDLETON MURRY.

**A STUDY OF HISTORY,** by Arnold J. Toynbee. Abridgement of Volumes I-VI, by D. C. Somervell. *Oxford University Press.* 25s.

A distinguished professor of history was wondering in 1933, when the first three volumes of Mr. Toynbee's *A Study of History* appeared, what its effects would be on his students. Were we for a generation or so to have all history seen through Mr. Toynbee's eyes? Were his views to be the common fare of scholarship and Schools papers alike? Such anxiety was a tribute to the book's imaginative power, and it becomes even more reasonable with Mr. D. C. Somervell's abridgement.

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vell's masterly abridgement of the first six volumes.

The reader who would be daunted by a work so large and still unfinished can now gain a full grasp of its philosophy and argument, losing only some of the detailed historical illustrations which support them. Many more will be influenced by this fascinating study of the rise and fall of civilizations, with its somewhat sceptical appraisal of the future of our own. It is true that it lies across the main current of contemporary historical writing, which, under the example of the strict German school, is more interested in discovering what happened than why it happened. It is true, too, that Mr. Toynbee, in developing a scheme to explain the movement of history—in his theory of "challenge and response", for example, by which a growing society is driven to great works by the stimuli of hard countries, external enemies, internal troubles and so on—may be found here and there by the severer critical historian to have bent the facts to his purposes. But great works of this sort have a way of riding down their critics. Spengler's pattern hardly supports investigation—Mr. Toynbee himself points out its weakness—but Spengler had his effect on German youth before the Nazis came.

We are faced with the fact that, of the twenty-one civilizations that have been born alive and have proceeded to grow, thirteen are dead and buried; that seven of the remaining eight are apparently in decline, and that the eighth, which is our own, may have passed its zenith for all that we as yet know.

The profound attraction of the *Study*—one might almost say its glory—lies in its power of bringing the reader to consider the whole history of man and of leading the imagination to consider the great questions rising from it. Is it possible to descry in the growths and declines of human societies some directing purpose? Is there, in spite of constant setbacks, an advance in sum, and, if so, to what end? Or is the environment in which successive generations are

placed, and by whose maintenance or improvement they set such store, of little importance after all? May we say that the only matter is the victories or defeats of the human individual, and that the background against which he lives as a man and makes his choices, whether it be civilization or barbarism, is immaterial to the merciful judgment made of him, which will take into full account the circumstances of the times and of the society in which he had to act?

Questions of this sort are provoked rather than answered by this book. For the author it is enough to show the causes of decline in civilizations, and to suggest, for he is no determinist, how they might have been, and how they might be, overborne or removed. But these questions will rise all the same in the reader's mind. They are dangerous questions. Men are happy when they feel confident that their own society deserves to endure and will endure, even when they possess that notion, justly derided by Mr. Toynbee, "that there is only one river of civilization, our own, and that all others are tributary to it or else lost in the desert sands." It is not good for them, perhaps, to be reminded, at a time when they can feel themselves faltering, that they may be on a slope down which other noble societies have slid before theirs into the dark void. This way of thinking is at variance with campaigns to take the brave new world by storm and to achieve felicity through production per man-hour and export drives. But contemplative men have ever been found to love inspired variations on the theme of *sic transit gloria*.  
A. W. JAMES.

**CHARLES AND CROMWELL**, by Hugh Ross Williamson. *Duckworth*. 15s.

**A CHARACTER OF THE TRIMMER**, by H. C. Foxcroft. *Cambridge University Press*. 18s.

It may be, as Dr. H. A. L. Fisher once expressed it, that the only safe rule for the writer of history is that "he should

recognize in the development of human destinies the play of the contingent and the unforeseen." This is, however, a dictum which can, like so many others, be subjected to a variety of interpretations. How much may depend on the approach and viewpoint of the author is abundantly illustrated by these two biographies.

Mr. Williamson, while subscribing wholeheartedly to this dictum, unblushingly confesses that he can "make no pretence of approaching the years 1603 to 1649 with the academic detachment of an impartial scholar." It is, therefore, not surprising to find that he is, in this study of Charles and Cromwell, primarily concerned to illustrate his view of history as the interaction of character. "It is", he writes, "the people that matter, and the principles are important only as far as they further an understanding of the people."

Despite the emphasis on the dramatic, Mr. Williamson is, on the whole, fair both to Charles and to Cromwell. Differences in the aims and characters of the two men emerge clearly. On the other hand, Mr. Williamson's desire to make the clash and the contrast—"the interaction of characters"—as vivid as possible has led him to accept irrefutable and questionable evidence as being of equal worth. For example, his acceptance of the view that Cromwell's mother was "emotionally the only woman in his life" compels him to exclude reference to the letter in which Cromwell wrote to his wife: "Thou art dearer to me than any living creature." Again, Mr. Williamson concludes his narrative with the story of Cromwell viewing the dead body of Charles and murmuring "Cruel necessity!"; but there is no indication that this is an eighteenth-century anecdote which other biographers of Cromwell have rejected as unlikely.

This method of handling historical material is not new; but the policy of deliberately omitting "all footnote citation of authorities" in historical writing can only be justified in those who regard

history as a science. The value of Miss Foxcroft's study is that, although she has adopted this policy, she writes of Halifax with detached impartiality.

In one sense, *A Character of the Trimmer* is not a new book. Miss Foxcroft's *Life and Works of the First Marquis of Halifax* was published fifty years ago. It was, to quote from the preface to the present volume, "the work of a then young and quite inexperienced writer . . . Its length, however, and a multiplicity of footnotes . . . acted as an almost complete deterrent to the general reader." This new study of Halifax is the fulfilment of the author's "long-cherished desire to produce a less ponderous biography which might arouse a wider interest in the personality and career of this great Englishman." It is, in fact, a shortened and corrected version of the original work.

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To Halifax, both as a writer and a man of action, Miss Foxcroft does ample justice. That he was a man in many respects in advance of his time, it was left to the nineteenth century to discover. He believed in compulsory education at the public cost. He advocated religious toleration. He perceived that Ireland had grievances requiring redress. His colonial policy might, if he had lived a century later, have spared us the breach with America.

Wide as was his outlook, it was in one direction restricted. In politics it was the great trends and issues which really attracted him. Although a master of Parliamentary forms, he lacked Shaftesbury's keen interest in the minutiae of departmental work. If he was, in consequence, more effective in opposition than in office, he was in all circumstances true to his belief that theoretic decisions are always dangerous—and more especially in politics. Of his tenacity in this belief, *A Character of the Trimmer* is an able, balanced and sympathetic commentary.

J. MACKAY-MURE.

**HOW ENGLISH LAW WORKS,**  
by W. T. Wells, M.P. *Sampson Low.*  
3s. 6d.

"Lord! What a shame methinks to me that in this condition and at this age I should know no better the laws of my own country." Had Pepys had a contemporary William Wells, M.P., (Barrister and ex-Solicitor) to guide him cheerfully through the maze of English Law, he would have been better armed. His highly informative little book will be invaluable to the general reader and especially to the young man (or, at this age, as Pepys would say, young woman) contemplating the perilous course of a legal career. The two chapters on the Bar and what is curiously called the 'lower branch of the profession', tell many unfamiliar details of what goes on behind the closed doors of counsel's chambers and solicitor's offices. The chapters on the characteristics of English

law and on the judicial system are also most informative, despite their necessarily limited compass. I liked the story of counsel who prosecuted a man for cutting his wife's ear and who, complaining afterwards about the acquittal of the defendant who had professed his guilt, was told by an elderly and experienced magistrate: "Young man, you must never expect a Coventry jury to come between a man and his wife."

The author belies the view that you can no more expect lawyers to reform the law, than tigers to reform the jungle. Nowadays there is in fact a very active Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers which has several members in the House of Commons. Some of these will detect a lack of urgency in Mr. Wells's modest suggestions for reforms, in particular for dealing with a situation in which, as Mr. Wells asserts, "the present cost of litigation is in effect a denial of justice to the man with modest means."

This book, though it raises and comments upon many controversial issues (it contains, for example, a helpful chapter on the extent to which our liberties are threatened by the growth of delegated legislation and the exercise of judicial and quasi-judicial powers by Departments of State) is more descriptive than critical, although the appetite of the law reformer is whetted by a brief concluding chapter on: "What is wrong with the law?" If the remaining books in the new "Living in Britain" Series are as objective and informative as this, the first of them, they deserve success.

F. ELWYN JONES.

**ADVENTUROUS LIFE,** by Admiral Lord Mountevans, K.C.B., D.S.O., LL.D. *Hutchinson.* 20s.  
**THE BRITISH NAVIES IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR,** by Admiral Sir W. M. James, G.C.B. *Longmans.* 21s.

Born in the same year, Admiral Lord Mountevans and Admiral Sir William James seem to be natural rivals. Midshipmen together, contemporary as Sub-

Lieutenants, commanding ships on the same station and reaching flag-rank at about the same time, it is no surprise that their books should appear simultaneously. And if their Commander-in-Chief on the China Station failed to decide which of their ships was the more efficient, it is not for a reviewer to place these volumes in order of merit. Nor, for that matter, are they easily compared. For, by some accident of seniority and service, Admiral Sir Edward Evans hauled down his flag for the last time in January 1939, while Sir William James—slightly his junior—was still actively employed when war began. As a result, one has written a book of reminiscence, dwelling on adventures with Scott, and exploits in 1914-18, while the other has written with authority on the wars which have just ended.

Lord Mountevans takes his readers into his confidence from the first page. "I hate idleness . . ." he begins, and by the time we reach his closing words " . . . return to happiness," we have become his friends. As for enemies (apart from idleness), he has none; nor, throughout the book, does he speak critically or unkindly of anyone with whom he served. All his comrades and helpers have been efficient, brave and loyal; and contact with him may well have made them so. Life, as he says, is too short for quarrels, and those he dislikes he contrives to forget. Partly for that reason, he writes cheerfully about a career which included, in fact, its share of misfortune. His book should be read by all interested in Antarctic exploration, by all who wish to be reminded of the *Broke's* famous action off Dover and by all who believe in the British Empire and its Navy. There can be no criticism of an author whose candour is so disarming. But while his life, as seen, by him in retrospect, is one of gay adventure, it has also been one of untiring service. We must not grudge him—though we may envy—the happiness of his Norwegian home.

Admiral Sir William James has written an excellent book of a very different kind.

His task has been the difficult one of summarizing the part played by the British Navies in a war too recent to be fully understood. Much remains secret or unknown, both on the planning side and from the enemy's point of view; and the part played by the King's ships is difficult to isolate. But if these limitations be accepted, it is hard to see how the work could have been better done. Admiral James has discarded all anecdote in an effort to describe what happened. Those who have long admired his *British Navy in Adversity*—still a standard work on the period it covers—will find here again his genius for lucid exposition, especially in diagram. Until the official histories appear—and, for the general reader, long afterwards—this book is likely to hold the field.

Writing as a born staff officer, which he must always have been, Admiral James rarely lets his enthusiasm appear. All the more effective, therefore, are his passages of tribute, whether to flag officers or ratings. Of such passages, one at least must be quoted in full:

The conditions of the Second World War demanded even finer qualities in the personnel than had been demanded in earlier wars. It was a high-speed war, a war of "unforgiving seconds," and victory depended on every man in the ship performing his duty faithfully. The Battle of Matapan was over in a few minutes. The numerous coastal craft battles only lasted a few seconds. Unless every man stood firm and performed his battle task quickly and accurately when his ship was attacked by aircraft, he and his shipmates would soon be swimming for their lives. An anti-aircraft system of control costing £100,000 would at once be rendered useless if the able seaman adjusting the shell-fuse failed to do his duty quickly and accurately; a stoker who either did not know what to do or failed to act when a shell caused serious damage in his vicinity might be responsible for the loss of his ship; a tactical plan designed to bring the enemy to battle could in a moment be brought to nought if a coder, signalman or a wireless rating made one mistake. Never before has the British sailor been so highly tested, and never before has he come through the test of war with such a glowing record.

Gifted as a historian in a field where

historians are so few, Sir William James would seem destined to take the place which Admiral Richmond's death has left so tragically vacant. It is to be hoped that this is but the first of many books to come.

C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON.

**ZITO HELLAS**, by C. E. Robinson.  
*Chapman & Hall. 12s. 6d.*

**THE MURDER OF HERODES**,  
and other Trials from the Athenian  
Law-courts, by Kathleen Freeman.  
*Macdonald. 12s. 6d.*

*Zito Hellas* is the story of Ancient Greece presented in a vivid and readable form. The modern citizen will find in this book not only the history of a whole civilization (and a civilization which is near enough in time and place to be understandable to him), but also a seeming parallel to present-day events.

The similarity is not so much between Venizelos and Tsaldaris as between the City States and the twentieth-century national States. Greece, as Byron and later enthusiasts have found, is not what it was, though the clear air, the hard mountains, and the treacherous sea are unchanged—and even to-day one may see an occasional Grecian nose in that Levantine land. It is true, also, that stable climatic and geographical conditions tend to produce a definite human type through the ages, no matter how considerably the human stock may change racially. The parallel to which we refer, however, is not that of Ancient and Modern Greece. The reader of *Zito Hellas* will be struck by a more momentous resemblance. He will be inclined to see Europe—or (so rapidly is space now telescoped) the world—as repeating on another plane the spectacular and suicidal rise-and-fall formerly enacted microcosmically on the shores of the Aegean. History, of course, does not repeat itself; but human nature does, and, though there are perhaps features (at present none too visible to us) in the twentieth-century crisis which ensure that the final tragedy shall not be

repeated, it is disturbing to read Mr. C. E. Robinson's account of the break-up of Ancient Greece:

The great days were over. The City State's vitality was swiftly ebbing. With one possible exception, it produced no more great leaders; and, theorists apart, this was to be an age of small men. Even the distinction between aristocrats and proletarians vanished. There were just rich and poor people, and the successful politician was the financier who could balance accounts. Democracy itself had lost its creative impulse. . . . We find a society of professionals—professional politicians, professional soldiers, professional bankers, even professional pugilists. Specialization was the order of the day. The growing complexity of technical detail demanded it, and the exigencies of the struggle for existence kept every man intent on his job. He had little leisure or interest to spare for public affairs. Politics became venal. Gold, filtering in from Persia and elsewhere, proved a potent weapon of intrigue, and charges of bribery were frequently bandied across the public platform. True patriotism was at a discount. Yet war for its own sake continued to make a sinister appeal. Its excitements were welcomed as a respite from humdrum toil. . . . So the quarrelsome City States, grouped and regrouped in bewildering combinations, still continued their futile struggle for supremacy. And, as years passed, it became ever more clear that by their suicidal competition they were sealing their doom. But, apart from the certainty that sooner or later they must succumb to some external conqueror, there were no great or clear-cut issues such as had marked the course of the preceding era, no great issues, that is, save one—the eternal antagonism between the East and the West. (p. 151).

Mr. Robinson, like the rest of us, has doubtless been reading the newspapers of our own day. Yet one cannot find that his description of the disintegration of Greek civilization is unduly influenced thereby.

The degree in which our own culture is derived from that of Ancient Greece is admirably indicated in the anthology, by Kathleen Freeman, of trials at the Athenian law-courts. Once again the undercurrent of unchangeable human nature surges to the surface, breaking the highly-civilized patterns of law and discourse, so that we observe how wonderful and how frail is civilization.

In *The Murder of Herodes* there are photographs which effectively convey

the quality of the Greek landscape and something of the elegance of Greek art. The illustrations to *Zito Hellas*, however, are unworthy of the text and of the subject.

GEORGE PENDLE.

**THE GOLDEN ASS OF APULEIUS**, translated by William Adlington, with an introduction by Louis Macneice.  
*John Lehmann. 8s. 6d.*

The merit of Apuleius can be overpraised, but apart from including really the only classical fairy tale the importance of *The Golden Ass*—(this was not the author's title, for it was originally called *the Metamorphoses*)—lies in its contribution to so much good literature. Boccaccio has borrowed from him, and adventures both of Don Quixote and Gil Blas are taken from him, while the story of Cupid and Psyche has been retold by scores of writers, many of whose versions may justly take their place in literature.

That indecencies abound is probably sufficient reason for his exclusion from the Latin books we read at school—(Catullus could be 'expurgated' but it would be difficult to expurgate Apuleius)—but this reviewer would agree with Mr. Louis Macneice that we are thus deprived of a rare aesthetic experience. The language with its tendency to indulge in obsolete and diminutive words is difficult to describe and impossible to render in translation; the nearest English can get to it must be the style of the Elizabethans and this is well rendered in the well-known one of William Adlington here presented.

The production of the book is excellent and judging from it and this particular choice there should be a ready welcome for other titles in *The Chiltern Library*, of which this is Volume I.

J. F. BURNET.

**THE FACTUAL FILM: A Report** on behalf of the Arts Enquiry by P.E.P. Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d.  
This Report deals first of all with a

survey of the progress of the documentary film before the war, from the development of a school of film-making centred round John Grierson, of the Empire Marketing Board and later of the G.P.O. So successful were the officially sponsored films that soon films were commissioned by industrial and national organizations. It tells the grim story of how the documentary group were forced to devise ways and means of distributing these films outside the commercial circuits and of the uphill fight the documentary film, which is acknowledged as being Britain's outstanding contribution to world cinema, has had to obtain distribution in the cinemas of Britain.

The second chapter records the development and expansion of the documentary movement during the war. Here we have a close study of the work of the Film Division at the Ministry of Information, and the film activities of the British Council and the Services' film organizations.

Chapters on the use of film in education, the news film and the record film are, in themselves, subjects for separate reviews. They present what exists, what is being produced in the particular category of film, the problems before its effective distribution and exhibition and, most important, how these problems may be overcome.

It is noteworthy that of four recommendations embodied in this Report, the following three have been carried out:—

- 1.—The continuance of the Film Division of the Ministry of Information, or the establishment of a National Film Office.
- 2.—The development of an educational film policy by the Ministry of Education.
- 3.—The establishment of a Film Department with UNESCO.

In the chapter on the international use of the factual film it is stated that: "It could help to provide the groundwork of factual knowledge fundamental to any international understanding. In addition to enlarging national outlooks, it could supplement national resources by making more generally available the commercial



films of each film-producing country."

It is superfluous to emphasize the important rôle films can play in furthering these aims. How simple seems the machinery by which they can be realized. Three conditions are necessary, and these are: "on the interest shown by educationists and the provision of adequate training facilities in the use of films and visual aids generally; on the number of projectors installed in schools and other places where people meet to learn or to discuss; and on the initiative shown by the Government, by the universities and other interested bodies in sponsoring the production of suitable films and thereby making financially possible the existence of specialized educational film-making units." In this way, it is pointed out, it would make financially feasible the existence and expansion of specialized educational film units.

This Report is a focus for all who wish to see clearly the potential of the cinema.  
MAX WOOD.

**THE MATTERHORN**, by Guido Rey. Translated from the Italian by J. E. C. Eaton. Revised and two additional Chapters by R. L. G. Irving. Basil Blackwell. 15s.

Mountaineering to the uninitiated, even to the sceptic, is so obviously much more than just climbing mountains whatever be the hazards, that a bare record of climbers' struggles, a matter of fact account of ridges won or peaks conquered will seem inadequate except to the professional alpinist who can supply the romance for himself. In this welcome reprint of Guido Rey's classic on one mountain, the Matterhorn,—which is supplemented by a factual twentieth century history of the peak by R. L. G. Irving—we shall find the very *sensation* of mountains, for as his friend de Amicis wrote in the preface: "In this feeling for the mountain Guido Rey lays his whole soul bare."

*The Matterhorn* then is a passionately emotional book in one aspect, often

lyrical, and using the devices of metaphor and rhetoric to help the Italian to express the well nigh inexpressible. To convey a stern and famous contest between the Matterhorn's enormous strength and a man's iron will he writes: "Now Edward Whymper came upon the scene. Into the bullring, under the burning sun, before thousands of eager spectators, the *espada* steps forth eager and brave; the eyes of all are fixed on him. The arena is now empty; the bull alone awaits him in the centre of the circus, motionless, with horns erect. The struggle is to be terrible, unceasing, full of daring stratagems; one of the two must fall. The *espada* scans the monster and strides up to him with resolute gait. Now is the critical moment. In the same way Whymper appeared in the majestic amphitheatre of mountains . . ."

In Rey's epic chapter describing his attempt on the Furggen ridge, there is more of this anthropomorphism: "The warm sun was kissing the cold rock, and what little water there was burst its slender bonds of ice and melted with secret gurglings. This was the mountain's first joyous cry as it awoke." Nevertheless, here is some magnificent writing, and the reader is compelled to feel both the beauty and sheer terror as he hangs suspended with Rey over the precipice. There is a notable description elsewhere of the crows of the Matterhorn, "well disposed to the few men who climb the mountain," which I think must be choughs.

In a world where all is restlessness, confusion and change, to read such a book and to brood upon the photographs with imagination must have a calming effect. Here, for the adventurous young is a noble substitute for the excitement of war. Something lasting in the midst of flux. For the Matterhorn is practically eternal; although its "destruction goes slowly on, it is so huge that thousands of years will be required to change its general appearance and to spoil the beauty of its form . . . the daring, un-

paralleled creation of a superhuman architect."

JOSEPH BRADDOCK.

**THE TRAVELLER**, by Walter de la Mare. Faber & Faber. 7s. 6d.

**POEMS OF DEDICATION**, by Stephen Spender. Faber & Faber. 7s. 6d.

**POEMS OF DELIVERANCE**, by A. L. Rowse. Faber & Faber. 7s. 6d.

It is difficult to review the work of those writers whom my bookseller's catalogue describes as "esteemed authors", in isolation from their earlier books. Indeed, it seems fair to relate the work under examination to its predecessors as providing reader and critic with mutually acceptable terms of reference.

Mr. de la Mare's first book of verse appeared forty-five years ago and he has long since become a firmly accepted poet. Yet his steady output has given constant proof that he has rejected all thought of remaining static, however comfortably, on the level of that original acceptance. It is not surprising that his technique has developed to its present high level nor that his judgment should have matured so richly. But his mind also has pressed on unrestingly, moving through planes as well as distance. *The Traveller* records its ultimate published reach. Many highly reputed minds have stopped short, at least in articulation, of these regions.

(But) in that secret craving of the soul  
For what no name has; flower of hidden  
stem:—

The unreturned of kindless land and sea;  
Venturers, voyagers, dreamers, seers—ay,  
them

The Angel of Failure hails with rhapsody.

Quotation does less than justice to this long poem, which is triumphantly a unity. On the level of narrative it absorbs the reader into its atmosphere and draws him on in fear and suspense without respite to the end. As allegory it remains to goad the brain through the doorway of the soul. Mr. John Piper has turned away from

his better-known and more fashionable manner to illustrate *The Traveller* with drawings which capture the quality of the narrative and show unmistakable sympathy with the poet.

Mr. Stephen Spender's *Poems of Dedication* lack the exciting images of Mr. Spender of the early 'thirties. The sincerity of the specifically dedicatory poems to the late Margaret Spender may not be doubted, but their simplicity is a two-edged weapon which sometimes cuts the poet with the edge of cliché. In the remaining poems Mr. Spender's meticulous technique and sound critical sense steer him safely into a harbour beyond reasonable dissatisfaction by a course which is pleasant and well-mapped but which does not, as of old, leave high memory. Lacking the touchstone of the poet's earlier work I should have quoted with approval. His self-created standards rob him of credit.

*Poems of a Decade* and *Poems Chiefly Cornish*, by Mr. Rowse, were books of carefully worked poetry. They had both gentleness and strength, and their character was warmly liberal. In this book the war poems are reflective of strictly personal loss and anxiety rather than of compassion: deeper reflection and greater care would have heightened many of them above prose-level. The later poems, which the author indicates as autobiographical, include *Pain Receding*, an impressive poem, and as fine as anything Mr. Rowse has ever written. This section also contains 'Les Horreurs', a querulous piece of writing which is the reverse of liberal in its conception. Mr. Rowse does credit neither to himself, nor to the words "Poems" and "Deliverance" of his title, by including it in his book.

JOHN ARLOTT.

### CORNWALL

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## BOOKS ON THE TABLE

THE advent of Cecil Roberts's *AND SO TO AMERICA* (Hodder & Stoughton. 15s.) coincided with this reader's application for a passport renewal, and the one caused the addition of "and America" to the other. Not that this very long book could not be improved by a cut of about a third—wealthy hostesses would surely have lessened even de Guérin's delight in his "stream of travel" and there are far too many in Mr. Roberts's. Also, like most war exiles, he is too prone to distil a rich melancholy from his contemplation of the sufferings of bomb-scarred Britain 3,000 miles away, which to dwellers on this side of the Atlantic is irritating.

**Making America**

Nevertheless, too often encouraged as we are to think of America as a raucous upstart with cash and sex for twin gods, Mr. Roberts reminds us sharply that she is no less built of history than the rest of the world. We remember that the graces of culture and tradition, as well as raw pioneering, have helped to make the palimpsest glow: our early dreams, overlaid by present-day manifestations, are re-captured—of old cities influenced by France and Spain, of spaces which really are wide open and of a people who have grown sturdily out of the mixture. Instead of scolding the author for failing to supply an index to his 506 pages perhaps we should congratulate him on the cunning which thus ensured that every one would be read.

**Between the wars**

The nostalgia is all on Evelyn Waugh's side in *WHEN THE GOING WAS GOOD* (Duckworth. 15s.) which contains, he says, "all that I wish to preserve of the four travel books I wrote between the years 1929 and 1935." In appreciating the good fortune that enabled him to travel continuously during that period he is surely unduly gloomy when he declares that "there is no room for tourists in a

world of 'displaced persons'." As in his novels, he shows a flicker of contempt for the masses which makes one think uncomfortably of the responsibility of all of us, including Mr. Waugh, who were young between the wars.

**A way to cheer up**

But it is something to have discovered that while despising the herd is a pleasurable pastime for ourselves it is not a pretty activity in other people; pessimism, too, has become a bore. So perhaps the Evelyn Waugh, and all of us who consider ourselves aloof, ought now to think about making the world fit not only for privileged travellers but for displaced persons too. The 'realism' apart, however, Mr. Waugh has winnowed the fruit of his past labours into a model travel book, and the highlights of Abyssinia, the Middle East, Brazil, Zanzibar or the Belgian Congo could not be reflected in a brighter mirror.

**Kingdoms of the mind**

And now to enter for a paragraph's space the less complicated world of music and the theatre. *PENGUIN MUSIC MAGAZINE* (1s.), says Ralph Hill's foreword, is designed to appeal to amateurs, including and especially those who play only the gramophone. That it makes on the whole a satisfactory symposium of the trends of musical thought and accomplishment is the opinion of one who was interested enough to read it at a sitting. Items in the contents list, such as "The Future of Opera in England" by E. J. Dent, Edward Lockspeiser's "Anglo-French Relations", "Soviet Music in Wartime" by Alan Bush and the diaries of concerts in Scotland, Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham, give some idea of the ground covered.—Another useful little publication is *THEATRE BETWEEN WARS* by Rex Pogson (Triangle Press. 2s. 6d.), the first of a series to provide what the author calls "non-specialist information on the contempor-

ary theatre in this country." This, also read at a sitting, left the impression that too much had been crowded into too little space. The reverse would of course have been much harder to bear, and the author indicates that the spilled-over riches will be given more detailed treatment in subsequent Drama Study Books. As a kind of dictionary of fashions, of sorts of plays, of playwrights old and new, and of foreign plays and their writers, this one stands well the test of being "turned up".

**Art, religion and freedom**

The author of *Samson Agonistes*, "nearer to Greek tragedy than any other great work in the English language," is the subject of F. E. Hutchinson's volume in the Teach Yourself History Library (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s.). *MILTON AND THE ENGLISH MIND*, while being a new 'life' seeks also to show Milton as the representative Englishman defending civil, political and religious liberty. As poet, patriot and pamphleteer his career and influence on social and religious thought are traced. Mr. Hutchinson has indeed "opened up a significant historical theme" but no biographer has yet been able to make us love the man.—Milton figures too in Alec Robertson's *CONTRASTS* (S.C.M. Press. 6s.) along with Shakespeare. The aim of the book is to place the arts in juxtaposition with religion to prove that "all great art is basically religious." Those who cannot altogether agree with this thesis will still find stimulation in the contrasting of Keats and Maritain, Bach and Handel, Housman and Hopkins, El Greco, Blake and Van Gogh. And those who have been refreshed with wonder at the texture of the fabrics in El Greco's pictures at the Spanish Exhibition now in the National Gallery, London, will find the last chapter, even though it does not deal with this aspect of the painter's technical genius, particularly apposite.

**Inherent ideality**

Canon L. J. Baggott in *JESU, JOY OF*

*MAN'S DESIRING* (Longmans. 6s.) is concerned only to cure the heartache of modern man and to lift him out of despair. This book is a devotional study of penitence, faith, suffering, love, prayer and sacrament as ways through which men may reach and find the Son of God. The author does not feel that the present disturbed beliefs are wholly evil: "True faith is not simply a gift, it is also a task," and the times in which we live are setting that task. He is hopeful that man's capacity for religion is still strong enough to carry him to God because: "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father."

**Unpredictable being**

A tribute to an earthly father, *THE MAN IN OUR LIVES* by John Guthrie (Nelson. 6s.), is all the more effective for its lack of panegyric. In fact, the picture begins to show a self-satisfied, orderly and unimaginative bank manager who gradually takes on a wayward personality that makes him chop down trees though later learning to love them standing, exhibit "glorious rages" followed by the hilarities of the Kangaroo Dance, and give vent to the Animal Noises which signified unfavourable conclusions in private. In short, a somewhat tiresome person makes his departure at the end of the book with heartrending consequences to the reader, who by then is feeling the full desolation of: "It was the first time father had been anywhere without a return ticket." This natural transition, that is, without loss of characterization, is clever of the author, who uses a dry and delicate wit to draw his portraits. Hitherto unknown to me, his method is so successful that his other books are being sought in the hope that they too possess this especial brand of humour.

**Selected and collected**

Two books of verse now call for attention—the one, slimly built, modestly calling itself "a selection of poems", the other, thick and large, announcing "The

Collected Poetical Works, Volume 1." The first is *CROSSING THE LINE* by "a new poet", Edward Lowbury (*Hutchinson*. 6s.) and the second is by Donald Cowie, "a major figure", (*Tantivy Press*. 10s. 6d.). The publisher is content to state that Mr. Lowbury has "considerable promise" and "something definite to say". Much of his work is tentative—as though he were still exploring not only his medium but the roads along which his thoughts have run. His verse is full of questions and typifies the current bewilderment:

How much of what I cling to will remain?  
What is the future given  
By the past—pleasure or pain, or even  
Present pleasure turned to remembered pain,  
Or vice versa?

The word "selection" in the subtitle suggests that Mr. Lowbury has rejected much—a hopeful sign in a young poet.

Mr. Cowie's publisher explains that the present edition "aims to bring together in one place all those poems which, so widely published during the past few years, have created an interest in Donald Cowie not accorded to any poet for several generations." This is a large claim, probably based on the sheer output; the industry of Mr. Cowie is entirely to be admired. He obviously believes in himself, has nothing tentative in his verse and feels no need for rejection. He has the observant eye and his images, often startlingly apt, are sometimes bizarre:

The unattended bicycle of fear  
Against my reason's shallow, curbside lip  
In sudden clatter and despairing slip  
Has smacked the pavement of another year;

### Thirteen stories

Another author for whom it is claimed that "he has made his own careful—indeed, fastidious—selection" is Sean O'Faolain. One sees no reason to quarrel with this verdict in his new

volume of short stories, *TERESA* (*Cape*. 7s. 6d.). There is little to choose between them in their delicate play on satire and sensibility, the special recipe of the Irish storyteller, which is only another way of indicating the intelligence that went to their making. "The Silence of the Valley", "Shades of the Prison House" and "The Trout" balance each other very satisfactorily, with the rhythm to be heard in Irish speech conveyed here most beguilingly.

### Bitter sweet

There seems to be a mild epidemic of novel titles containing the word 'sweet' which might convert the would-be into the would-not-be reader. The must-be reviewer gets the pleasant surprise of course but still feels peevish at having to urge the merits of anything but a saccharine trifle in face of contradiction. Such a book was noticed on this page in the February issue of *THE FORTNIGHTLY* and now comes *SWEET CONFUSION* by Norman Denny (*John Lane*. 9s. 6d.). The connotation of the second word is clear enough; there is the confusion of 1938, the confusion of bigamy and astrology in the life of Mr. Pinsett, Charles Ellistone's wealthy business man's confusion in the face of trade obstacles, and, above all, the confusion of Paul Merrion as the publisher with ideals in a "hard-headed" family. Every one of the many characters in this book is an individual with his or her own set of standards and problems and consequently the over-all effect is consistently good. Mr. Denny leaves the way open for a sequel which it is to be hoped he will write without delay.

There is something very like a renaissance going on at the moment in the production of novels; is it the dead hand of war that has been to blame for so many bad ones in the last decade?

GRACE BANYARD.

## THE FORTNIGHTLY

MAY, 1947

### EUROPEAN RECOVERY

BY SIR HAROLD BUTLER

JUST two years have passed since the German war ended. At that time Europe, with the exception of the neutrals, was prostrate. Large sections of Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, Austria, Italy, France, Holland, Norway, Belgium and Luxemburg had been laid waste—to say nothing of Germany—livestock slaughtered, machinery smashed up or removed, factories destroyed, fields untilled. Millions of people had died or disappeared. Great hordes of men, women and children, running perhaps to fifteen or twenty millions, were on the move: released prisoners of war, labour conscripts carried off to Germany from Russia and every occupied country, German refugees who had fled before the Soviet armies from all over Eastern Europe or who were being ruthlessly expelled by the Poles and the Czechs, Jews fleeing before the fear of new pogroms. The internal stability of every belligerent country was more or less deeply disturbed, offering a prospect of widespread disorder, in some cases perhaps of civil war and anarchy. Starvation and epidemic on a large scale were generally anticipated.

When one recalls this state of things as it existed at the time of the armistice, there is good ground for feeling that the present condition of the continent is certainly better than was then feared. There has been no general breakdown of European society, but on the whole progress out of chaos towards economic recovery and political stabilization. That does not mean that either economic recovery and political stability has yet been attained. After an upheaval of such vast proportions, that could not possibly have been achieved in so short a time. As we can judge by our own plight, many years of hard work will be needed to restore industry and agriculture to full productivity, to make good the shortages of food, clothing and houses, and to revive the flow of trade along new and old channels. Political commotion and civil strife still exist in some countries. The old political structure of Europe has been destroyed. To rebuild it upon a solid foundation may require several decades.

It is therefore much too soon to attempt any assessment of the future destiny of Europe, but a cursory survey of what has been accomplished may lessen the tendency to pessimism and may even suggest some ground for restrained hope. An immense amount of work has in fact been done both by the Allies and by the European peoples themselves, which is gradually bearing fruit. Even at the end of an exceptionally hard winter, which at this juncture is a particularly cruel stroke of fortune, confidence is slowly beginning to return.

CLIX

The first balance to be struck is on the economic side. As long as misery and want are widespread, it would be idle to expect political tranquillity. The vast majority of Europeans passed through six years of strain and anguish, which left them nervously and physically exhausted. In such a condition they were naturally exposed to the fears and agitations which drive people to desperate courses. These emotions can only be allayed by a gradual return to normal conditions of living—a regular supply of the elementary necessities, some prospect of continued improvement, the belief that effort will not be cheated of its reward. In other words, what most of them long for beyond everything else is a quiet life, which will allow them to recover their equilibrium and to repair their personal fortunes. I believe that this sentiment is universal and overwhelming, far stronger than any impulse towards fresh ideological adventure. Every sign of decreasing privation and better times ahead will encourage and strengthen it. That is why economic recovery is the first indispensable step towards a new and stable political order.

What then has been done in the direction of economic rehabilitation? The first brunt was borne by UNRRA, to which far too little credit has been given. As usual with international bodies, its occasional shortcomings have been trumpeted and its extensive successes overlooked. It was created to do a stop-gap job, which it has performed admirably within the limits of its powers and its money. It was able to step in with food and equipment when eastern Europe was in a catastrophic state. But for its aid there might have been a total breakdown in White Russia and the Ukraine, in Poland, Greece and Yugoslavia. Its assistance gave Austria, Italy and Czechoslovakia an invaluable start on the road to recovery. Without the medical staffs and supplies of UNRRA epidemic disease must have assumed far greater proportions. In fact, Governor Lehman and his colleagues tided the worst-hit regions of Europe over their most critical period. It is a thousand pities and a political mistake that they were not allowed to complete their task by another year's work. Though it was an international body, seventy per cent. of its funds were furnished by the United States and nearly the whole of the balance by Britain. The salvage of eastern Europe was therefore almost entirely the work of the western powers and their help was freely given in the devastated areas of Russia. To this must be added the credits granted by the Export-Import Bank of the United States to Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, and Poland, amounting to \$2,310,000,000 and smaller loans furnished by Britain and Canada, to say nothing of the large sums of British and American money spent on essential imports for Germany. These facts indicate how much Europe has owed to the western powers and how calamitous its condition would have been without them.

In western Europe the smaller countries have displayed extraordinary resilience. Belgium, Denmark, Luxemburg, the Netherlands and Norway are well along the upward path. None of these countries would claim to be out of the

wood, but the trees are much thinner than they were two years ago and the daylight is beginning to show through. Confidence is rapidly growing, much encouraged by political stability. In spite of the revolutionary turmoil of the times, the monarchies of these five countries are probably more securely based than before the war. During the years of occupation they formed the rallying point of the resistance movements. After liberation, by carrying out their constitutional rôle honestly and impartially, they enabled ordinary parliamentary life to be resumed smoothly. These countries were therefore spared the travail of constitution-making, which has distracted the political life of France and Italy. They just went back to their traditional habits of democratic government, which have proved an adequate bulwark against extremist adventures either to left or right. This sense of political normality has been a strong sedative to the nerves of these peoples. They have been able to settle down to work without bothering their heads too much about politics. In that lies much of the secret of their recovery. It is hardly necessary to add that Switzerland and Sweden are prosperous and stable. Their trouble is too much money rather than too little. This gives them an enviable distinction in an impoverished continent, but also an opportunity to assist its restoration by lending money and buying its exports, which the Swiss in particular are doing freely.

It may be said then that the smaller western countries are doing pretty well, but the same is not so true of France and Italy. Neither has yet fully regained its political or economic balance, but when one considers the disastrous impact of war and defeat upon them, one may venture to think that they are through the worst. After a period of confusion, during which the danger of revolutionary upheaval was always present, there are signs that both countries are beginning to settle down to the tremendous task of reconstruction. Economically France suffers from many of the same evils as Britain—extensive war-damage, loss of foreign investments, shortage of man-power, worn-out and antiquated plant, high costs of production, dependence on imports of coal, oil, copper, cotton and wool, disorganization of large sections of industry by the transition from private to national ownership. She has borrowed £480,000,000 in the United States, of which the greater part had been expended by the end of last year. On the credit side, however, can be set the restoration of road and railway communications, which had been completely disrupted by the war, the reconditioning of the devastated ports, and steadily rising production of coal, iron, steel, textiles and agricultural produce. But the future is staked on the execution of the Monnet Plan, a comprehensive scheme for rebuilding the national economy worked out by combined teams of officials, industrialists and trade-unionists. It has two great merits. It is non-partizan, and it does not attempt to disguise the seriousness of the situation; it offers a plain choice "between gradual decadence and immediate action." But its success depends upon the willingness of the French investor to provide the huge capital sums needed to restock and to re-equip the country. If he has sufficient confidence

in the franc and in the future of France, the goal can be reached, but a real start can hardly be made until the black market and the inflationary rise of prices have been effectually curbed. The French position is still anxious, but the French have frequently displayed astonishing powers of recuperation in the past, and those who know them best expect them to do so once again.

Italy had to begin its painful ascent from an even lower level of political and economic confusion. Like France, it was torn by bitter internal dissensions, but has managed to check the forces of disruption, which would have been fatal to recovery. After a short period of demoralization and despair, the Italians began to work hard. By the end of 1946 railway-traffic was nearing its pre-war level. Industrial recovery, though badly hampered by lack of British and German coal, was well under way. Agriculture had reached seventy-five per cent. of its normal production. Foreign trade was reviving with unexpected rapidity. There is an abundance of man-power, and the finances, though left in a desperate state by the fascists and the havoc of the war, may be slowly restored to solvency by austerity and sacrifice, especially as they are no longer burdened by heavy armaments or unproductive colonies. Though the Peace Treaty was immensely unpopular, there is no reason why it should prejudice economic recuperation. Italy cannot regain the status of a great power, which she was never strong enough to support, but her chances of overcoming her difficulties, which two years ago looked insuperable, are by no means hopeless.

On the whole the outlook for the west is better than might have been expected, but in the centre of Europe lies a yawning vacuum. There can be no complete rehabilitation of the economy of the continent, until Germany is once more an integral part of it. Whether as producers or consumers, its seventy million people are a factor with which it cannot dispense. Nothing is impeding the resuscitation of Europe so much as lack of coal. Britain, which formerly supplied about thirty-four per cent. of Europe's imports, is making no contribution, a fact which gravely weakens both her political and her economic influence on the continent. In these circumstances German coal is more than ever necessary for the Low Countries, France, Switzerland and Italy, but German exports, which formerly provided forty per cent. of Europe's requirements, are now reduced by more than half. Until they not only regain their old level but greatly exceed it, there will be a parlous lack of coal and power crippling the revival of western industry. But the east has also need of Germany. Before the war it supplied a large part of the agricultural machinery and the fertilizers used by the agrarian countries, which in their turn found a market for their surplus foodstuffs in Germany with its large industrial cities. Though Dr. Schacht pushed this exchange to exorbitant lengths, it is nevertheless a natural two-way channel of trade. Germany cannot be fed or feed itself indefinitely in dollar markets. The principal alternative is eastern Europe, when it once more produces enough to be able to export food. Once

the U.S.S.R. has surmounted its agricultural crisis, it will not need the cereals or the livestock of Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia, nor in view of its own problem of re-equipment, can it supply them with the tractors and other equipment, of which they are in urgent need. Britain may well do something towards meeting their requirements and absorbing their exports, but in the long run it is difficult to see how they can enjoy real prosperity without resuming their pre-war trade with Germany.

This is not the place to discuss the problems, which have been debated in Moscow—to what extent German industry can be safely rebuilt, how it can be effectively controlled, how it can be made to serve Europe, not to master it. But already there seems to be general agreement that it is an indispensable factor for European reconstruction, and to judge from the Soviet insistence on reparations in kind, for Russian reconstruction also. To many this may seem a paradoxical, even repugnant, conclusion to our efforts to annihilate German power, but it is an inescapable economic fact. German industry is an asset without which Europe cannot hope to enjoy its old prosperity again, still less to enhance it. If German energies and skills were devoted to peaceful uses, and if Germans themselves came to see that their dreams of domination are dead past recall, a new chapter in the economic life of Europe might be opened. Instead of standing aloof as a hostile force threatening its neighbours both east and west, Germany might find in time a useful and appropriate place in the European community. These are no doubt distant speculations with little relevance to the present phase of European recovery. But on the longer view it is clear that the future of Europe hinges largely on the ability of the Allies and the Germans to solve the problem of reconditioning German industry as part of the European economic system.

This rapid survey may be concluded with a brief glance at the east. It is perhaps too readily assumed that the countries of the eastern bloc will be progressively absorbed in the Soviet orbit. Their liberation by the Red Army and their sense of Slav kinship made it inevitable that Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria should, though in different degrees, be drawn politically towards Moscow, but it must not be forgotten that the two former at any rate were strongly imbued with the ideas of western liberalism and have a long history of association with the west. It must also be remembered that the three latter had suffered severely under oligarchical dictatorships and from the chronic depression of agriculture, which predisposed large sections of the population to welcome communism, which they had been led to believe would cure all their ills. There are at present various signs of disillusionment and of a consequent reaction, but without attaching too much importance to them, the economic position of all four countries suggests that they must look westwards as well as eastwards for the means of recovery.

Both the Czechs and the Poles have gone about the work of reconstruction with determination. They have both nationalized their principal industries

and are wrestling with the problem of finding adequate planning and technical staffs. In addition, the Czechs have incurred a serious economic loss by the expulsion of two and a half million Sudeten Germans, including many of the ablest technicians and most skilled workers in the country. The Poles have had to cope with the colossal problem of transferring over three million people from the lost eastern provinces to the newly acquired German lands in the west, and to make good the terrible ravages of three campaigns on their territory. In spite of these handicaps both countries have made considerable strides with the assistance of UNRRA. Last year industrial production in Czechoslovakia attained to seventy-five per cent. of the pre-war figure and in spite of high prices foreign trade was reviving but, as before the war its best markets lie in the west rather than in the east. It is significant that in 1946 only twelve per cent. of its exports went to Russia, a smaller proportion than to Switzerland. Poland, now on the way to becoming an industrial country of some importance thanks to the acquisition of the Silesian industries, is looking for outlets in the west for its coal and its agricultural produce, as it becomes available for export. It produced forty-seven million tons of coal last year and expects to reach a total of eighty millions in two years' time—a sound basis for its new economy. But both countries need much new machinery and equipment, both industrial and agricultural, which the U.S.S.R. cannot furnish while its resources are severely taxed to meet its own needs. The Czechs and the Poles have therefore turned their eyes to the United States. Though nothing has yet materialized, their predicament affords another illustration of the economic pull of the west.

The countries of the south-east present a much less encouraging picture. The state of Greece still remains precarious. The harvests of Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were drastically reduced by the drought. In all these countries political unrest and uncertainty is checking the impulse to recovery. The effects of the nationalization of industry and the land reforms have not been fully assimilated. There is a shortage of agricultural implements and machinery which only the west can supply, but for which no means of payment are at present in sight. The problem of rural over-population and pauperism is still far from solution. The peasants appear to be recalcitrant to the introduction of collective methods of farming and to the state-regulation of agriculture, while the capital resources necessary for any far-reaching plans for industry are wholly deficient.

From the foregoing sketch it can be seen that the European picture is a chequer of light and shadow. Without the extensive help given by the western powers by means of credits and by their contributions to UNRRA, the shadows would be much blacker. And yet cries of protest are raised in communist quarters against any British or American assistance as denoting sterling or dollar "imperialism". Before the war Europe was weakened and impoverished by economic warfare springing from an exaggerated nationalism. In its present debilitated condition ideological warfare could be even more fatal to

its hopes of revival. Doctrinal shibboleths could block the flow of capital and goods as effectively as the old trade-barriers. If loans and commercial agreements are simply looked upon as weapons in the barren war of political creeds, Europe is unlikely to recover its economic balance for a generation at least. If it is now divided by ideological strife as it was formerly divided by national hatreds and rivalries, its last state will be much worse than the first.

But there is another alternative. In the past no attempt was made to develop its communications, its electric power and its industrial resources on a continental scale—the only scale which could bring real prosperity to its 300 million people. The few schemes which were broached were quickly discounted on strategical or political grounds. The Germans regarded "*Panueuropa*" as a convenient slogan for promoting their hegemony in Europe, which was an adequate reason for rejecting it. The situation is different now. Under Allied supervision there is a possibility of giving Germany her due place without fear of her becoming predominant. There is no lack of man-power or technical ability in Europe. If they were applied to promoting its development on modern scientific lines, the productivity of the continent could be transformed in a comparatively short time. A few successful experiments in this kind of co-operative effort would probably revolutionize the European approach to its economic problems. As a beginning there is no need to discuss a customs-union or a European five-year plan. More practical results are likely to come from more limited regional or local projects. There is a wide field for the systematic exploitation of minerals and hydro-electric power. The low output of the peasant in eastern Europe cannot be raised without a considerable outlay on railways, roads, bridges, machinery, irrigation and drainage, without better organization of crops and markets and better technical education. All these things demand capital resources beyond the reach of the countries immediately concerned. Much also could be done in the way of unifying industrial regions at present unnaturally divided by customs barriers, of which north-eastern France, the Rhineland and the Low Countries are a classic instance. The Dutch and the Belgians have already taken a first step by progressively diminishing their tariff-walls. The United Nations has now succeeded in setting afoot its European Commission, which can play a vital part in helping to plan and to finance the regeneration of Europe on comprehensive lines. Backed by the authority of such an international body, the task can be done. Without it particular interests and political antagonisms will continue to thwart recovery. The fate of Europe depends partly upon its own efforts, but even more upon the agreement between the western powers and the Soviet Union to promote the unity and the prosperity of the stricken continent.

*(The author, who was Secretary-General of the International Labour Conference, Washington, in 1919, and Director of the International Labour Office from 1932 to 1938, has recently returned from his post as Minister to H.M. Embassy at Washington.)*



## THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY (II)

BY W. FRIEDMANN

THE broad and necessarily simplified analysis attempted in the previous article\* could not but register a failure of military government, after the first two years of operation, measured against the almost inconceivable magnitude of the task. No one can rest content with such an analysis. The need to save what there is to be saved is inescapably bound up with the fight for peace. Many of the hopes entertained at the time of Germany's capitulation for the reconstruction of peaceful Germany, through a form of joint control which might be the beginning of genuine international government, are buried. Above all, the brief and historic moment—the first six or eight months of the occupation—during which the German people at large were unconditionally ready to believe not only in the physical superiority of the Allies but in the superiority of their ideas, has gone. Moreover, certain major changes initiated under the Allied occupation of the last two years, limit freedom of action now. Prussia has been dissolved, and a Germany consisting of a large number of states, some of them entirely new, is emerging. A de-Nazification machinery of gigantic proportions, sifting the vast majority of the population into black, grey and white, has been at work for nearly two years. The economic machine for Germany, temporarily disrupted at the time of capitulation, is now virtually at a standstill. Such factors limit the alternatives now open for a solution of the German problem.

Among the multitude of problems a few are fundamental. They are: first, the constitutional structure of Germany; secondly, Germany's future economic level and structure; thirdly, her social structure, and fourthly, the question of the limits of control and the extent to which Germans should again decide their own affairs. The question of "re-education" is not a separate matter. It permeates and underlies all specific problems.

(1) *The Constitutional Structure.* The complete collapse of central government, and the piece-meal administration of Germany in separate zones, made it inevitable that the highest constitutional and administrative units were the *Länder* and provinces. There is interminable discussion about the merits and dangers of federalism for Germany. But the fact is that all four occupying powers have adopted the identical policy of constituting their major units as *Länder*. The British zone now has four of these: by far the biggest and most important is Rhineland-Westphalia combining the former

Prussian province of Westphalia with that part of the Rhine province which is not in the French zone. The second is the newly created *Land* Niedersachsen, combining the former Prussian province of Hanover with the small historical *Länder* of Oldenburg, Braunschweig and Lippe. The third is the former Prussian province of Schleswig-Holstein, and the fourth is the ancient free city of Hamburg. The smaller Hanseatic city of Bremen is also constituted as a *Land* but, being the port of entry to the American zone, and also in order to balance the number of constitutional units in the bi-zonal set-up, Bremen counts as part of the U.S. zone. Apart from Bremen, the U.S. zone consists of three *Länder*: Bavaria, which has remained entirely intact, Greater Hesse—a combination of the former *Land* Hesse, and the Prussian Province of Hessen-Nassau annexed to Prussia under Bismarck—and the northern parts of Württemberg and Baden which are combined in one *Land*. The French zone has left the southern part of Württemberg and Baden as separate *Länder*; but it has created an entirely new unit out of the southern parts of the Rhine Province, and the Palatinate with the addition of a small slice of Hessen on the right bank of the Rhine. The Saar territory, now considered to all intents and purposes as French, is separate and has been increased by a small slice from the southern tip of the Rhine Province. The Russians, despite all their protests against federalization, have also converted all their units into *Länder*. They are the former *Länder* of Thuringia, Saxony and Mecklenburg, and the former Prussian provinces of Brandenburg and Saxony now converted into *Länder* (the latter under the name of Sachsen-Anhalt). There remains Berlin which always had a special constitutional status. It is now divided into four sectors each controlled by one occupying power. On the German side they are combined under the City Administration of Berlin responsible, in its turn, to a special Allied authority, the *Kommandantura*,\* which may be described as a special edition of the Allied Control Council, with rather more executive authority and some more concrete administrative achievements. The sectors themselves are partly considered as appendages of the four zones from which they are separated by hundreds of miles (except for the Russian sector which therefore enjoys some advantages over the others); partly as administrative sections of one unit, the City of Berlin. Until some time ago the tendency towards joint and integral government of the different parts of Berlin was on the increase. Since then there has been a deplorable trend in the opposite direction. A firm situated in one sector is now often forbidden to supply its subsidiary in another sector even with spare parts. Such matters become often the subject of complicated inter-allied negotiations. Each sector has its separate system of courts. Nowhere is the lack of Allied unity and the disintegration of Germany illustrated more vividly.

In fact, therefore, Germany to-day consists of seventeen federal units without

\* A word carefully chosen so as not to be part of any existing language but to be understandable to all four occupying powers.

\* The Military Government of Germany by W. Friedmann. April 1947.



federal government.\* The proposals of the four Allied powers in Moscow do not fundamentally differ on the principle of decentralization, that is the reconstruction of Germany on a basis of medium sized states, with a central administration limited to functions far more restricted than any exercised by a German government since the reconstitution of the *Reich*. There is far less clarity, though apparently vague agreement on the need to constitute central government functions by delegation from the *Länder* rather than the other way round. This is certainly the American conception. The Americans go to the utmost length in emphasizing the autonomy of the *Länder*. They will sacrifice almost anything to this construction, and in the bi-zonal administration have throughout insisted on ultimate reference of any bi-zonal decision to the Prime Minister of the *Länder*, although the *Länder* themselves form the bi-zonal Committees. The British started differently. Pending the establishment of a central administration for Germany, they had proceeded to establish zonal authorities for such matters as economics, food, transport, labour, with the power of direction over the *Länder*. The zonal authorities were conceived as stake holders for a future central German administration. At the very moment when this scheme was beginning to work effectively, the fusion with the American zone led to the dissolution of the zonal authorities and the almost complete adoption of the American principle. Even now however, the British do not go to the length of referring any bi-zonal decision back to the Prime Ministers of the constituent *Länder*. In the French zone, the problem of central versus *Land* authority has hardly arisen; there are not yet any German zonal authorities with executive powers; the French authorities at Baden-Baden are the government for the French zone. The Russians, on the other hand, were far ahead of all the other zones in constituting central administrations for the Russian zone at Berlin. These authorities have, however, little effective power over the *Länder*. They can do little more than recommend and co-ordinate. Unity in the zone is essentially achieved through the commands of military government and through the predominance of the Socialist Unity Party. As a result, the constitutions of the *Länder* in the Russian zone resemble each other very closely.

The emphasis therefore is so far entirely on decentralization and *Land* authority. The essential problem is still unsolved and it does not seem to have been clearly approached in any of the Allied proposals at Moscow. The key problem to-day is the need for effective economic planning, including production priorities and a fair distribution of raw materials and essential consumer goods. These will be in desperate scarcity for years to come. No system which leaves the decision on these matters to seventeen separate units

\* Of the major new *Länder*, Greater Hesse and Niedersachsen constitute definite advances towards a healthy regional reorganization of Germany. Rhineland-Westphalia is oversized and over-industrialized in relation to the rest. The different states made out of Württemberg and Baden are monstrosities produced by the unnatural frontiers between the French and U.S. zones.

of quite unequal size and resources can hope to achieve the essentials of economic planning. It was the recognition of this need which led to the establishment of zonal authorities in the British zone. It is the failure to solve this problem which has so far thwarted the bi-zonal administrations in the combined British-U.S. zone.

The executive apparatus and administration should be with the *Länder*. They should also be associated with the decisions on economic planning. In the British proposals submitted at Moscow, for example, the second chamber would represent the *Länder* as such, with a suspensory veto on legislation. But any scheme which leaves the ultimate decision on production and distribution to each *Land* separately cannot but lead to chaos and disintegration. It may be that the Allies, and in particular the Americans with their fanatical insistence on land autonomy, have sown dragon teeth. To-day, in the bi-zonal administration, Bavaria, with her relative surplus of food, flatly refuses to supply the north on which she depends for her coal and other industrial goods. The bi-zonal administration has no power to impose sanctions, in the form of withholding supplies from Bavaria. Eventually military government may have to use compulsion. Here, as in many other fields, Allied policy in Germany has been almost opposite to that generally prevailing in the world. Everywhere, federal governments have been compelled to acquire increased competences in economic planning. Nowhere are they more desperately needed than in Germany but nowhere are there greater difficulties, with the creation of dozens of new ministries, administrations and vested interests in particularism. It is true that economic planning powers imply a danger of centralism. But in the present condition of Germany, this danger fades into insignificance compared with the desperate need for a minimum standard of living. The bi-zonal authorities are denied the minimum legal powers necessary to enforce elementary controls, because they are executive authorities not responsible to democratic Parliaments. Yet it is the Allies who have so far refused to establish a bi-zonal State! The resulting half-way house makes the effective transfer of executive responsibility to German authorities almost impossible. The apparent failure of the Moscow Conference to agree on a Central Administration makes the issue still more urgent. Either through delegation from Military Government or through the creation of a Western State the bi-zonal agencies will have to get the necessary control functions.

It must be the purpose of all the Allies to give the remnants of Germany a reasonable chance to live mainly by their own work and fair distribution of resources. This means basic economic planning powers over raw materials, food, industrial priorities, prices and transport at the centre. The alternative is that a number of separate units will be the playball of European power politics, repeating the history of Germany of previous centuries. They may coalesce into a western and an eastern German bloc; neither of them can live on its own resources. They would inevitably be integrated in rival western

and eastern European economic and political systems, or remain ruinous charges on the occupying powers. It is already clear that the combination of the western zones, by itself, can do little to alleviate the fundamental economic plight. It must depend on vital imports to live and it can never be self-sufficient in food.

Few people, other than ardent German nationalists would shed a tear on the disappearance of Germany as a political unit if the alternative were the emergence of smaller contented and peaceful units. Nor does anyone quarrel with the need for a decisive shift from central to a decentralized structure; but what has happened so far is a type of German disintegration which will make Germany both the playball of international conflicts and an economic chaos in which some parts will live in reasonable prosperity and others in abject misery.

How do the Germans themselves feel about this issue? They appear to be confused and divided. One of the cardinal political weaknesses of Germany is their hovering between an excessive disciplined centralism, and the petty particularism which has characterized German history for so long. Both tendencies are alive to-day. Many Germans in the west, particularly those with an anti-Russian complex, frankly prefer the detachment of western Germany but only if she can join a western European federation. There is also the special case of Bavaria, now strengthened in her traditional particularism by her relatively favourable food position. But Mr. Molotov is certainly right in insisting that any Allied scheme which favours particularism (especially if it impedes a reasonable distribution of economic necessities) will strengthen German nationalism and centralism of a defiant character. Here, as so often, Britain seems to have sacrificed too many of her sound conceptions to brilliant but dangerous American constructions.

(2) *The Economic Problem.* The Allies at Moscow seem to agree, in principle, on the need for a decisive upward revision of the level of German industry. They are at loggerheads over two other issues: First, the desirability of any further dismantling of German industry and, secondly, the question of reparations out of current production, as a priority charge ranking before the repayment of Allied advances to western Germany out of current production and exports. The Russians, having dismantled on a large scale in their zone, demand far-reaching dismantling in the western zone and priority payment of their own reparations taken out of bulk removals of plant, current production and foreign assets. In this, they combine the objective of weakening the industrial potential of the west with that of rebuilding their own shattered economy. Britain regards the cost of occupation, including necessary imports, as the first charge, ranking before reparations. I think that the vast majority of Allied administrators in Germany as well as of Germans would regard the dismantling issue as the more fundamental. On reparation priorities a compromise should be possible. Russia has suffered grievously and there has been at least basic agreement on reparations at Yalta and Potsdam. To the western Allies,

especially to America, a delay in the repayment of credits and supplies cannot be quite as vital as the maintenance of some coherence and unity in the administration of Germany. But both Mr. Bevin and Mr. Marshall have rightly been adamant on the question of further dismantling and destruction of productive capacity in the state which Germany has reached and until a vital change takes place in the methods of control. This is sound on technical, as well as on economic and psychological grounds. Except for certain specific war industries no one has found a satisfactory technical distinction between war and peace industries, and Mr. Molotov has admitted that much at Moscow.

On the economic issue, Mr. Marshall has pointed out that the cutting off of Germany's most important agricultural area compels the increase let alone the maintenance of existing industrial capacity. It has already been suggested in the previous article that the whole principle of fixing a special industrial level—which may have to be revised almost every year—should be given up and replaced by effective control of key materials and field inspection of key industries. The danger of a too powerful industrial Germany is to-day very remote as against the vital and imminent danger of a mass of desperate people herded together with little food and no hope. The cost to the Allies, in terms of money, security, occupation forces and moral prestige is infinitely greater. Most important of all probably is the psychological issue. No one who has witnessed the psychological effect of the threatened closing down, for example, of the Hoesch works in Dortmund or of the blowing up of the Blohm & Voss dockyards in Hamburg can have any illusions on this score. Such actions alienate the workers, that is, the core of democratic elements in Germany, far more than the owners. The latter, at any rate, have usually some property to fall back on. The worker has nothing; for even the original scarcity of labour has now largely disappeared; there is hidden unemployment on an increasing scale, firms hold on to their skilled workers despite lack of work, other than maintenance, in the hope of something happening to allow resumption of production. There are of course vast and pressing needs to be satisfied. Housing reconstruction alone could employ hundreds of thousands for many years. But the materials are wanting and the materials will not be forthcoming until the limits on production are withdrawn.

One factor, which is both economic and political, has not so far been stressed with sufficient frankness. To no other occupying power does the problem of re-activation of industry present a graver problem than to Britain. Russia can absorb her zone into her own orbit, without much fear of over-production or competition. The French need more production and have gladly re-activated the Saar industry. To the Americans, the southern zone which is, in any case not heavily industrialized, is no major economic problem. But the British have a zone which lives or dies by industry and a type of production potentially competitive to British industry (except—at least for some years—for coal). The iron and steel, textile, chemical and engineering industries are largely concen-

trated in the British zone. The British economic administration in Germany must aim at their re-activation if it wants to prevent utter ruin and mass starvation. But British industry, with its pressing need for exports, is bound to watch the re-activation of German industry with suspicion. It is therefore dangerous on grounds of principle that some leading posts on the Control Commission should be held by persons closely associated with parallel British industries though this is no reflection on their personal integrity.

There can be no doubt that, of the two risks, that of killing the British zone is on all scores the greater one, politically, morally and in terms of cost to the British taxpayer. This dilemma makes it particularly urgent for Britain to make efforts in preventing at least the economic disintegration of Germany. A great proportion of western German production, instead of being forced on the world market in competition to British products, could then be used for internal German needs. The different parts can never be healthy economic units by themselves and the British zone in particular must needs be either a perpetual burden on Britain, or a competitor on the world market.

(3) *The Social Issue.* The different social and political philosophies of the Allies clash in Germany. The Russians have formed some of the industries in their zone into a Soviet *Aktiengesellschaft* controlled by the Soviet State. For the rest, they have, partly with the help of sponsored plebiscites, expropriated many German undertakings. They have also dissolved all organizations of industrialists. The course is set on large scale socialization, at least for the major industries. Similarly, the splitting up of the large estates is leading gradually to collective farming on the Russian pattern. At the other end of the scale, the Americans favour private enterprise along with federalism and democracy on the American pattern and these principles sometimes clash. When the parliament of Hesse voted for the socialization of the I.G. Farben assets, the American authorities, who wanted to offer the different plants to private bidders, demanded a special plebiscite. The plebiscite decisively confirmed parliament. The Americans will, however, do everything, within the limits set by their own theories of the people's sovereignty, to retard socialization. Thus, General Clay observed recently that it was not the function of the bi-zonal economic administration (controlled at present by the Socialist economic ministers) to proceed with the socialization of industry. Britain stands as so often between the great antipodes. For once however, her line should be fairly clear. The biggest concentrations of industry—coal, iron and steel, chemical and engineering industries—are in the British zone; their owners have been largely dispossessed and arrested. The British Government has repeatedly declared its wish that these industries should be transferred to public ownership. There is no alternative other than to create a new empire of German industrialists.\*

\* The reasons for this and the possibilities of public control without undue concentration of economic power were set out in an article in *The Times*. February 13, 1947.

This is one of the matters intimately connected with Allied control policy and security, and it is entirely proper that the British government should lay the foundations for a public control of basic industries, leaving its eventual form to duly constituted German democratic authorities. The result of the *Land* Parliament elections just held in the British zone ensures the support of German public opinion. The Social Democrats, the Communists and a considerable section of the Christian Democrats all support the socialization of basic industries. At present, these industries are under British or Anglo-American trusteeship. It is however a necessary corollary that workers should be trained in industrial responsibility and management. On this there has been deplorably small progress, partly through the obstinacy of Germany industrialists, whose attitude of being "master in their own house" is a dangerous sign of returning self-confidence, partly through the lukewarm attitude of British control authorities themselves. There are many possibilities for such participation, on the boards of public undertakings, in the management of chambers of industry and commerce, etc. Nowhere do workers' organizations need more encouragement and training in responsibility than in Germany.

(4) *Transfer of Responsibility to Germans.* It is now common ground among the Allies that they cannot continue to govern Germany themselves, though they must continue to control her for many years. But the transfer of responsibility to Germans suffers from two major difficulties, some of them of the Allies' own making. The one is the desperate dearth of capable trained personnel, through death, old age, Nazi persecution and continued captivity. De-Nazification has greatly added to it. The latter affects the life of the average German more than any other aspect of Allied occupation. The policy of categorizing the entire population (Control Council Directive No. 24 gives 99 categories of persons excluded from office and positions of responsibility because of their Nazi affiliations) was admirable in theory but it has failed in practice. It was unrealistic to sit in judgment over many millions of minor Nazis, many of them just following the dictates of bread-and-butter rather than to pounce swiftly and mercilessly upon a limited number of major functionaries and industrialists. Much modification has been necessary, first through a complicated review and appeal procedure which has led to a luxurious growth of informing and intrigue, but above all through the need which has arisen in every zone of evading the rules in order to maintain a minimum of efficiency in administration. This has often meant the retention of the senior men and the sackings of the minor fry—another source of bitterness. The tale is far too complicated for this very summary analysis. But there is now no alternative but to go ahead and complete the procedure within a definite time limit. Otherwise the hundreds of thousands who have lost their existence through the de-Nazification procedure would feel lasting bitterness against those who have been saved by an amnesty. Many administrative sim-

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plifications would be possible.\*

The policy of excessive federalization has made the transfer of responsibility to Germans more difficult. Hundreds of ministers, with vested interests in particularism, and hundreds of new petty bureaucracies are no help to effective government. Time and again military government must step in. The Allies cannot abandon the right to reserve certain major policy decisions to themselves. But they must use this right more and more sparingly. It would certainly be a mistake to impose a German constitution on Germans from outside, and in the long run, enforced federalization would have a boomerang effect. The local government reform in the British zone, which is alien to German traditions of local government and was imposed from outside, will almost certainly be repealed by the Germans as soon as they are free to do so.

*Re-Education and the German Mind.* Admirable work has been done in the re-opening of schools, universities and the provision of guest lecturers. But re-education is not essentially a matter of institutions. It is above all a question of impressing the German people with the superiority of the moral values rather than of the physical powers of their conquerors. The prospects for this have greatly diminished during the last two years. Only those who were in Germany in the days following the capitulation can appreciate the magnitude of the chance which has now gone. More Germans than was admitted at the time had worked against the régime and longed for the end (though a large proportion of these were killed by the Nazis). Many were stunned by the sheer magnitude of the disaster and the might of the Allies, others by the criminal and nihilistic destructiveness of the Nazi leaders, their callousness towards their own people. Many were ready to replace a child-like faith in their leaders by an equally childlike faith in the mighty democracies. Very many had listened to the B.B.C. and believed its picture of a better world. And all were glad the nightmare of the last twelve months was over.

Admittedly a mixture of motives, and not a very firm foundation for a thorough change of heart. But there was a unique readiness to start again under the guidance of the Allies. If to-day the picture is very different, if the German people are bitter, cynical, weary and without hope, it is certainly not all the fault of the Allies. Many hundreds of Military Government officers have won the lasting respect and admiration of the Germans, and the failure of the great objectives should not obscure such achievements as the restoration of transport, or the execution of the agricultural programme of 1945, in the face of unbelievable difficulties.

On the other hand, the conversion of large numbers of Germans was hardly skin deep. Two of their gravest faults are again very much in evidence: race arrogance (especially towards the Poles, the word *Polengesindel* is still very

\* Most Germans in responsible positions have answered the famous "*Fragebogen*" six times or more. Respect for this method decreases with needless repetition.

current) and power worship. There are still many who desperately believe in democratic values, despite the many blows dealt to their faith. The first blow was the calamitous thesis of the collective and equal guilt of all Germans (as distinct from the obvious principle of collective responsibility) for the consequences of the war. Ever since there has been more material for the encouragement of cynics than of believers. Those Military Government officers who broke through the sterile isolation of headquarters know well enough the difficulties: of fighting the *Herrenvolk* mentality when the Western Allies (as distinct from the Russians) still carefully maintain an entirely separate style of living, of travelling, of entertainment, etc.; of fighting the power ideology when every German sees daily the power conflicts of the Allies; of condemning Nazi slave labour and race policy when millions of soldiers are still kept in captivity and millions have been expelled from their homes; of believing in "decartelization" when the Allies show no sign of applying their principles at home; of believing in the rule of law when house requisitioning (now largely stopped in the British and U.S. zones) is indiscriminate and large numbers of persons have been detained for years without trial; of having faith in the justice of de-Nazification which hits thousands of small men when the Allies compete for the services of prominent Nazi scientists and technicians.

The answer to most of the questions discussed in these articles lies in the realm of high inter-Allied policy. But a few things can be done by Britain on her own.\* The reduction and reorganization of the Central Commission staff should have three main objects: first, to reduce the incredible complexity of the dual machinery of administration and of a control instrument too big for control but too weak for government; and secondly, to mitigate the danger of a sudden abandonment of all effective control, by a weary Parliament, through concentration on key controls; thirdly, and perhaps most important of all, to keep in Germany the considerable numbers of those who have a sense of mission but are frustrated by the machinery and the vast numbers of indifferents. Example means much more than doctrine. Only the best are good enough for the administration of Germany and they ought to be given a status and security corresponding to the importance of their task. No less vital is the breaking down of the isolation of Germans. It is time that Allied personnel should mix more freely with the life of the ordinary people, and that Germans—other than selected lecturers—should have contact with the outer world. The admirable experiment of the Prisoners' University at Wilton Park, if maintained, could gradually provide a nucleus of democratic German leaders, if the trainees are afterwards used in Germany in positions corresponding to their training. Above all, Germans need a ray of hope as well as a sense of firm and purposeful guidance. Germans must again become Europeans.

\* Reference should be made to the admirable Second Report from the Select Committee on Estimates and Expenditure in Germany written in the summer of 1946. Most of its conclusions are still valid.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S RECOVERY

BY EWAN WALLIS-JONES

**T**O-DAY intense and purposeful activity is manifest in Czechoslovakia; everyone looks and *is* busy. Life is already proceeding smoothly. There is enough of the essentials of living for all, and once again many of the luxuries and graces which make living pleasant. The people are happy and once more vital; the majority are better off than in any formerly occupied country with the possible exception of Belgium. They know where they are going, and that they are going in the right direction. For they have a plan for the next two years which they all believe in and are determined shall succeed—the Two Year Economic Plan of the Gottwald Government. The Czechoslovaks are moving on to better times with self-confidence and such national pride as their natural modesty permits.

In Prague, art, music and literature thrive again. Goods in the shop windows reflect the popular demand for high standards of beauty in everyday life. There are magnificent performances of the classics of opera, particularly of Dvorak, Smetana and Puccini. The prima donnas both look and sound good—and the best seat in the house costs five shillings or less. The many fine orchestras and ensembles are notable for the excellence and youth of their members. There are packed houses for Shakespeare as well as for Slavonic drama, and as in opera, the productions are modern artistic creations. The best films of the world (British films now taking first place among those imported) are being shown. In the book shops you will find the classics of English, French and Russian literature as well as a lavish stock of Czech and Slovak works. A dozen exhibitions of the most important paintings are there to be visited; the native artists flourish and you see their works in shops and homes as well as museums. In these fields, Prague to-day is unique—the most lively centre of all that is best in Western culture.

Eight years have passed since Hitler on the eve of Munich ended his fanatical broadcast attack on the Czechoslovak Republic and its President with the words: "Here I stand, and there stands he. Decision must be made between us." He thought he was summing up the conclusion of a fight between two irreconcilable words. The main obstacle to the Teutonic enslavement of Europe was about to be removed by a painless operation. Seven years later, President Benes gave his answer in the Prague Parliament. After the years of ruthless occupation and tutelage the Czechs and Slovaks had once more resumed control of their destinies.

The liberation in 1945 (as everywhere else) was also a social and political

revolution. By one and the same act the German and Hungarian oppressors and their Czechoslovak collaborators were removed, with confiscation of their ill-gotten gains and expulsion or political liquidation for both.

When the first Republic was born in 1918 it took over much of the administration and way of life of the shattered Austro-Hungarian Empire. This time the slate was wiped clean. The two big parties which before Munich obstructed the progressive development of the State—the Czech Agrarians and the Slovak Populists—had done enough in wartime collaboration with the enemy to put themselves out of business when their foreign friends departed. Naturally, there were to be no more Fascist, German or Hungarian parties.

The tasks of the Provisional Government which President Benes led into the liberated country on the heels of the Russian Army—first to Kosice, then to Bratislava, then Brno and eventually Prague—were to take over and secure the State territory, recreate an administration and renew the ravaged economic and cultural life of the country.

This, and much more, was done in 1946. Czechoslovakia is in many ways a new country. It is a Slav State. No longer is one third of its people a minority population of Germans, Hungarians, Ruthenians and Jews. It is a national state of Czechs and Slovaks, roughly in the ratio of two to one. It is a smaller country of about twelve millions as compared with the pre-Munich 14.7 millions. Also although about half of the natives of Ruthenia have opted to remain in the new Republic, their territories have gone to Russia and they are resettled elsewhere. All but some 60,000 German workers have already gone, and the Hungarian minority is being exchanged for the Slovaks in Hungary. Those of non-Slavonic descent who remain do so only on the basis of loyalty to the Slav State, and will in time be assimilated. To all Czechoslovaks this was the only possible solution after their pre-Munich experiences. Its achievement has provided the conditions necessary for a stable political order more free and democratic than was even politic before.

In this sense there is a clean break with the past. But to the tasks of building their new State the Czechs and Slovaks have brought political maturity as well as national enthusiasm and vigour. They believe in democracy in a socialized State, what President Benes called "a new democracy politically free and humanitarian." Such is their basic unity of purpose that they may well be best able to achieve it.

Though still frankly—and boldly—experimenting with new political institutions the orderly reconstruction of the country's economic and social life has proceeded smoothly and rapidly. The new institutions are being built as they go along, in a way which corresponds to both old traditions and modern requirements.

It is significant that Dr. Benes—the "President Builder" as he is now called, is still by unanimous choice the Head of State, and that the Provisional Government of Dr. Fierlinger which he brought from abroad to Prague was, in Octo-



ber 1945, confirmed without change by the Provisional National Assembly elected within the liberated country. Their Kosice programme, formulated by the united forces of political leaders exiled in Britain and in Russia, was the basis of a Coalition Government of all parties imbued with the common overriding purpose of rebuilding the country.

If the necessity of eliminating Nazi collaborators is accepted there is in Europe to-day no more strictly democratic country. The elections of May 1946 were both free and fair, and the eight parties contesting (four Czech and four Slovak) are now represented throughout the administration from top to bottom in exact proportion to their support among the people as then evidenced.

The same true reflection of the results of the polls is to be found not only in the present Gottwald Government but also in all the lower strata of the entirely new system of Local Government which has been created. This was built up on the small local "National Committees" and has legislative and executive as well as supervisory power. The original Committees were called into being as a revolutionary act during the occupation for the purpose of taking over the administration and preserving the country from the occupying forces when they were expelled. Above these local National Committees have been created District and Provincial Committees. As in the Constituent National Assembly elected in May 1946 the rough approximation to the popular will which was at first provisionally affected by nomination from above has now been superseded by exact proportional representation on party lines as justified by the elections.

These new organs of local government show some Swiss and British influence. They represent a reaction from the centralized democracy of the First Republic, itself a survival from the Habsburg era of District Executive Offices and Provincial Governors—also from the more recent horrors of the Nazi *führer prinzip*. The occupation taught the Czechs the dangers of bureaucracy despite their aptitude for it. The German passion for red tape raised the ratio of clerical to productive workers from one in eight to one in four. Now local popular control and part-time public service have largely superseded the professional officials.

The first year of liberation was a period of first-aid and basic re-organization in the economy of the country. The main units of heavy industry, mining, food, forestry, banking and insurance were nationalized under the all-party Kosice programme. The most indisputable of many cogent reasons for this course was that by no other means could they be put on their feet again. For during the occupation all important trusts and combines had by various devices including expropriation, been brought under the control of the Germans or collaborators, themselves now due for expropriation. The method followed, of making these concerns "national enterprises", has the advantages of our system of Public Corporations without introducing the deadening effect of a remote and unresponsive bureaucracy; these enterprises were designed to ensure

dynamic and democratic local control adapted nevertheless to an over-all plan, to avoid red tape and to encourage initiative and healthy competition. Each has to show a profit, or explain the reason why it cannot.

The Nazi legacy of inflation was disposed of by an incisive reduction of currency and blocking of accounts. Of 121 milliards of crowns only forty milliards remain in current circulation. But with an unbalanced industry (geared for six years to the German war machines), disrupted communications, depletion of rolling stock and river shipping, and an exhausted soil, it was largely due to the wise use of UNRRA supplies that the country got through the difficult period of transition. Czechoslovakia faced its coal and transport crisis in the winter 1945-46.

Now in the two year plan the economic and moral forces of the country are being marshalled to achieve the levels of pre-Munich times and in many respects improve on them. The plan covers all branches of industry, agriculture, building, transport, investment, labour mobilization, foreign trade and technical and scientific research. In the forefront of the programme is the drive for exports and the gradual raising of the standard of life throughout the country with particular stress on the rapid industrialization of Slovakia. Sixty thousand million crowns (fifteen per cent. of the national income) is being invested in building new houses, roads, railways, bridges, dams and hydro-electric power stations, and in re-equipping industry. Of this investment rather more than one-third will be in Slovakia.

The details of this enormous plan were worked out by an ingenious machine in which the country's experts from all parties played their parts. A group of planning bodies under the Economic Council of the Government was created to reflect at all levels the political trends of the country. The plan that emerged was largely sponsored by the Socialist and Communist Parties (who are the majority group) but *all* the political parties are unreservedly committed to its successful operation, as are also the trade unions, the banks and Government departments. All had their chances of modifying the plan and all retain the possibility of modifying its operation through the appropriate organization.

The large volume of constructive committee work by representative experts working behind closed doors gives a superficial impression that the many technical questions of how much, when and where were decided almost without discussion. The reverse is the case. There was prolonged discussion, but by informed and responsible people chosen by the public to get on with the job.

Thus by January 1, 1947, every productive unit in the country had its target, for this year and next. What is perhaps more important, all managers and workers knew it was a target that could be achieved, and were determined that it would be. It was *their* two year plan, and they would see it through, "Even if it took 100 years", as some said.

The plan is based on realities—the actual possibilities of the country. It does not depend for success on large foreign loans, though they would speed



and ease its course. But it does require a healthy expansion of trade and peaceful co-operation particularly with the West. The country must import raw materials and pay with finished products. Much can be produced from native sources—the “white gold” (sugar from beet), household furniture, and magnificent lace and glassware. But over sixty per cent. of last year's exports were finished goods and most of the productive capacity depends on imports, especially raw material like cotton, wool, iron and hides. These are the present difficulties, and to no other Central European country does talk of an “iron curtain” excluding friendship and trade with Britain, the United States and France sound so unfortunate and such nonsense. If there be a barrier, it is not of their making.

The Czechoslovak import-export trade in fact did well in 1946. There was a rapid and steady expansion, and in money value 1937 levels were surpassed. But allowing for the higher prices of to-day its *real* volume is only half of what it was in 1937. A slight check in November was most marked in the raw cotton imports (and consequently the export of finished cotton goods)—an industry whose main source of supply has been Russia. The similarity of our own export problems, and possibly other significant trends, are indicated by the fact that in the same month Britain became the leading importing country after lying fifth during the previous year, whereas Russia after being the chief supplier dropped to sixth place. But Czechoslovakia will not soon forget the large first-aid supplies of raw materials (particularly cotton) which Russia provided in the early days of liberation and which made the restarting of industry then possible.

As in Britain there is an acute manpower shortage. Somewhere half a million extra workers or their equivalent must be found. The methods followed are instructive. Clerical staffs are rationed, and 160,000 civil servants are to be put to productive work. (What about our two million?) Banking, insurance and business are to disgorge another 25,000. The rapid decontrol of goods and the elimination of unnecessary links in their distribution will not only release more workers, but also lower prices. A hundred thousand extra workers are to be acquired from other countries. Czechs and Slovaks are returning home, especially from Hungary. Bulgarian and Italian workers are being brought in too. The mobilization of 100,000 women for industry is in train. The trade union movement is the active partner of the Government in a drive to increase productivity by rationalization and modern methods. It also supports a forty-eight hours (eight hour day) week, and payment by results.

Wages by piece rates or “norms” agreed with the trade unions are fixed by the Government, and there are no strikes. For a State Price Fixing Authority also controls the price of everything. At the end of 1945, prices and the cost of living were stabilized at about three times, and the wages of productive labour at about four times, their 1939 levels. Since then prices and the cost of living have not altered much, and wages not at all. The workers recognize that it is

better for them that prices should come down, as the Government intends, than that they should demand more wages by sectional pressure on the country's economy.\* Compulsory direction of labour may be necessary, but so far the alternative of providing effective inducements to good work is being tried. The wages of productive labour are attractive compared with those of the black-coated workers. Overtime is well paid, and taxed less. Competitions between factories are encouraged, State gifts (wireless sets, extra clothes, holidays) are given for notable achievements.

On the other hand, the career of the unproductive worker and the shirker is unenviable in pay or popular prestige. For everyone must work, and the public spirited citizen-worker has his chance—through works council and factory committee (recognized and prescribed by law) and trade union as well as in the wider network of national committees—of removing inefficiency and castigating the shirker and the parasite.

The benefits of the plan to the worker—with its promise of better living and the present concrete benefits of an extensive social welfare service (under the Ministry for the Protection of Labour and Social Welfare) as well as a stable and reasonable ratio between wages and prices—have made him the main guarantee of its success. In the industrial field as in the political *responsibility* rests with *power*. The result is a heightened social conscience and self-confidence, a spirit of joint adventure and not of frustration. Can this be said of any other post-war country?

At the re-opening of the Prague Parliament on November 9, 1945, Dr. Fierlinger, then Prime Minister, spoke prophetic words about “the rôle of our workmen and employees in our new planned economy.” “They must realize that by increasing working efficiency and discipline they are doing themselves the best service. On the results of their work will depend the improvement of their standard of living. The political maturity of our workmen will permit the close association of all employees and managements, and this association will be a guarantee of the success of our new democratic economy. The whole world will closely observe the results, and will judge accordingly as to whether and to what extent similar far reaching economic changes can be brought about peaceably and without social upheavals. We may say that we shall become the pioneers of new ways in economy.”

The people of Czechoslovakia are responding. They have aimed for the stars—they are already above the tree tops. Can we not learn something from their methods?

*(On a recent visit, at the invitation of its Government, the author was given exceptional opportunities for studying the reconstruction of Czechoslovakia's economy.)*

## WHY GREECE AND TURKEY?

BY DEREK PATMORE

WHEN President Truman made his recent dramatic speech to Congress many people may have been surprised by the manner in which he bracketed Greece with Turkey. Yet history shows that the fate of both countries is closely interlocked. Even in the days of the great Byzantine Empire, Salonika was a town of immense strategic importance and commanded the main route to the imperial capital of Constantinople. The first world war also showed how dangerous this great Greek port could be to Turkish security when controlled by an enemy for it must not be forgotten that Churchill's bold plan to capture the Dardanelles by using Salonika as a main base of operations nearly succeeded. To-day, modern warfare and the invention of new weapons have made Greece and Turkey even more dependent on each other for their mutual independence and safety, and both Athens and Ankara are well aware of the fact.

The present friendship between Greece and Turkey is all the more remarkable when one remembers the fierce enmity that existed between the two countries for over a hundred years. This hatred began with the Greek War of Independence when the Greeks rose against the Turkish Empire. It persisted through the First World War and culminated in the ill-fated Greek campaign in Anatolia following the defeat of the Turks and the occupation of Constantinople, or Istanbul as it is now known, by the victorious Allied Powers. However, both the Turks and Greeks are realists and soon after the rise of Kemal Ataturk and the foundation of the present Turkish Republic in 1923, both nations decided that the time had come to forget a centuries' old feud and renew the traditional friendship between the two races—for many Greeks rose to power and ruled the Ottoman Empire. Negotiations were started by Kemal Ataturk and Ismet Inönü on the Turkish side and by the great Greek Leader, Eleutherios Venizelos on the Greek, to settle all outstanding difficulties and make a convention between the two countries. Both Greece and Turkey were fortunate to have such far-seeing leaders at the time and Europe was astonished to witness the spectacle of two bitter ex-belligerents settle all their quarrels in a peaceful manner.

The desire of both Kemal Ataturk and Venizelos to bury the past and become friends was also actuated by the knowledge that the first world war had shown that the defence of the Dardanelles was only possible when Salonika and the Aegean Islands were in friendly hands and because the Greek Premier realized

that Greece had little hope of survival unless she had a friendly Turkey by her side. So the Greeks and Turks settled their difficulties by one of the greatest transfers of populations known in modern times, and later when the Balkan Entente was formed it found both Greece and Turkey pledged to come to each other's defence in the case of aggression.

In weighing the importance of President Truman's momentous speech on the future of American policy, it is wise to bear the above facts in mind. For in asking for American help and supplies to these two nations, Truman and his political advisers are only advising a logical and sane foreign policy for the American people. American statesmen like Mr. Henry Wallace may think otherwise but an examination of the present situation in both Greece and Turkey will confirm that the majority of the populations in both countries have welcomed President Truman's dramatic statement as their only hope of survival.

For two thousand years, the Greek people have been haunted by fears of invasion from their northern frontier. The Slav has always been the traditional enemy of the Greek. Throughout the centuries, Bulgaria has been the chief enemy. Even in the days of the Greek Byzantine Empire, the warlike Bulgarians were perpetually threatening Greek or Byzantine independence. The short-lived Bulgarian Empire was a dire menace but it soon collapsed and the famous Byzantine Emperor Basil II, called by his subjects *Bulgaroctone* or "Killer of the Bulgarians" annihilated Bulgaria as a country. But, like all conquerors he could not exterminate the whole Bulgarian people and centuries later they arose to threaten the Greeks once again. In the present century, neighbouring Bulgaria has invaded and attacked Greece three times. Yet to-day, Bulgaria is now protected by the powerful Soviet Union and held up to the world as a democratic country by extreme Left enthusiasts throughout the world whilst Moscow daily condemns the present Greek Government as fascist and undemocratic.

At the end of the recent world conflict, Greece was quite willing to make a sincere attempt to settle her differences with Bulgaria provided this country would make reparations for damage done in Greek territory. Bulgaria, too, would make reparations for damage done in Greek territory. Bulgaria, too, at first seemed inclined to make a definite effort to make amends to Greece. I was in Sofia just after the liberation of the country by the Red Army in 1944, and the Bulgarian Premier, Kimon Georgieff, was loud in his protestations that Bulgaria would now be a model democratic state and that his country would make just amends to Greece. A year later, the entire Bulgarian attitude had changed. Now secure in Soviet Russian support, the same Bulgarian Premier was openly attacking the Greek Government and cries were heard in Sofia that Bulgaria must have the Aegean outlet to the sea and use of Salonika. Why had the Bulgarian attitude changed? The answer is the result of the Greek Revolt which had occurred in December 1944 and ended in the beginning of 1945.

Students of Balkan affairs are just starting to realize that the Greek Revolt

was a turning point in the affairs of the Balkan peninsula. For had the Greek Communists, who controlled the E.A.M. coalition, gained power and driven the British from Greece then the whole of the Balkans would have fallen under Soviet Russian influence. The Greek people were well aware of the tremendous issues at stake but unfortunately world-wide political propaganda from both the Greek Left and Right Parties has obscured the underlying significance of this tragic event.

The Greek Revolt was a fight for power by a highly organized, ruthless minority. Under the façade of the Greek Resistance Movement, known as E.A.M., the Greek Communist Party had achieved the inner direction of the Left Coalition long before the December troubles. This is an important fact as apologists for the Greek Communists and E.A.M. in general are inclined to maintain that it was British Imperialism that provoked the struggle and that E.A.M. were only fighting for their independence and democratic rights. But documents and books are beginning to be published, such as Denys Hamson's *We Fell Among Greeks*, which prove that the Greek Communists were beginning to seize power during the German Occupation as far back as 1943-1944. Moreover, it is known that many British Intelligence reports from British liaison officers in Greece who were fighting beside the Greeks had warned G.H.Q. Middle East that trouble was coming. True to their democratic principles, the British Cabinet under Winston Churchill made repeated attempts to reconcile the growing cleavage between the Greek Communist Movement known as K.K.E. and the other Resistance Parties opposing the Germans and Italians in occupied Greece. At a series of conferences, the British Government and its envoys made earnest attempts to persuade the Greeks to bury their political differences, and at Caserta, just before the Liberation of Greece by British troops, an agreement was signed by General Serafis, Commander-in-Chief of E.L.A.S. (the military body of E.A.M.) and General Zervas, the chief of the opposing Greek Resistance party E.D.E.S. and Field-Marshal Sir Henry Maitland-Wilson by which all the Greek leaders agreed to serve under a British commander in Greece when the country was freed.

The December Revolt occurred because E.A.M. refused to fulfil the Caserta Agreement and carry out the orders given to them by General Sir Ronald Scobie. Indeed, as one of the press correspondents who experienced the Greek Revolt, I am convinced that the E.A.M. leaders were determined to sabotage the Coalition Government formed under M. Papandreu when Greece was liberated and that the extremists in E.A.M. were bent on an armed revolt against the British and the existing Greek Government. In this, the Greek Communists were only following the example set in neighbouring Balkan countries. It is true that Moscow maintained an outwardly neutral attitude during the Greek Revolt but it is significant that the Soviet Russians have openly championed E.A.M. and its leaders ever since their defeat.

The violence and horrors of the Greek Revolt opened the eyes of the Greek

people to the dangers that threatened them and one of the reasons why E.A.M. failed is that this Left Coalition unwisely advocated friendship and alliance with Bulgaria and Yugoslavia both of whom were now openly encouraging a free, autonomous Macedonia with Salonika as its capital—thereby threatening Greek territorial independence. Immediately, the Greek peasant saw the centuries' old menace of the Slavs coming down from the north revived, and he rallied to what he considered the only alternative—the monarchy.

I have dealt at some length with the Greek Revolt as it still casts its shadow across contemporary Greek politics. Like the Spanish Civil War, it left a heritage of bitterness and hate and it is the main reason why no real coalition government formed from all the parties has been possible. Moreover, as the Greek is a fierce individualist by nature he tends towards extremes. The British dream of a moderate centre party in power became an impossibility when faced with the fierce hatreds existing between the Right and extreme Left political parties. Finally, the fact that the future of Greece has now become an international issue has encouraged the various political parties inside Greece to support and play off one great Power against the other.

How then is President Truman's intervention in Greek political affairs beneficial to the Greek people? The answer is that the majority of the Greeks do not want Communism. During the last year, they have proved this twice. First, when the Greek General Elections were held under Allied supervision and secondly when the plebiscite on the King's return was held last September. Foreign sympathizers of the Greek Left parties are inclined to believe that the Greeks did not support E.A.M. because they were coerced and bullied into voting for the Centre and Right parties. Any foreign resident in Greece knows that this is not the truth. The majority of the Greeks voted for the present Government and the return of King George II of the Hellenes because they saw that it was the only alternative to a Communist-controlled Government which would surrender the country to Soviet Russian influence and institute régimes similar to those now existing in neighbouring Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and in Rumania. Despite the failings of the present Greek Government, it is a free popularly elected government and it does represent the will of the majority of the Greeks. Freedom of speech and freedom of the press still exist in Greece and this cannot be said of any other Balkan country to-day.

Apart from political differences inside Greece, the main problem facing the Greek nation is economics, and it is here that the United States can play a leading rôle in organizing and restoring the country's shattered national economy. Already UNRRA, under the able leadership of an American, Buell M. Maben, has done miracles. The scourge of malaria has been almost wiped out; Greek agriculture is on the road to recovery, and UNRRA has done a great deal to raise the level of public health. It has long been the belief of competent British and American observers in Greece that if the national economy of the country can be restored then the threat of communism will vanish. Only the

United States has the funds to help Greece's economic recovery and this is why the Greeks as a whole have welcomed President Truman's demand for aid to Greece. Recently Communist propaganda in Greece has been trying to stir up discord between Greece and Turkey. The E.A.M. leaders in public speeches throughout the country made repeated demands for the return of Eastern Thrace to Greece although it is part of Turkish territory. The extreme Left press in Athens has also been active in trying to discredit the Turks in the eyes of the Greek people. "Turkey did not fight in the war", "Turkey is a re-actionary power", etc. Indeed, the Turkish Ambassador to Greece, M. Ruchef Esren Unaydin, told me last year: "Our only enemy in Greece is E.A.M." Fortunately, this Communist attempt to divide the two countries has not succeeded. During the last year, there have been many exchanges of goodwill between the two nations and there is a growing trade between Greece and Turkey. Moreover, the Greek people, weakened by the recent struggle, regard the neighbouring Turkish Army as a barrier against possible aggression from the north.

Turkey, ever sensitive to the internal affairs of her neighbours, greeted the Greek General Elections and the result of the plebiscite with relief. Although the political situation inside Turkey is in direct contrast to that existing in Greece the Turkish Government has long appreciated the fact that an E.A.M. government in Athens would mean the end of the Greek-Turkish friendships, built up with such care by Kemal Ataturk and Venizelos.

Unlike the Greeks, the Turkish people are disciplined by nature and by tradition. Despite all the support of Moscow, Communism has found little support in Turkey for here Soviet Russian agents had to fight the results of one of the greatest social revolutions of modern times. Like the Soviet Union, the Turkish Republic was born out of the disintegration of a great empire. When the great Turkish patriot, Kemal Ataturk, founded his new republic in 1923, he and his collaborators set to work to remove all the social injustices and bad organization which had brought about the downfall and defeat of the Ottoman Empire. The Kemalist régime introduced as sweeping reforms as those made by Lenin in Soviet Russia. The power of the Moslem religious leaders was broken, Turkish women were freed and made the equal of men, all Turkey's main industries were nationalized and the great estates broken up and distributed amongst the peasants. Kemal Ataturk always maintained that his revolution had been made so that modern Turkey should belong to the Turkish people. In founding his new political party he called it the People's Party for he declared that it must represent the will and desire of the entire Turkish nation. Sweeping the whole Turkish nation along with him, he raised the cry: "Turkey for the Turks" and he made every Turk feel that he had a stake in his country's future.

At the same time, Ataturk pursued a wise and prudent foreign policy. To-day, it is ironic to recall that his first foreign alliance was made with the neighbouring Soviet Union. A pact of friendship was signed between Kemal

Ataturk and Lenin by which all outstanding differences between the two countries were declared settled. An article of this pact agreed that the districts of Kars and Ardihan should remain part of Turkey and yet last year these two districts were claimed by Moscow as part of the price for the renewal of this very treaty! At the same time, the Turkish leader decreed that Turkish foreign policy must aim at friendship with all Turkey's neighbours, and that once the Dardenelles question was settled by the Montreux Convention the modern Turkish Republic should have no territorial ambitions. Ataturk also saw that friendship with Great Britain was vital if the new republic was to survive and he laid the foundations of the present Anglo-Turkish Alliance. This foreign policy has been continued by Ataturk's successor, President Ismet Inönü, and still remains the basis of the whole direction of Turkish Foreign Policy. Indeed, Turkey has every desire to remain on friendly terms with her great Soviet Russian neighbour and during the autumn of 1939, the Turkish Foreign Minister, Shukru Saradjoglou, visited Moscow and signed the Turkish-Russian Non-Aggression Pact which was in force throughout the whole war.

However, although Turkey remained neutral in the recent world conflict, it was costly neutrality. This is one of the reasons why the country needs American help. The Turks maintain that it was the continued mobilization of their army throughout the war that stopped Hitler from attacking them and driving down towards the Middle East. In 1939, the Turkish Government mobilized the Turkish forces—over one million men and they have been kept so ever since. When one considers that the country only has a total population of eighteen million, it can be realized what a drain on the national economy so great a mobilization of the man-power has been—indeed, the cost of the army takes half the yearly national budget.

To-day, the Turkish Government would like to demobilize its army as the country is still mainly agricultural and needs workers badly but the recent threatening attitude of Moscow and the troubled state of the Balkans and the Middle East have made such a decision impossible. Apart from the heavy burden of maintaining a great army, Turkey has also felt the consequences of the present world-wide economic difficulties.

Since the war, Turkey has re-orientated her whole foreign trade. To-day, she sells about half her yearly exports to Great Britain and the United States and the recent fuel crisis in this country has already had its repercussions in Turkish commercial circles. Faced with the crisis in British affairs, Turkey needs American financial help if she is to balance her already over-burdened national budget. Also, the Turkish Government need machinery and materials which can only be obtained from the United States at the present time. This applies also to the Turkish State Railways which need re-equipping and improving if they are going to prove efficient in case of defence. At the moment, the main Turkish lines running to the frontiers are extremely vulnerable and need new engines and rails if they are to be used by a large modern army.

Another reason why Turkey needs American help is that the war checked the progress of the Kemalist Revolution. As with the Five Year Plan in neighbouring Soviet Russia, the great social reforms initiated by Kemal Ataturk are not all finished. Most of Turkey's main industries are already nationalized but much still remains to be done. For example, Turkey is at present short of coal despite the fact that the great coal-mines at Zonguldak are amongst the richest in this part of the world. But in order to make these coal-mines produce the maximum of coal, Turkey requires new machinery and equipment which can only be obtained from the United States. One of Turkey's main exports is tobacco and here again America is the chief buyer.

Economics apart, there remains the question of Turkey's political situation. President Truman in his speech to Congress emphasized that Turkish independence and democracy was in danger. Can one regard modern Turkey as a democracy? Soviet Russia says "No" but an examination of the internal situation in the country will show that despite many handicaps democracy is growing in this country which was once known as one of the most traditional and feudal in the whole of Eastern Europe. When Kemal Ataturk founded his republic he realized that it would take time to teach the Turkish people the meaning of real democracy and so instituted only one political party, although he let it be known that a real opposition was desirable in any true democratic state. Even during his lifetime, he experimented with an opposition party but it was a failure. However, his collaborator and successor, President Ismet Inönü, has fulfilled his wishes and last year, the Turkish Republic experienced its first free elections with a genuine opposition party which now has seats in the Turkish National Assembly.

Judged by Anglo-Saxon standards, Turkish democracy may still have many weaknesses but there is no doubt that the Turkish Republic is easily the most progressive and modern state in the Middle East and should with encouragement emerge as a good example of how democratic government can be adapted to an Eastern people. Turkish youth has been trained in Anglo-Saxon methods of government, science, and education. Each year hundreds of Turkish students are sent to study in either Great Britain or the United States and many of these young men have already shown outstanding ability. Modern Turkey turns westwards and not towards the East. This is another reason why President Truman's insistence on the need to help the Turkish people has been received with gratitude throughout Turkey.

A year ago, the Turks were seriously alarmed by the growing menaces of Moscow. A fiercely proud and nationalistic people, they were ready to die fighting for their independence and freedom but being realists they knew that they had little hope of survival if Turkey was attacked by the Soviet Union. Moreover, the prospect looked menacing. On their northern frontier, Bulgaria, always a hereditary enemy was well-armed and under the protection of the Soviet Union. Persia, another neighbour, seemed weak and ready to bow

before the might of the Red Army. In Syria, Communist agents were agitating the Armenians and the Syrians against the Turkish Republic. More dangerous still, reports reached Ankara that the Kurds along their south-eastern frontiers were being organized to revolt and that Moscow sponsored the idea of a Kurdish Republic allied to the Soviet Union. Only Greece remained an ally and friendly neighbour. It looked as if Moscow was deliberately trying to beat Turkey into submission by the subtle method of encirclement.

To-day, the open support of the United States has given Turkey new hope. Despite the insinuations of Soviet Russian propaganda that America only wants to help Turkey for commercial reasons and to impose American imperialism over the country, the average Turk believes that both Britain and the United States are the only two countries that can help Turkey to complete her great scheme of nationalization and the fulfilment of Kemal Ataturk's dream of an ideal Turkish Republic. Confident in their own strength and unity, Turkey to-day remains a point of stability in a dangerous, unstable Middle Eastern world and it is significant that several neighbouring Arab states have found it worth while to sign pacts of friendship with Turkey. Irak signed such a pact last year and recently King Abdullah of Transjordan, one of the shrewdest of the Arab leaders, journeyed specially to Ankara to sign a similar pact.

Finally, Turkey still remains the strongest military power in this part of the Mediterranean. Although the Turkish army is mainly infantry, it has been trained by British and American military experts. During the war, both the British and Americans built a number of modern airfields in various parts of the country, and although the Turkish air force is small it is highly trained and modern in equipment. The Turks have always been good soldiers and undoubtedly their present army could give an excellent account of itself.

Opponents of President Truman's policy towards Greece and Turkey declare that it will inevitably lead to war. But neither of these two countries has shown any inclination to attack any of its neighbours. On the contrary, both the Greeks and Turks need peace to consolidate their internal situations. Surely, if two countries desire to model their governments on the Anglo-Saxon pattern of democracy, it is only right that the greatest western democracy—the United States—should offer help in moments of crisis?

*(Until recently the author lived in Greece and Turkey and worked as the Balkan correspondent of a daily newspaper.)*

## THE ANATOMY OF PEACE.

BY W. R. INGE

A MANIFESTO which has sold by the hundred thousand in the United States, which has been published in Argentina, Brazil, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Hungary, India, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and which has been earnestly recommended by many eminent men including Albert Einstein and Thomas Mann, must be either an important contribution to political thought or an eloquent expression of what men of good will are thinking all over the world. Emery Reves's *The Anatomy of Peace*\* fulfils both these conditions.

The thesis may be stated shortly in the author's own words:

The existing system of sovereign nation-States, accepted and upheld to-day by capitalists and socialists, individualists and collectivists, all groups alike, constitutes the insurmountable obstacle to all progress, to all social and economic efforts, that bars all human progress on any lines.

The political framework of our world with its seventy or eighty nation-States is an insurmountable obstacle to free industrial progress, to individual liberty, and to social security.

The argument is summarized in the paragraphs which follow, after which I shall venture on a few doubts and criticisms.

The industrial revolution has brought a social and political change without parallel in human history. Our political and social conceptions are still Ptolemaic; the world in which we live is Copernican.

Capitalism and socialism have both failed. Free enterprise, free trade and free competition were the economic corollary of political liberty. This system, "a most promising departure, was halted, disrupted and strangled" when the United States and Germany decided that free trade was no doubt the right policy for the economically strongest nation, but that they wished to satisfy their own needs, to build up their production, and to have a surplus for export. The result was a system of warring national economies guided by political rather than economic interests. This is trade warfare, under which economic freedom is a farce. Planned economy, however controlled, leads to dictatorship and destruction of liberty. The clash between industrialism and nationalism leads to the domination of the individual by the State. Besides this cause of failure, many champions of liberty failed to recognize that liberty can only be protected by law. Unregulated freedom defeats itself.

The chapter on the failure of socialism is very interesting in its acute diag-

nosis of the Russian revolution. This was not so much a socialist revolution as a national rising in a politically backward country, which has created something very different from socialism. It did not establish either economic equality or social justice. Least of all did it carry out the programme honestly desired by Marx and Lenin, according to which, as soon as class-distinctions were levelled, the State would "wither away." At present in Russia gradations in wealth and power are as pronounced as in any capitalist country; a new *bourgeoisie* has come into being. The Soviet State has developed, not towards democracy, but towards absolute State control. Far too much importance is attached to the ownership of the means of production. Management in any case tends to be impersonal; the salaried manager, not the manufacturer nor the shareholder nor the bureaucrat, directs the business. It is also untrue that a "redistribution" of the national income could produce anything but universal poverty. It is interesting to recall that Lenin in 1917 declared that "we set ourselves the ultimate aim of destroying the State, i.e. every organized and systematic violence." "Where the State exists there is no freedom. When there is freedom there will be no State." Nothing can be more contrary to what has actually happened. The achievements of Soviet Russia, which are considerable, have no more to do with socialism than those of Napoleon's marshals. Revolutions usually bring to the front able and energetic men in the prime of life. Meanwhile, the communist bodies in foreign countries have become merely the instruments of Russia's nationalist policy, which aims solely at strengthening the position of Russia as a nation-State. The author concludes that socialism by itself does not raise the material standard of the workers, nor does it secure for them a higher degree of political and economic freedom. Both capitalism and socialism are now dominated by nationalism, the enemy of progress and happiness.

Under the influence of nationalism, all the nations are travelling along the same road, the road to Fascism and serfdom. In some countries democratic and liberal political principles have been openly repudiated, and a new creed, which proclaims the State as the ultimate goal of human activity, has been advocated. The Marxian theory that communism is the natural result of capitalism has proved to be false. Only in Russia, which had never been a capitalist society, has communism been established by revolution, though about a dozen capitalist societies have become Fascist. The only existing communist country has evolved into a totalitarian Fascist State. Socialism and capitalism now look much like each other. There are many socialist features in capitalist countries, and many capitalist features in the most socialist country. The Fascist movement, opposed alike to socialism, democracy and Christianity, has spread over the globe. When Huey Long was asked whether the United States would become Fascist, he replied: "Surely, but we shall call it anti-Fascism." The Russians call it anti-Fascism, and their self-deluded admirers in other countries believe them.

\* Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d. Penguin Books. 1s.



The Fascist doctrine of the deified State was proclaimed by Mussolini in the *Encyclopedia Italiana*: "Liberalism denied the State in the interest of the individual. Fascism reaffirms the State as the embodiment of the individual. For the Fascist everything is in the State; nothing human or individual exists outside the State; even less, nothing has any value. The State is the creation of right."

The real conflict of our age is between industrialism and nationalism. Within the nation-State the evolution towards Fascism is inevitable. We are moving straight towards Fascism; to a large extent we are there already. Fascism is the inescapable result of the conflict between industrialism and nationalism at their saturation point within the framework of a sovereign nation-State.

Mr. Reves thinks that treaties are always futile, because they are never kept. The only instrument which can preserve peace is law—law which is recognized as superior to the free decisions of any independent State. A fatal weakness of treaties is that they always try to freeze things as they are, and to make changes impossible except through war. But law is 'dynamic'; it can adopt necessary changes. The author quotes a fine utterance of Winston Churchill in 1930, in which after lamenting that "Europe is organized on a purely nationalistic basis," he added, "no one can suppose that this is going to last."

People speak scornfully of the 'super-State.' But the nation-State has become a super-State. We are called upon periodically to sacrifice everything for sheer survival. We are not free when we may be called upon at any moment to kill and be killed, when we have to waste all our resources on the tools of war, when freedom of speech is curtailed by the censorship, and when taxation and inflation destroy all our savings. It is ironical that nation-States were created to safeguard the very liberties of which they have deprived us. Peace is possible only if the relations of States are regulated by a higher sovereign authority embracing all of them. Force without law cannot prevent war.

The fetish of self-determination has multiplied sovereign States, and within twenty years nationalism has devoured all its children. "All the new nations have been conquered and enslaved."

The reader is sure to ask whether there is the slightest chance of existing Governments consenting to a limitation of their powers. Can we, for example, imagine Mr. Molotov refraining from exercising his favourite veto upon any such proposal? The author has no such hope. His object is to prove that unless the nations consent to an agreement of this kind, which he refuses to call a surrender of their liberty, nothing can avert a third world-war, from which civilization would not recover. It is useless, he protests, to call his argument impractical. A practical man, said Disraeli, is a man who practises the errors of his fathers. We in England have gone to war again and again to preserve the balance of power. The balance of power can maintain peace only as long as power is *not* in the balance. The chief reason why peace was so seldom broken in the nineteenth century was that British naval supremacy was un-

challenged, and that we had no territorial ambitions, at any rate in Europe. But imperialism generally arises from a desire for security rather than from mere land-hunger. Security however means that our rivals must not be secure; hence the fatal competition in armaments, and the wish to erect a *cordon sanitaire* round our frontiers. We seem to be on the verge of a new epoch of empire-building, of aggregations larger and more powerful than ever before. For the first time in history the conquest of the world by a single power is a possibility. We have to choose between a unification of the world by force, by conquest, or by the acceptance of a super-national law. The happier solution does not seem so impossible when we consider the harmony of such polyglot nations as Switzerland, or the ease with which immigrants from all countries become loyal and peaceable citizens of the United States. The author thinks it would be a misfortune to break up such a polity as the British empire, which has solved some of the problems. The multiplication of small independent nation-States is a step in the wrong direction.

Mr. Reves does not underrate the danger: "The fight for liberty will have to be fought anew from the very beginning. It will be infinitely harder than it was two centuries ago. For we have to destroy tremendously strong, sacrosanct, mechanical institutions. Those who fight for the lost freedom of man will be persecuted by the nation-States more cruelly than were our forefathers by the absolute monarchs." "The institution must be erected before we can demand loyalty to it." But an institution which can give security, peace and happiness will win loyalty—if only it can be given a chance.

The thesis of this book is very much like that of Arnold Toynbee in his *A Study of History*.\* European anarchy must be ended, and it can be ended only in one of two ways—by agreement or by a knock-out blow by the strongest power, that is, by Russia, since Germany has gambled and lost. Toynbee has not made it clear which he considers the more probable. The very strength of nationalism perhaps makes world-conquest almost impossible. Asia and Africa are in revolt against European domination, and we, at any rate, are accepting the new situation. Mr. Reves calls Russia and America the most "virulently imperialistic" of nations. This is patently unfair to the United States, which does not keep Canada and Mexico in trepidation, though the annexation of both would undoubtedly be possible. It remains to be seen whether Russia aims at the domination of two continents. Expansion has been steadily pursued by all Russian Governments since the first Czars, and there is no reason to think that the present rulers are more pacific than the old. But they do not at present want war with any great power, and history seems to show that though Russian armies fight magnificently when they are defending their own soil, they are much less formidable when they are invading other countries. The situation is dangerous, but I do not think it is hopeless. Moreover, the only example of a durable world-empire in history is not encouraging

\* Oxford University Press.

to militarists. The Romans established relative peace and prosperity round the Mediterranean for two hundred years. At the end of that time there were very few Romans left.

In reading almost any American book (Mr. Reves however is now a British subject) we have to remember that on the other side of the Atlantic democracy is a fetish invested incongruously with semi-divine honours, whose name is to be mentioned with reverence. It is bad manners to smile at our neighbours when they are at their devotions, and Mr. Reves has shown by his severe judgment on American foreign policy that he does not think democracies immune from territorial ambition. Such different statesmen as Mirabeau and Salisbury have given emphatic expression to the opposite opinion. But the ballot-box is not a Urim and Thummim for ascertaining the will of God. No Christian can expect to see the largest crowd gathered round the narrow gate. Democracy is only an experiment in government, which is accepted without much enthusiasm by the north-western group of European nations and their offshoots beyond the seas. The assumption in this book that the super-national governments must be democratic would not matter if the author had not said that no nation must be allowed to choose its form of government. This interference would be absolutely fatal to his scheme.

There is one important question which the author has not considered. He says: "Free trade without free migration is an economic absurdity." Does he wish to allow free migration? A Japanese gentleman once called upon me in London and said: "I believe you are a strong supporter of the League of Nations?" "I used to be. I began with faith and went on with hope. Now there is nothing left but charity." "If we disarm and join the League, shall we be allowed to settle in half-empty countries like California and Australia?" "I am afraid you will not." "We shall be kept out by force as we are now?" "Yes." "Then why should we join the League?" The people of those countries are convinced that if Asiatics were allowed free entry, there would soon be no white men left. That is the Yellow Peril as understood by C. H. Pearson and Rudyard Kipling. I can see no reason why under super-national law the nations should not be allowed to close their frontiers. But few nations with a high standard of living have resisted the temptation to import foreigners to do the rough work. The Americans did so until the advocates of the Nordic theory and their own labour leaders induced them to reverse their policy. In France before the war there were three million aliens, most of them manual labourers. Only half the coal miners were Frenchmen. Our working class are strongly opposed to this expedient, though the miners seem now to hate their job. The question of free trade is connected with this problem. In the last century we were not afraid of foreign competition; but when Japanese stockings were offered for sale, in Manchester of all places, at three-pence a pair, the advantages of free trade were not so apparent. Are we to

acquiesce in a universal levelling down of wages to something like the coolie rate? That would not suit us at all. If on the other hand the nations were still allowed to protect their own industries, should we not be still engaged in the economic nationalism which the author rightly regards as a form of war? If violence is prohibited, and trade free, the future would seem to belong to nations where the workmen give the best value for their wages.

Mr. Reves adds a postscript about the atomic bomb. It is possible that this hideous invention may convince the civilized world that war must be the next abomination to go. But I do not think that it will be used in the next war, if unhappily there is another war. It would not give the Germans much satisfaction to destroy London if they knew, as they would, that Berlin would be wiped off the map on the following day. It is not true that barbarous weapons are always used. Homer mentions poisoned arrows, but in classical times they were not used by the Greeks or Romans. Expanding bullets have been banned. Poison gas was not used, by agreement, in the late war. We may only hope that the bomb will not be used against nations which are unable to retaliate. The Italians did use poison gas against the Abyssinians.

This book contains no programme, and the immense difficulties are honestly acknowledged. It is an earnest and eloquent appeal to all men and women of good will to realize the appalling danger in which civilization stands as the result of senseless international rivalry. All that makes life worth living is at stake. I do not agree that the abolition of armaments would be useless. Preparations for war are always competitive, and the army chiefs are always on the look-out for the time to strike. "It is always a mistake to delay when you are ready," says Lucan. "The sight of means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done." The mass of the people in every country desire only to live in peace and quietness; but when the freedom of their nation is threatened, every other consideration is thrown aside. This kind of patriotism is not ignoble, and unhappily it takes only one to make a quarrel. But Mr. Reves is right. War between the sharers of the same civilization is an atrocious anachronism, and it threatens our very existence. "Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another?" We would make every sacrifice to preserve our liberty, but among the things which we are sacrificing is liberty itself.

## THE PRESS IN THE PROVINCES

BY NEWSMAN

A free and independent Press, a Press, that is, which is free to say what it chooses, subject only to the restraints of decency and the law of libel, and which at the same time is representative of the full variety of opinion and of interest throughout the country, has come to be an indispensable instrument of popular education and of popular government . . . A free Press, again, has ever been and ever will remain alike the bulwark and the sure sign of public liberty. It is not merely that it is in the modern State the necessary means of political propaganda and political agitation, without which no active and healthy political life can exist at all, but only through it can the individual obtain the effectual expression of his thought and make his due and perhaps essential contribution to the life and energy of the nation.

THESE words form part of a leading article written in April 1928, by C. P. Scott in the fifty-eighth and last year of his editorship of *The Manchester Guardian*. The venerable leader of British journalism was moved by what was going on around him to ask how far the increasing concentration of newspaper ownership in a few hands was likely to weaken or destroy this instrument. Unity, he believed, spelt sameness. The variety, the local colour and the sense of individual responsibility which were the very life of a healthy press must therefore tend to fade and perhaps ultimately to disappear.

Less than twenty years later the Government of the day has acceded to a demand from the House of Commons that a Royal Commission should be set up to inquire into the progress of that aggregation and concentration of power which disturbed the editor of *The Manchester Guardian*. He wrote at the height of the first Lord Rothermere's bid for provincial monopoly. The country was to be covered by a network of evening papers modelled on the London *Evening News*, which already had the largest circulation of any evening paper in Great Britain. The provincial press, Rothermere declared, had become fossilized, and the *Daily Mail* published leading articles and maps to underline the blessing of the new dispensation which he was preparing for it. Scott was by no means the only man who saw danger in the proposed chain-gang, but ironically it was the Berry brothers, for altogether different reasons, who did most to defeat the plan. They had already entered the field as rivals for the dominance of the press outside London. Two years of internecine warfare followed. Papers up and down the country were bought for far more than they were worth, pawns in the magnates' game. Business caution at last reasserted itself, and an armistice was declared; the plunder was divided and agreement reached that there should

be no encroachment on each other's territory. The British press had moved some way towards trustification but neither the Rothermere programme, nor the Berry programme, had been carried out in its entirety.

Since then, the situation has not altered substantially, though Lord Kemsley, to whom, when the Berrys themselves broke up in 1937, the provincial newspapers in the combine passed, has since added to his properties, and Sir Harold Harmsworth, a cousin of the second Lord Rothermere, has recently purchased a number of papers in the West of England. Meanwhile other processes have been at work which do not lessen the importance of personality and independence. Taking advantage of the progress of those techniques for appreciating, and affecting, public opinion which have come with a greater knowledge of psychology and its application, the national newspapers have penetrated more deeply into the country, not only from London, but, by means of provincial editions, from Manchester, Glasgow and now Edinburgh, where the *Daily Mail* has started to publish, as well. The syndication of news and editorial features on the American model is on the increase. The newer instruments for influencing public opinion, the cinema and the radio, are dominated, in the case of the first, by standardized products created, in Britain as well as in the United States, by what is virtually a single source, and in the case of the second, by the constitutional necessity of acting merely as purveyor and not as interpreter. All these considerations have made it more urgent than ever before that what the American editor, Bruce Bliven, calls "countervoices" should be maintained and protected.

The nature of London's preeminence in the newspaper business of Great Britain, one which, while it reflects the general centralization of British institutions, is unparalleled in any country in the world, may be illustrated, simply, in two ways. First: half the employees and more than half the total gross and net output of the industry are centred within a mile of Ludgate Circus. Second: the total sales of all the provincial morning papers are less than those of either the *Daily Express* or the *Daily Mirror*, and those of all the provincial evening papers are rather less than equal to those of the *Daily Express* and *Daily Mirror* combined. On the other hand, there are 124 morning, evening and Sunday papers published outside London, (and not in Eire or the Channel Islands), and 1,288 weekly papers, including those of Greater London. These are impressive totals but numbers by themselves are not so much an indication of strength as of its diffusion. Many of these papers, both dailies and weeklies, live a precarious existence financially, or have little to commend them editorially. And the figures, of course, include some eighty-five members of large combines.

Nevertheless, the 1939-1945 war improved the position overall of the provincial press. The dailies were less affected by emergency transport conditions. The weeklies, despite the hardship caused by call-ups (one small proprietor-editor acted as his own reporter and proof-reader, and assisted his printing staff of five youths between eighteen and fourteen years to set and make up), not

only kept but increased their goodwill. Their essential service, the publication of local news in full, gained importance as war-workers were moved about the country and troops were drafted overseas. The weekly newspaper became a valued link with home town or district. Moreover, with the setting up of new local authorities, such as the County Wartime Agricultural Executives, the columns of the weekly newspaper became an almost indispensable medium for the recording of Orders and Regulations, and for their interpretation. Again, as scarcities of all kinds arose, the classified advertisements, and especially their "For Sale" and "Wanted" columns, were eagerly studied in most households. "Smalls" often accounted for between thirty and thirty-five per cent. of advertising space during the war years in the smaller provincial papers where about half the contents were devoted to advertisements, and "smalls", of course, are very much the most profitable form of advertising.

Once the habit of taking in a local newspaper is formed, it is not readily broken, indeed, when the period of free sales began in the autumn, some district journals reported forty to fifty per cent. increases. The average rise, over the first few weeks, was over sixteen per cent. for weeklies and seven per cent. for dailies, amounting, in numbers of copies, to an overall increase of more than four million. Generally then the local newspaper has enhanced both its prestige and its revenue as a result of the war; one proof of this is to be found in the avidity with which a competitor, or an outside group interest will bid for these small properties when they come into the market.

The pattern of ownership in the provinces in 1947 is a comparatively simple one. To begin with there are the "combines", with their headquarters in London; Northcliffe Newspapers belonging to Lord Rothermere, which covers three principal areas, in the east around Hull, Grimsby and Lincoln, in the Midlands round Stoke, Derby and Leicester, and in the west round Swansea, Cheltenham, Gloucester and Bristol; the Harmsworth Group, centred in Plymouth and Exeter, and covering virtually all Devon and Cornwall; the Kemsley Group, which spreads from Aberdeen to Cardiff with a concentration in Yorkshire and Northumberland; the Westminster Press, which is particularly strong in the Midlands, round Birmingham and Nottingham, and in the North-East; and Provincial Newspapers, which has an outpost in Edinburgh and another in Northampton, but for the rest is pivoted on Lancashire.

Next there are the "groups", whose properties may be extensive but are on a local and not a national basis. Of these, Thomson-Leng Publications, Dundee, who publish two papers daily, and three weekly, and Southern Newspapers, with evening papers in Bournemouth, Southampton and Weymouth are the most important; more characteristic of the "group" organization, however, are Tillotsons Newspapers, of Bolton, who publish one evening paper and six substantial weeklies, covering a single industrial area, and Northamptonshire Publishing Company, with, again one evening paper and four weeklies covering the industrial part of the county.

Then there is the "series" of newspapers, which is usually an amalgamation of a number of very small properties which may or may not keep their own titles, but whose separate existence is still recognized by a special "slip" page. A typical example of the prosperous "series" is the *Kent Messenger*, which has absorbed seven papers in towns within easy reach of Maidstone, and by publishing different editions for each town, dominates a large part of the county.

Finally, there are the "independents", who own allegiance to no one and are interested neither in buying other people's properties nor in selling their own. Here is to be found the moral and intellectual strength of the British provincial press; here is to be found national and even international reputation, not merely a district one. Here, in Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, Glasgow, Edinburgh, is the real challenge to the trusts and to London. Here are editors, and managers, to whom a newspaper appears not as a piece of property, but as a public office. And the spirit and the virtue of independence are shared by newspapers in the small towns as well as in the cities, by the *Kidderminster Shuttle* and the *Falmouth Packet*, the *Cambuslang Pilot*, the *Impartial Reporter* of Enniskillen and *Udgorn* of Pwllheli, papers whose very names are a symbol of the richness and virility in British journalism which still defy the "gramophone chains" and the would-be monopolists.

Despite the improvement of communications between London and the country in the last twenty years, and the elaborate system of newspaper trains now in existence, a direct and measurable relationship still exists between this independence and the distance from London at which a paper is produced. Thus in the Home Counties and South-Eastern England only one morning and one evening paper are published, and both in Brighton, which has a remarkably flourishing newspaper life of its own, with six papers published inside the borough. Even the most successful weeklies in and near London, such as the *South London Press*, the *Essex Chronicle* (whose proprietor was once assistant editor of the *Evening Standard*), and the *Kent Messenger* are close imitations, in style and make-up, of the "nationals". For instance, the *Essex Chronicle* reporters sign their stories—still an almost unheard of thing in weekly journalism—and pictures and 'diary' smack of Shoe Lane. On the outer fringe of the Home Counties, and still inside the commuting belt, there are evening papers at Swindon and Oxford, both belonging to the Westminster combine, and both, since Charles Fenby left the *Oxford Mail* for Hulton and *The Leader*, colourless as though their nearness to London had drained the life out of them. Incidentally, there would seem to be opportunity, if supplies of news-print improve, for more evening papers in this area, particularly in the coast resorts which have to exist on early editions of the three London papers.

Further west, noticeably at Southampton, the thrall of London seems less intimidating. The *Southern Daily Echo* is an original and intelligent paper with a leader-writer, Gordon Sewell, who has been quoted and praised by Mr.

Churchill, and an editor, C. F. Carr, who has been the moving spirit behind the recent formation of the Guild of British Newspaper Editors. If the Guild succeeds in reasserting the pre-eminence of the editorial function ("editor and manager should march hand in hand, the first, be it well understood, just an inch or two in advance," said C. P. Scott), it will have performed a most valuable service.

Still further west, one moves into country where London may as well be a thousand as a hundred miles away, and the solemn, massive weekly papers are, if anything more important, with their news of crops and the doings of an almost feudal society than the local dailies. The *Western Daily Press* (Bristol), solid but old-fashioned, has an editor of over seventy. The *Bristol Evening Post* is a pleasant but not very enterprising paper, while its colleague, *The World*, has a news-editor who came from the *Daily Mail* and sets a metropolitan tone. *The Bath Chronicle*, another evening paper, is nicely printed and shares the leisurely, complacent outlook of its city. Of the weeklies the *Western Gazette*, which covers the whole of Somerset from Yeovil, is probably the most formidable. In many ways it has changed little since 1760—the files for that date are shown to the visitor with commendable pride. Another influential paper is the *Bodmin Guardian*, the centre of the *Guardian* series which covers a large part of East Cornwall for Sir Harold Harmsworth. Its editor, Browning Lyne, has a reputation for sound judgment of local affairs. West Cornwall is also a Harmsworth province, divided between *The West Briton* (Truro), and *The Cornishmen* (Penzance), whose editor, at the age of eighty, was still magnificently writing and signing a two-column leading article until recently. But the outstanding personality in the West of England is undoubtedly J. L. Palmer, editor of the *Western Morning News*, which is published in Plymouth. His position in the Harmsworth hierarchy is important enough to assure him considerable independence. Transparently honest and straightforward in his dealings, he is respected throughout Devon and Cornwall, and his views on foreign as well as on home policy are much quoted. In the Duchy, the *Western Morning News* is often the only daily paper taken.

Over the Bristol Channel, in Wales, the intense and often separatist patriotism of the people is reflected in a great number of small weeklies which proudly label themselves "Independent" or "National". Though the only three daily papers which are published in South Wales, the *Western Mail* and the *South Wales Echo* from Cardiff, and the *South Wales Evening Post* from Swansea, are all "combine", the first two Kemsley and the third Rothermere, and though their circulation is large, their political importance is negligible. Most of the Nonconformist denominations have their own newspapers, and it is in these, and in the crudely printed but fiercely written sheets in the Welsh tongue that the national character expresses itself. The Welsh press is a law unto itself. No "trust" will ever conquer those valleys.

The lamp burns rather low in the Midlands and Eastern England, with the

honorable exception of Birmingham, where the *Post*, though it lacks forceful direction in technical matters, and has changed less than seemed possible when it started to put news on its front page a few months ago, still earns the right to be called a great newspaper, because of its devotion to cultural interests and the independence of its Conservatism in politics. It was a good day, it seems, for Birmingham when Lord Iliffe bought the paper over the heads of a group of local business men, for he has permitted it, and the *Mail*, its stable companion, a freedom of expression which would in all likelihood have been impossible if it had been the property of the manufacturing interests. The other two papers in Birmingham belong to the Westminster Press, and the new editor of *The Gazette*, L. B. Duckworth, a shrewd Yorkshireman, may well turn it into the most distinguished paper in the combine by depending less on the London office, and more on the exertions and enterprise of his own staff. Outside Birmingham there is a fairly vigorous evening newspaper life, partly tied, partly free. It was one of the free papers, and one of the most outstanding in the area, the *Wolverhampton Express and Star*, from which Duckworth went. Its editor, Malcolm Graham, is a good organizer and a strong personality. Nottingham is a freak town for it has four newspapers to serve a quarter of a million population. Two belong to the Westminster Press, and the *Journal*, which used to have Barrie on its staff and Cecil Roberts as editor, still has an occasional literary flavour. The *Guardian* and the *Post* belong to a local printing firm, and are directed towards the business and sporting communities, a curious dichotomy, but one which appears to have financial sanction. In the Eastern Counties the penetration of the nationals is very deep. Both Ipswich and Norwich have independent morning and evening papers which are well-run and have a good editorial tradition. They deserve greater support than they get from the surrounding country. But East Anglia is a forgotten land; its inhabitants are sensitive and touchy about their isolation, and their newspapers seem to reflect the complex, sometimes lapsing into petulance and self-pity.

North of the Trent it is a different story. Here is a population, at any rate in Lancashire, which definitely prefers to read local papers, and even though most of the nation's print in Manchester, their Northern editions are strongly localized. In the palmy days before the war, indeed, they were scarcely recognizable as the same papers as those published in Fleet Street. The *Daily Dispatch*, a Kemsley paper with headquarters in Manchester, has a circulation higher than many of the nationals nevertheless, and support for local papers in Blackburn, Preston and Barrow, even though they do belong to combines, is so strong that their editors are left well alone to get on with the job of making "brass" for their London proprietors. In Liverpool, with its morning and two evening papers, there is no representative of a combine, which is unique for a city of its size. The *Post* has a fine literary heritage, due largely to its late editor, John Macleay, and a first-class Parliamentary correspondence.



It is another of the great independents, even though its circulation falls far short of its evening companion, the *Echo*.

Other prosperous signs of Lancashire's local spirit can be seen in Bolton, in Oldham and particularly in Blackpool, where the Grime family cater for the permanent and floating population with equal facility in the *Evening Gazette*. But the glory of Lancashire is still *The Manchester Guardian*, now under A. P. Wadsworth, which is no less indispensable to the cotton man on its doorstep than to the politician in London, or to internationalists everywhere. Though it has suffered severe and unexpected losses to its staff since C. P. Scott died, and with them has lost some of its force and style, especially in foreign affairs, its voice is still the voice of conscience and conviction, and its London correspondence still a model for all to imitate and none to match.

Across the Pennines, Leeds, Huddersfield and Halifax are now the only centres of home rule for daily papers. The Kemsley influence is as all-pervasive from Newcastle to Sheffield as that of Harmsworth in Devon and Cornwall, and the Kemsley products are of a uniform achromatism. From Leeds, W. L. Andrews, one of the most eminent of contemporary editors, wages a determined battle against uniformity in a rejuvenated *Yorkshire Post*. Though its sense of news values is sometimes curiously naïve and its make-up often muddy and uncouth, the *Post* is essentially a readable paper, with some excellent and original reporters, and Andrews, though he calls himself a Tory, proves in his leading articles that he believes in discussion as a solvent of conflicts, which is fundamentally an article of liberal faith.

Over the border, the situation is very largely a repetition of that in Lancashire. From both Glasgow and Edinburgh the nationals publish Scottish editions which resemble their London prototypes even less than the Manchester editions. In Glasgow, Lord Kemsley has a foothold, but *The Record*, with its forceful line on the need for devolution of Scottish affairs, is not kept so closely in leading strings, and Alistair Dunnett, a writer and humanist with a knowledge of Highland problems and a marked sympathy towards things Gaelic, is the least true to type of Kemsley editors. The pity of Scottish journalism, however, is to be found in *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman*, both, unlike some of their distinguished contemporaries in the South, thoroughly flourishing commercial properties in themselves and not dependent, therefore, on their evening papers to carry them. Neither has the insistent creative conviction of *The Manchester Guardian* or the warm, inquisitive humanity of *The Yorkshire Post*; Dr. Robieson of *The Herald*, and Murray Watson of *The Scotsman* share a mistrust of mystic enthusiasms and valuations, and reflect the national caution in their leading articles. But *The Glasgow Herald* is a paper of style and an expansiveness refreshing in these streamlined days, while *The Scotsman's* general standard of reporting is high, and the ration of its space devoted to correspondence democratically generous.

Both in Northern England and in Scotland the weekly paper thrives not only

on its local intelligence but for its sermon—the word is deliberately chosen—on national affairs. The writers of these leading articles are no mere rearrangers of unfelt phrases, but have an "honest seriousness" which C. E. Montague recognized as having an immense power over British readers. In many parts of Scotland, the daily newspaper habit, for reasons of isolation or economy, has never become strongly entrenched, and there the weekly paper and the B.B.C. are the opinion-forming agents.

The foregoing sketch of the present condition of the provincial press is necessarily incomplete, but from it certain strengths and certain weaknesses emerge. One of the latter has already been stated; the reliance on the profits made by an evening companion has been, and may well be again, when circumstances return to normal, one of the most serious limitations on its economic independence of some of the great provincial morning papers. For instance, it is possible that if Lord Beaverbrook entered the evening newspaper field in Manchester or Liverpool, the result might be the disappearance of *The Guardian* and the *Post*. Another weakness is an ingrained meanness on the part of provincial proprietors towards their editorial staffs. Most first-rate journalists, not content with an artisan's wage, are compelled to look on provincial experience as a stepping stone to London instead of an end in itself. Thirdly, there is antiquated physical form. Respectability in some cases, still demands apparently, as it did in the 'eighties, when R. D. Blumenfeld first came to London, that the paper shall not only be dull, but look dull. Without emulating the exaggerated techniques of Fleet Street, it should be possible for even the smallest country paper to be published in a contemporary manner.

The war, as has been seen, gave the provincial press an opportunity, which remains open at the moment, of preserving the independence which it still enjoys. But it would be too sanguine to suppose that the progress of amalgamation is halted or that, for all the findings of the Ross Commission, large scale ownership will develop no further. It has too much to commend it in these days when the function of a newspaper is enlarged, not to seem more important than having a soul of one's own. "There are papers which will never be sold, which would rather suffer extinction," said C. P. Scott, but his idealism was practical. He took measures to prevent the paper from falling into the enemy hands, and since his death the personal ownership of the family has been renounced in favour of a private trust. The scheme by which *The Manchester Guardian* and the *Manchester Evening News* are administered on the basis that every pound they make shall be applied to the paper's good deserves close examination by all those who believe that a newspaper should be a public service and not an instrument of private power or private profit. For the old enemy, now appearing in the fresh guise of Government-sponsored publications as well as the old trappings of 'cartelism', must, if he is to be routed, be fought shrewdly and with good weapons.



## YOUNG PEOPLE AND EMPLOYMENT

BY G. A. LORD

THE association of the State with the work of finding suitable employment for young people dates from the time when the Board of Trade established Labour Exchanges in 1909. A few education authorities had previously organized schemes for placing school leavers into employment and these authorities resented the assumption of the Board of Trade that it should be regarded as the official department for this work. As a result there was passed in 1910 the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, which gave local education authorities permissive powers to co-operate with the adult Labour Exchange in dealing with juvenile employment. These joint schemes were, generally speaking, far from satisfactory. They were marred by departmental jealousies and subsequent changes had to be made. These were:

- (1) The Ministry of Labour and National Service was made responsible nationally for juvenile employment.
- (2) Local education authorities were given the power under the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1935, to establish Choice of Employment Schemes for their areas and the Ministry of Labour and National Service undertook to contribute a seventy-five per cent. grant towards approved net expenditure. The education authority is wholly responsible for administering the scheme locally and has the power to appoint its own juvenile employment officer.
- (3) Where local education authorities did not avail themselves of these permissive powers the Ministry of Labour established local juvenile advisory committees and representatives of the education authority were included as members of the committee.

The present organization for assisting boys and girls to secure suitable employment leaves much to be desired and it is expected that many important modifications will be made in the near future on the recommendation of the Committee appointed by the Minister of Labour and National Service on the Juvenile Employment Service and presided over by Sir Godfrey H. Ince.

At the present time there are, therefore, two methods of operating juvenile employment schemes throughout England and Wales, either by the local education authority or by the Ministry of Labour and National Service. While the Ministry of Labour headquarters give to their juvenile employment offices some indication of the methods to be adopted, local education authorities have almost complete freedom in arranging for vocational guidance. In conse-

quence, there is a certain amount of variation in the local administrative arrangements, but, in general, the approach to the boy and girl begins during their last year at school. Many schools are supplied with pamphlets and other reading matter describing the principal industries in the district. In some areas, parties of school-leavers are taken to local works and allowed to see manufacturing processes; in others exhibitions of films and slides are given illustrating possible careers in the particular localities.

Following this introduction to industry, the leaver is required to complete a portion of a school leaver's card, in which he indicates his preferences for employment, particulars of his hobbies and recreations, attachment to youth organizations, if any, and of his father's usual occupation. Another portion of the card is completed by his teacher, where particulars are given of his educational abilities and personal trends, together with a broad classification of the type of employment recommended for him. A medical section includes observations of the schools medical officer made at an examination within six months of leaving school. These report cards are then forwarded to the juvenile employment office from which an invitation is later given to the parents to meet the head teacher and the juvenile employment officer at the school in order to discuss the child's career. The fact that over half the parents invited respond to the invitation is signal proof that it is appreciated by them. The attendance of parents varies, as might be expected, according to the type of locality from which the boys and girls come, but the degree of interest exhibited by the head teacher is a very important factor. These interviews afford a splendid opportunity for discussing the child's future. To a large and increasing number of parents this is a problem which causes them much anxiety. The importance which many parents are placing on a right start for their boys and girls is a very encouraging sign and much of this changed outlook may be attributed to the past efforts of juvenile employment officers. The head teachers also appreciate these conferences for it enables contact to be maintained with the parents and through them with former scholars. At the same time the young person is introduced to the juvenile employment officer with whom he will have many contacts on and after entering employment.

There are two chief considerations to the placing of a boy or girl into employment:

- (1) the correct assessment of abilities and aptitudes, home environment, hobbies, etc., and
- (2) an analysis of the actual work to be undertaken in employment.

It has not yet been found practicable to introduce for all school-leavers a sound scientific basis for arriving at a correct assessment, but it is expected that as a result of the implementation of the Education Act, 1944, there will be a much fuller report than hitherto on the work of the child throughout his whole school career. Psychological tests to assist in securing an accurate knowledge of the child are being increasingly used by some local education authorities, but

these tests demand great expenditure of time and require the services of specially trained persons if the results are to be reliable. In consequence, such testing is generally reserved for selecting boys and girls for various forms of apprenticeships or for further training in vocational subjects. One of the future developments in this direction should be the appointment of a teacher on the staff of each school who should have received special psychological training and whose duties would be primarily to study the abilities and aptitudes of each child. Such information is essential, not only for the purpose of giving vocational guidance, but also for directing the child of eleven years plus to the proper type of secondary education.

The scientific analysis of occupations is largely in its infancy. The war, however, necessitated that each citizen should be utilized as far as possible according to his personal abilities and aptitudes, and not only have the Services adopted psychological methods for testing recruits, but they and many large employers of labour have exercised considerable thought in analysing the qualities required in the individual worker to secure the maximum productive effort.

Vocational guidance to be effective must be supplemented by its counterpart—the finding of suitable employment. It is here that many agencies impinge on the work of the Juvenile Employment Bureau. There is seldom an equilibrium between supply and demand. When supply is in the ascendant, parents, relatives, social workers, are all anxious to assist the boy or girl in finding employment, the opportunities of which may not always be suitable for that particular boy. On the other hand, when demand exceeds supply, employers not only use the Bureau to the fullest extent, but issue advertisements, insert notices in their windows, encourage employees to recruit for them, and have even been known to send representatives to canvass from door to door in order to meet their requirements. As a wartime measure the Minister of Labour and National Service introduced the Undertakings (Restriction of Engagement) Order, which required employers in about sixty per cent. of occupations to recruit their labour through a local office of the Ministry. The Order has now been cancelled, but so far as juveniles were concerned it had many advantages and few, if any, disadvantages. It enabled boys and girls to attend the Bureau and feel confident that particulars of the whole of the vacancies in the area were available for them from which to choose. Their freedom of choice was widely extended while the employer himself was able to offer or refuse appointment to anyone who was submitted to him.

The first placing of a boy or girl into employment should be regarded as of prime importance. Admittedly, at the age of fifteen years it is not difficult to make a change if the first situation proves unsuitable, but from an investigation made by the writer it was found, at the end of twelve months after leaving school, that eighty per cent. of the boys and girls who replied to an inquiry had retained their first situation. This percentage may not apply throughout the country but there is every reason to believe that, through the painstaking efforts

of juvenile employment officers over many years, considerable thought is now given both by parents and boys and girls to making the first choice a wise one. But what of the boy and girl who soon become dissatisfied with their work?

During the war years the Essential Work Orders, which required in scheduled undertakings the termination of contracts between employers and work-people to be approved by the Ministry of Labour and National Service, enabled exact information to be obtained on the reasons for the termination of employments. There has been some criticism of the Essential Work Orders, but their application to juveniles had a very steadying and beneficial effect on both employers and young people. The employer was prevented from dismissing a youth without giving to an outside authority an adequate reason for his action, and the youth himself was informed of the reason for his dismissal. This in itself was of great advantage, for previous to the Orders it was quite a common occurrence for an employer to dismiss a youth without giving him any explanation. On the other hand, the youth was prevented from leaving a situation before giving the matter due consideration. In most cases he discussed the matter with the juvenile employment officer and as a result he often withdrew his application for release. Young people are naturally impulsive and many have, on the slightest provocation, left situations offering good prospects of advancement, only to realize afterwards that they had made a serious and perhaps an irremediable mistake.

From a research point of view the Essential Work Orders have been invaluable in enabling fairly accurate information to be obtained from both employers and work-people on the reasons for desiring a change of situation. From an analysis of over 800 such applications received on behalf of juveniles it was found that the principal causes for leaving were industrial and employment conditions (twenty-five per cent.), employment affecting health (twenty per cent.), prospects of better employment (ten per cent.), misconduct (ten per cent.), redundancy (nine per cent.), wages (seven per cent.), home circumstances (4.5 per cent.), inefficiency (3.5 per cent.). Much valuable information on the problem of young people in employment is supplied by a detailed study of several of these headings.

Poor industrial and employment conditions for juveniles were often the result of haphazard recruitment. The foreman was usually responsible for engaging new entrants but, unfortunately, this person is generally selected not for his technical qualities but rather for his personality and drive to ensure maximum production. He is chiefly engaged in controlling adult labour and in most cases appears to have little knowledge of youth. The new entrant is told to perform a certain mechanical operation and after receiving the minimum instruction is required to proceed immediately with that work. Seldom is any explanation given of the type of production undertaken by the firm and the young worker is unable, with his limited knowledge, to realize the essential nature of his particular and often insignificant operation. Only on rare occa-

sions is a boy, on first applying for a situation, shown the factory or work-shop where he will be employed and, in consequence, he has little idea of the type of work upon which he will be engaged. The questions of wages and prospects of training are seldom discussed and the boy who for nine years has received the individual care and attention of the school authorities finds himself bewildered and perplexed by the curt reception given to him on entering industrial life.

Some large firms have realized the advantage to be derived from a gradual introduction of the new entrant into the work-shops. These firms require him to pass through a "reception course" which may occupy one or more weeks. Here are explained the various regulations of the work-shop, the type of article or commodity with which they deal, the various types of production followed, the need for care in operating the machines in order to avoid personal accidents and many other matters which facilitate the transition period.

It has been found too that many ambitious boys soon become disheartened if they are retained by the management on one particular operation over a long period of time while others, not so ambitious, complain most bitterly if they are transferred from one machine to another. Much discontent is created when a boy, once having been promoted to more important work, is required to return temporarily to his former occupation in order to maintain production.

The transition from school to industry increases the working week from twenty-seven and a half school hours to forty-four employment hours and the strain resulting from this drastic and sudden change also affects many boys and particularly girls.

It was rather disturbing to find that twenty per cent. of the applications for release were made on the ground of ill health and at first glance it would appear that industrial conditions are responsible for much sickness among young people. Some industrial processes admittedly affect certain types of individuals more than others but on closer examination it was found that much of the sickness was a continuation of the various health weaknesses which had been prevalent during their school careers.

Misconduct and inefficiency may be considered jointly for they have some bearing on the work of our educational system. The most common forms of misconduct are larceny, insubordination and persistent unpunctuality whilst inefficiency represents inability to perform a certain operation. It must be gratifying both to teachers and educational administrators that so few of the children who have been leaving school at fourteen years of age are unable to perform the work required of them. Thirty years ago complaints were frequently received from employers of labour that the school leaver was insufficiently trained for employment. To-day, one seldom hears that complaint. This may be due primarily to the care which is taken at juvenile employment offices in selecting applicants for situations, but it also emphasizes the fact that the educational foundation laid in the modern secondary schools is sufficient for modern

methods of mass production. Unfortunately, dishonesty, untruthfulness, unpunctuality are failings common both to adults and juveniles and are, therefore, no distinctive problem of juvenile employment.

Wage rates often create considerable unrest among juveniles. Not only does a high wage encourage some parents to sacrifice the future prospects of their children, but in other cases the boy who is receiving day-work rates frequently becomes unsettled when he finds that his friend, perhaps working at the same firm, is earning on piece-work fifty to 200 per cent. more than he is. Piece-work rates can only be applied where the products and methods of production are of a standardized nature. There is no doubt that this method of remuneration does definitely increase the productive effort. But the fixing of the price for every operation is rather a delicate matter. Should the price originally be fixed too high and require adjustment there is much dissatisfaction on the part of the worker, whilst if one employee earns more than another for the same amount of effort, jealousy and complaints are frequent. Again, many complaints are received from piece-rate workers when through lack of materials, temporary breakdown, and other causes, they cannot be fully employed. If they are asked to accept day-work rates on some other type of work until the shortage is rectified they frequently object. Piece-work rates tend to emphasize the wage rather than the craft.

There is no doubt that the differing wages in the various occupations have prevented many boys and girls from making a wise choice of employment. The extension of the school-leaving age to fifteen years and the establishment of county colleges at which young people under eighteen years of age will be required to attend on two half-days per week will reduce eventually the existing supply of juvenile labour by about forty per cent. Without some measure of control there will be a scramble by employers for the remaining sixty per cent.; wages, being competitive, will rise; the least progressive work will be baited with the highest wage to catch the indiscriminating juvenile. In other words, the advantages to be gained by youth from an extended education under the recent Education Act may be countered to a large extent by economic conditions.

One of the vital problems of juvenile employment is the question who should be responsible for ensuring that boys and girls receive adequate industrial training. Division of labour in modern methods of production has developed to an extraordinary degree. A boy in a foundry may be wholly employed in shovelling and riddling sand; in a furniture work-shop only one cabinet maker is required to twenty or thirty semi-skilled operatives; at a clothing factory, even the pressing of a pair of trousers is divided into several operations, each of which is performed by separate individuals. The repetitive operation exists in most of our methods of production and one can hardly be surprised at the increasing numbers of boys and girls who prefer to become lorry drivers' mates and shop assistants respectively to the more prosaic work of mass production. A knowledge of their daily work enables one to appreciate why they are averse to any

form of activity in their leisure periods. They have been mechanical in their employment and they desire to be mechanical in their leisure. They prefer the cinema to the club.

The industrial greatness of Britain was not built upon such training. It was the widely-trained and skilful craftsmen who obtained our fair reputation for excellency in manufacture. Although the advent of machinery has revolutionized the methods of production, there is still need, as the war indicated, for men and women well skilled in the various trades. Every form of production needs them but industrialists have been living in recent years on our reserves. The method was to get quick returns and it is only recently that the far-seeing employer has realized that so far as young people are concerned quick return methods do not always pay. The question of training in skill is a vital one for the State, for the war has taught us that skill is the foundation of the real wealth of the nation. The State ought, therefore, to insist that youth in industry be regarded not primarily as a producer but as a trainee for future production. Every boy and girl of suitable ability should have training in the various types of work-shop production of his trade during the whole period that he is required to attend part-time day classes.

*(Until his retirement last November Mr. Lord was juvenile employment officer of Dudley for twenty-seven years. For two years, 1943-45, he was President of the National Association of Juvenile Employment and Welfare Officers.)*

## HANNAH GLASSE

BY SAMUEL T. SHEPPARD

IT is 200 years since the first appearance of "*The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy*," which far exceeds anything of the kind ever yet published."

Both the book and the author, Hannah Glasse, deserve some sort of bicentenary remembrance, for the book had a remarkable and well merited run of success and the author not only became the target of much criticism but in modern times has been invested with such mystery that, like Mrs. Harris, her very existence has been denied and her memory has been perpetuated by a proverb for which she was not responsible.

The first edition of this famous book was a small folio: the second edition, also published in 1747, was octavo and in that form it continued to appear until the early years of the nineteenth century, and by then over fifty had been issued. In the first three editions the author is described as "A Lady". In the fourth there is a frontispiece which advertises that Hannah Glasse, in Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, was habit-maker to H.R.H. the Princess of Wales, and some editions have Hannah Glasse's autograph in facsimile on the title-page. That Hannah Glasse was indeed the author-compiler of the book on which her name appeared gains support from the fact that when *The Complete Confectioner* and *The Servant's Directory or Housekeeper's Companion* were published in 1760, the author's name was given as "H. Glasse", author of *The Art of Cookery*. How some doubt arose about the authorship will presently be shown, but first some facts about the lady should be considered.

Hannah, daughter of Isaac Algood, of Eglingham, Northumberland, was born on March 24, 1708 or 9. At the age of sixteen she married Peter Glasse, and it was surmised that, being left a widow with slender means, she took to writing and to dress-making in order to support her family. It is also possible that she did not at first publish under her own name because it might offend her brother, Lancelot Allgood, who became a man of such importance in his county as to be knighted. It is, however, dangerous to be led into the realm of surmise as is shown by the analogous case of the most famous of Mrs. Glasse's successors, Mrs. Beeton. The warning comes from Mrs. C. S. Peel, who in *Early Victorian England* says that those who study Mrs. Beeton's book now probably think of that author as "an elderly lady in flowing bombazine skirts and a cap, akin to the mythical Mrs. Grundy, goddess of Victorian convention. In reality Mrs. Isabella Mary Beeton was a pretty young thing and a clever young thing

too. She went to her wedding with Mr. Samuel Orchart Beeton, the publisher, in flounces and a white bonnet, was a clever journalist, produced her masterpiece—"first in sixpenny monthly parts and then, in 1861, in one volume—"gave birth to four little boys and died in her late 'twenties." It is an unexpected picture and, contemplating it, one is left to speculate whether Mrs. Glasse, who sent one of her sons to Eton and another to Westminster, was a Mrs. Grundy of the Hanoverian epoch or whether she was a pretty girl who kept her looks to middle age. She died in 1770. Her book lived on, but the time came when Hazlitt, acknowledging that the book was "very sensible and interesting" could write that she survived "scarcely more than in an anecdote for which I can see no authority. For she did not say 'first catch your hare'." The saying is still often attributed to her, though what she said in her recipe for roasting a hare was "Take your hare when it is cas'd and make a Pudding . . ." In that sense "cas'd" appears to mean skinned and not caught, but it is easy to see how it was misinterpreted. At any rate it became established as a proverbial saying, and it became the basis of a fine pun at the end of the first world war when the possibility of bringing the Kaiser to trial was discussed and should have been ended with the jest: "First catch your Herr, then jug him."

There is no evidence that Mrs. Glasse's authorship of the book was doubted during her lifetime. Even her most bitter critic—Ann Cook, author of *Professed Cookery* of which the third edition was published in 1760—did not think of including that taunt in the bad verses with which she attacked Mrs. Glasse, but it was discussed at a memorable dinner party given by Dilly, a publisher, in 1778, when Dr. Johnson, Miss Seward and others were present. According to Boswell, Dilly said that half the publishing trade knew the book had been written by Dr. John Hill:

Johnson. "Well, Sir, that shows how much better the subject of cookery may be treated by a philosopher. I doubt if the book be written by Hill; for in Mrs. Glasse's Cookery, which I have looked into, saltpetre and salt-prunella are spoken of as different substances, whereas salt-prunella is only saltpetre burnt on charcoal; and Hill could not be ignorant of this. However, as the greatest part of such a book is made by transcription, this mistake may have been carelessly adopted. But you shall see what a book of cookery I could make. I shall agree with Mr. Dilly for the copyright."

Miss Seward. "That would be Hercules with the distaff indeed."

Johnson. "No, Madam. Women can spin very well, but they cannot make a good book of cookery."

It is quite likely that Dr. John Hill, who as a member of the Swedish Order of Vasa called himself Sir John, laid claim to the book. He was a botanist and quack doctor who had the misfortune to die of gout, although he had an invaluable specific for that complaint. A long article on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography* describes him as "a versatile man of unscrupulous character, with considerable abilities, great perseverance and unlimited impudence," in fact just the sort of man to seek the credit for a famous best-seller.

His name is included in a list of physicians "who have written the best books of cookery" given by Dr. William Kitchiner in *The Cook's Oracle*, published in 1817; but that fact only shows that the story told by Dilly still lingered. Dr. Johnson had apparently accepted the story and then, being always interested in chemistry, had criticized the book for a slip in chemistry. He did not have the chance of making amends after the manner of Louis XV, who thought only a man could cook until Madam Du Barry showed him he was wrong, and demanded a *cordons bleu* (the Royal Order of St. Esprit) for her *cuisinière*.

It is astonishing how many cookery books have been published in England. Dr. A. W. Oxford has listed them in *English Cookery Books to the year 1850*. E. Smith's *The Compleat Housewife*, first published in 1727, was still selling well when Mrs. Glasse appeared on the scene and ran to eighteen editions. Early in the nineteenth century came a formidable rival in the shape of Mrs. Maria Eliza Rundle's *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, of which the sixty-fifth edition was issued in 1841 and in an amended form the book appeared as late as 1893. Mrs. Glasse then was one in a long tradition of writers, inheriting the wisdom of those ancients who taught the English cooks such arts as how to "boyle a cony with a pudding in his belly," to make "a tart to provoke courage either in man or woman," and more or less to bake four and twenty blackbirds in a pie. Most of these writers started by disparaging their predecessors and by claiming that economy and simplicity could be found only in their own writings. In that respect Mrs. Glasse ran pretty true to form. Her preface says that "in all Receipt Books yet printed there are such an odd jumble of things as would quite spoil a good dish." She fiercely denounces the French, to whom she really owed a great deal, and says: "I have heard of a Cook that used six pounds of butter to fry twelve eggs, when everybody knows, that understands cooking, that half a pound is full enough, or more than need be used. But then it would not be French." It must be owned, however, that there are some weird jumbles in Mrs. Glasse's recipes and what, even in the spacious days in which she lived, must have been regarded as extravagance. To take only one example, her 'rich cake' was made of four pounds of flour, seven pounds of currants, six pounds of butter, two pounds of almonds, four pounds of eggs, three pounds of sugar, half a pint of sack, half a pint of brandy and spices—"this quantity will bake best in two hoops." On the other hand some of her advice has practically been repeated by our Ministry of Food, such as: "Most people spoil garden things by over-boiling them; all things that are green should have a little crispness, for if they are over boil'd they neither have any sweetness nor beauty." Cabbage, she says, and many modern cooks have still to learn this, "is best chopp'd and put into a sauce-pan with a good piece of butter." Was she the inventor of paper-bag cookery? At any rate she gives a recipe for cooking a mutton chop "in half a sheet of white paper, well buttered on the inside and rolled at each end close." Particularly to be commended is the recipe

for muffins, which is followed by an instruction that, after toasting them, they should be pulled open by hand, "and they will be like a honeycomb; lay in as much butter as you intend to use . . . but don't touch them with a knife, either to spread or cut them open, if you do they will be as heavy as lead, only when they are quite butter'd and done you may cut them across with a knife." Very tasty, very sweet, as one of our broadcasters used to say; and Mrs. Glasse ends many recipes with some such comment as "it both looks very pretty and eats fine" or "it is a fine flummery."

Mixed with admirable directions of that kind are many curiosities such as "to make an egg as big as twenty" which was to be done by boiling the yolks hard in a bladder and then putting that ball inside another oval-shaped bladder and boiling it . . . "these are used for grand sallads." Another recipe is for making anchovies—by salting and pickling sprats—which suggests that the latter-day problem: "What is a sardine?" is not the first of its kind. Pickling and preserving of course occupy much space in old cookery books and Mrs. Glasse has followed the general rule about those processes. She even tells how to pickle oysters, which seems at one time to have been a fairly common practice, but it is now out of fashion. Arthur Wellesley, campaigning in the Deccan, sent to Bombay for pickled oysters and it is proof of his courage. In most of those concoctions herbs played a greater part than modern cooks might suspect. Compared with the eighteenth century cooks indeed we are very incomplete herb users. Would anyone to-day think of putting "capers of Astertion buds pickled, or Broom buds" with stewed beef? Nasturtium was a word that always baffled Mrs. Glasse: it appears in a recipe for Salamongundy as "Station flowers" and in another context as "Stertion".

Students of Court life can probably find many instances of Hanoverian influence in this book, but even more interesting are the obvious signs of the influence of the Nabobs. It is hard to credit the fact that a cookery book of 1734 gave no recipe for rice pudding, though Carolina rice was by then well known. Mrs. Glasse gives three recipes for it. She did not appreciate the subtlety of *kababs*, which are usually small bits of meat roasted on skewers with onion or green ginger between them, but she does her best with a recipe for kebob'd mutton. And she did not understand curry, the introduction of which into England is certainly a point in favour of the much abused Nabobs. She knew enough to warn her readers that the rice must be "very thick and dry" and "not boiled to a Mummy." For what would now be called curry powder she advised the use of pepper corns and coriander seed browned over the fire in a shovel, but, as the recipe gives only a large spoonful of rice to two fowls or rabbits, she ignores the cardinal fact that curry should be an adjunct to rice and not rice an adjunct to curry. Coriander seed is recognized by Indians as good for the system and as a carminative, but for curry one wants much more than that; one wants such materials as turmeric, cardamom and cummin. Education in such matters has been very slow, as may be seen in the story

told by Lord Reading that when his father's term of office as Viceroy came to an end, he found two compensations for the change from pomp and circumstance in India to the normal routine of life in England. "He was allowed to have money in his pocket again and to pay personally for anything that he bought, and he could once more have curry, of which he was fond, made with curry-powder out of an ordinary tin instead of the rare and strange concoctions which the Princes had been at such pains to prepare for him."

There is an earlier and famous example of failure to appreciate good curry. Thackeray saw the importance of it and introduces it in *Vanity Fair*, written a hundred years after Mrs. Glasse had given her recipe. In order to keep Joseph at home for dinner Mrs. Sedley tempted him by saying: "There's a pillau, Joseph, just as you like it, and Papa has brought home the best turbot in Billingsgate." A page or two later the pillau (more properly pulao) has mysteriously become a curry. "Mother, it's as good as my own curries in India." As an afterthought Joseph said there was perhaps not enough citron juice in it, which was a knowing enough remark, for every curry should have some acid in it, whether lime, lemon or pineapple. But the point is that pulao, for which Mrs. Glasse gives two recipes, is not in the general acceptance of the word a curry. It is a variant of curry and in its plain form, without meat or vegetables, it is served instead of plain rice and eaten with curry. The Sedley's curry, to which Amelia added a chili and in consequence suffered tortures, is the most famous in fiction. There is, however, another that deserves to be remembered. Flurry Knox, in *The Experiences of an Irish R.M.*, inquired: "Did you ever eat my grandmother's curry?—You'd take a splint off a horse with it." That embrocational curry suggests something mustardy out of a tin, such as Lord Reading loved, with the addition of much hot chutney; but the word chutney did not appear in the English language before 1813; it is a post-Glasse condiment.

Dr. Johnson said that when he wrote a cookery book on philosophical principles he "would tell what is the best butcher's meat, the best beef, the best pieces, how to choose young fowls, the proper seasons of different vegetables, and then how to roast and boil and compound." It is obvious that he had not looked very far into Mrs. Glasse's book, for in one chapter she gives full instructions on how to market and states the seasons of the year for various kinds of food. It is one of the most useful parts of the book and contains some curious information. For instance, to test whether an egg is fresh: "Hold the great end to your tongue; if it feels warm be sure it is new; if cold, it is bad, and so in proportion to the heat and cold is the goodness of the egg." As a sure way not to be deceived, the more familiar tests of whether an egg will sink or float in water is also recommended. How, it may be asked, were eggs preserved in the days before the water-glass method had been invented in the middle of the nineteenth century? "As to keeping of them," says Mrs. Glasse, "pitch them all with the small end downwards in fine wood ashes, and they



will keep some months." There are many cautionary words to the marketing housewife which, one feels sure, would not have occurred to the omniscient Johnson. For instance, "the woodcock, if fat, is thick and hard; if new, limber footed; when stale, dry footed; or if their noses are snotty and their throats muddy and moorish, they are nought." And "to know a true leveret, feel on the fore leg, near the foot, and if there be a small bone or knob it is right; if not, it is a hare."

Cooks, like gardeners and farmers until recent times, used the ecclesiastical calendar. "Pork comes in season at Bartholomew-tide and holds good till Lady-Day." "The black venison begins in May and is in high season till All Hallows Day." But for convenience the products of the garden and orchard are more conveniently shown under months, and a surprising variety of apples and pears and vegetables is noted as in season during the winter. Not all the vegetables named would be recognized by teachers of domestic science and even professional gardeners might be excused for not knowing such tubers as skirrets and scorzonera or the sort of garlic called rocombole. That, however, is a small point compared with the real objection to such a list as Mrs. Glasse gives—it could not be universally adopted in the various parts of the United Kingdom.

One further point about the book. Many of Mrs. Glasse's predecessors gave medical prescriptions as well as recipes for cooking food. The former were often horrible mixtures of snails and worms and, as Dr. Oxford says, of "filth and superstitions." Mrs. Glasse avoided that but gave two prescriptions for the bite of a mad dog, one of them "a certain cure", and a receipt against the plague. As to the latter, she says that: "They write that four malefactors (who had robbed the infested houses and murdered the people during the course of the plague) owned, when they came to the gallows, that they had preserved themselves from the contagion by using the above medicine only, and that they went the whole time from house to house without any fear of the distemper." It seems, if true, to be a remarkable example of faith acting as a preventative, almost as remarkable as Mrs. Glasse's prescription for distilling "plague water", a concoction involving no less than twenty different roots, seventeen kinds of flowers and nineteen of seeds.

Mention of Mrs. Glasse is to be found in some odd connections. When Laurence Sterne was in Paris in 1762, he wrote to his wife to bring there various things such as a silver coffee pot, a copper tea-kettle and a cookery book. He did not say which book she was to bring, but if she did not take Mrs. Glasse's she missed a good opportunity for there is much in it that would have interested Sterne's inquiring mind. Some thirty years later the book was read in the saddest circumstances imaginable. The Hon. John Lindsay, of the 73rd Highlanders, was one of Tipu Sultan's prisoners kept in captivity in Seringapatam for several years. He has left it on record that six books were found among the prisoners, "the first volume of Smollett's History of England, the third of

Pope, the half of Johnson's Dictionary, a prayer book, and Mrs. Glasse upon the Art of Cookery; these were seized in the same manner (as knives, forks and razors) but with particular injunctions to the guard to deliver them at sunrise and take them back at sunset, from the supposition that, with the assistance of books, in the night, Europeans could do a great deal of mischief when left to themselves." It is pathetic to think of those men, occupying themselves with carpentering, making tables and stools, rat traps, bird cages, a chess board and back-gammon table, eating for the most part rice, curry and very occasionally a mutton stew, and thinking of the dishes about which they could read in the cookery book. Not even Polar explorers, planning what they would eat on their return to civilization, can have felt such tantalizing agony as that; but a curious parallel to Lindsay's experience cropped up in a recent court-martial in Hong-London during the course of which it was stated that the Japanese in Hong-kong found a cookery book among the possessions of their prisoners, and appropriated it because they thought it was a code book.

The book made a happier appearance in the life of G. A. Sala. After his marriage in 1859 he put his wife into a hansom and told her to go and look for furnished rooms in Brompton. "Then I walked over Southwark Bridge to my work at *The Daily Telegraph*, and on my way, at a second-hand bookseller's, I bought for six-pence a copy of Mrs. Glasse's Cookery book, of which scarcely half-a-dozen copies are known to be in existence. So you see I secured two treasures in one happy afternoon." That book, bound in morocco and interleaved, went for £10 at the sale of Sala's books; but it is not quite so rare as he thought. The second edition, which has been quoted in this article, is more scarce than the first.

## THE SHELL

BY PHOEBE HESKETH

I CANNOT wait for silence and the night  
To gather your lost image to my mind—  
It floats all day beyond my crowded sight  
Till I am blind.

And though I join the city's fevered beat  
Of noise and speed,  
And though my tread is marshalled with the feet  
That throng the burning pavement, cross the street  
In frantic searching for the body's need,  
My spirit cannot feed  
On this mad practice of life's daily creed.

Till standing on an island here alone  
Surrounded by the throbbing and the roar  
Of traffic waves,  
My aching senses faint upon the shore,  
And drown  
In a stronger tide.  
The strangling octopus of town  
Slips through my sight and hearing in a pause  
Of blessed ease . . .

A shell plays on my eardrums with a sound  
Of seas  
Low-washing like a wind through summer trees,  
Until the subtle scent of pines  
Is carried back upon the timeless wings  
Of moments that once lent  
Infinity to each unmeasured hour.

And as the inward-brushing tide  
Sweeps every crescent nearer to my feet,  
Wrapping the rocks in shawls of lace,  
You are at my side,

## THE SHELL

And in the salty gloom I know your face.  
Your smile touches the darkness,  
And the curving, wide horizon is awake!

But the shell must break—  
It cracks in a thousand fragments underneath  
The hammer of the day.  
The cradled bay  
Is shocked from sleep by concrete city arms.  
And the human cry  
Goes up again in ceaseless, dual strife  
Of circumstance and fate,  
Where work and duty push in front of life,  
Till man rules neither his own soul nor state.

And will the wearing tides of everyday  
Wash your warm image from the fading slate  
Of memory?  
The days drop slowly through the sea of Time,  
And fifty years or one may be too late  
To catch us both together at the gate  
Of chance again.  
Yet forward, backward, though I long and glance,  
I know I cannot wait!

Appear!  
Without the shell upon my ear  
Deceiving sound and sight,  
Reviving memory,  
Without the clear,  
Cold, glassy waves to give me back your face  
In mirrored green,  
And low surf thunder murmuring between  
Your words—  
I'd wish the oceans of the whole world dumb  
If only you would come!

## ON THE HIGH TOPS OF THE CAIRNGORMS

BY RICHARD PERRY

SUMMER is long in coming to the high tops of the Cairngorms between 3,000 and 4,000 feet. A brief three months from late-May to early-August, and the remaining nine months of the year offer the naturalist barely enough material to justify the time and physical energy expended in climbing to his objective.

The 'machine-gun spitting' and belching of ptarmigan, of course, is to be heard on the tops or in the high corries at all seasons of the year, as these little white grouse jink out over the snowy sidings or strut uneasily in and out of the boulders on these arid wastes, pecking at the tips of grasses and sedges. When they attain their full breeding plumage—the cock mantled in dark-grey and black, the hen in dark and light-gold—they harmonize perfectly with the white grit and drab golden-moss strewn with grey boulders, stained purple-black, dark-brown, or bottle-green with pads of cushion-moss. Folding its white wings, on alighting, the ptarmigan crouches close to the ground in a curiously rounded posture and is transformed into the likeness of a moss-stained boulder or a lump of blackish vari-coloured moss, indistinguishable from other tumps and stones scattered around. But, though their colour-comouflage is often perfect, ptarmigan leave a strong ground-scent, which excites my dogs as keenly as that of red grouse or mountain hares.

The worst snow-storms of the winter may sweep the high tops in March and April, and only the presence up there of pipits and golden plover betrays the true state of the calendar. The first half of May is spent before the tops begin to fill, in species, if not in numbers, with summer breeding birds, and the first mountain flowers begin to put forth their greenery—masses of golden saxifrage and the yellow blooms of rooting marsh-marigold in damp places, and the grey-green, lavender-like needles of dwarf-cudweed and lady's-mantle in drier places; while red-tailed queen humble-bees (*bombus Capponicus*) and small tortoiseshell butterflies are to be seen passing swiftly over the stony plateaux at 3,500 feet. The first wheatear perches on the mossy dome of a little stone bothy which the stalkers use in the autumn; a few dunlin return to feed on the blue crane-flies which perform peculiar rites at the high springs, dancing on their tails on the thick water-logged cushions of black and golden moss; and the rare dotterel—*An t-Amadan Mointeach*, the Fool of the Peat Moss—feeds daintily, with characteristic plover-runs, along the edge of a late snow-field,

or stands fearlessly watching my dogs and myself only a few yards distant. With its white head-stripes and barred wings and flanks, and the rich chestnut and blackish-brown blazon on its belly, the dotterel puts me in mind of a little red-legged partridge. From time to time the more brightly coloured hen-bird arches her tapering wings gracefully, revealing their greyish-white undersides.

At over 4,000 feet on Brae Riach a few dotterel gather together each new spring, and here I have watched them at their *lek* on this gravelly plateau of the Wells of Dee. On the desert of grit a little way from the crystal waters of a burn four dotterel, with hackled feathers, will run at one another aggressively, to the accompaniment of a 'reeling' trilling similar to that of turnstones. Now, two cocks will charge head-on, one leaping over the other and pulling out a feather in passing, before immediately jumping on to the rump of a big hen-bird; now all four run swiftly apart to pick up grit or peck at a fox's dropping; and now two hens, trilling loudly, 'hump' themselves bill to bill, with a greater show of aggression than the cocks, before one runs at an attendant cock, chasing him away. But, after half an hour or so of intermittent display and fighting, they gradually feed further and further apart, and finally take wing over the brow of the plateau and down into the 2,000 foot chasm of Coire Garbh.

By the middle of June there is a smooth, though still rather bleached, green sward of grasses and sedges over the big mosses around 3,000 feet and in the high punch-bowl corries scooped out of the giant hills; and for the first time since the winter snows a great concourse of six or seven hundred red deer feed on these mountain pastures. For the most part they run in sexually discrete herds from ten to two hundred strong, though there is usually a staggy or two with every herd of hinds and their ruddy, white-dappled calves, and one or two big stags with large companies of hinds. The remainder of the big stags, up to one hundred in number, are to be found day after day on their favourite pastures on the higher parts of the moors, where their outlined heads are clearly silhouetted on the skyline more than three miles distant. Though I approach their vast pastures openly over the dome of a hill I usually observe the hinds lying in the peat-hags, much troubled by the flies even at this altitude, or grazing heads down along the green water-courses, long before they are aware of my presence. At any distance from eight hundred to one hundred yards, however, one or two of the hinds become uneasy, pricking their long diamond-shaped ears in my direction; and only then does some drab-yellow old milk-hind utter a lion-like cough. Her alarm is the touchstone to a pandemonium of hinds yelping and coughing, yearlings blaring like peacocks, calves bleating squeakily, and staggy grunting, as the various companies begin to run together, stopping and starting, from all quarters; and the whole concourse of three, or perhaps, five hundred individuals, the herd of big stags among them, canter across the mosses, and make their way reluctantly up into the high corries, where other herds are grazing or resting.

Sometimes, however, I come suddenly round a cairn to surprise a single hind, usually accompanied by a yearling. Unlike the other hinds she does not trot or canter away, after a preliminary stare, but advances towards my dogs, stamping her foot, and if I sit down to watch her for a while, takes up her stance on a nearby knoll, keeping us under observation. And there she stands, uttering a warning yelp from time to time, while her companion blares persistently, until I go on my way. She has a late calf lying up not very far away.

The season of the return of the deer to the tops is also that of the flowering of the first mountain plants on these snow-bound, wind-swept hills and plateaux. By mid-June a pink flowerlet is to be treasured here and there on a green cushion of moss-campion, and the first pale-pink stars of the creeping azalea replace the minute purple-red whorls of the crowberry, while the brownish-yellow tufts of the cudweed (the Cairngorms' *Edelweiss*) are just discernible. A fortnight later the boggy parts of the mosses are covered with spotted orchises, with here and there a butterwort and more rarely a pale lilac-white marsh violet; while on the banks of water-courses appear the alpine willowherb and in not more than a dozen places between 3,000 and 4,000 feet, the exquisite star saxifrage—that 'London-pride' of the mountains—its fragile white star-flowers branching delicately from a six or nine inch slender reddish-green stem, which grows from a leathery rosette of red, green, and brown leaves.

In drier places are many white flowers of cloudberry and here and there a dwarf variety of cow-wheat, while eyebright and heath-bedstraw reach up to over 3,500 feet; but above all it is the transient flowering season of the Cairngorms' one glory, the moss campion, which, by driving down an immense tap-root, survives, and indeed thrives best, between 3,000 and 4,000 feet, on bare scalds of gravel among the less thickly piled boulders, and on flats and sidings of loose gravel devoid of all other vegetation, except perhaps an occasional patch of bent, reaching out in scattered spores and clumps and little islands, wherever bent and golden-moss fail. And now, on the slopes of Cairn Toul and of Brae Riach clumps of thyme-like flowerlets, varying from palish, almost whitish, pink to the deepest china-pink of centaury, glow in ineffable beauty, their tiny white anthers glistening like diamonds, against the sterile greyish-white gravel. So densely massed are the flowerlets that they conceal the green cushion beneath. But so ephemeral are they that by the middle of July you may search far and wide for a cushion still bearing flowers, and the high tops are already passing in to autumn, with a bright chrome-brown searing the tips of the bents.

It is only at this season that the rarest of the mountain fauna may, or may not, come to breed in the Cairngorms. When snow mantled all the tops down to 2,500 feet at midwinter the ptarmigan's only companions in that silent white world had been big packs of 'tinkling' snow buntings, but by the middle of April all these wintering buntings had disappeared, and no more are seen until in the last days of June there is a sudden flash of black and white over the grey

scree of some high corrie near the 4,000-foot contour—it is the cock snow bunting in the full glory of his jet-black and snow-white breeding plumage: perhaps the only cock in all the Cairngorms this particular summer; and then there is a sudden surprising burst of song thrown in to the silent corrie, a brief stanza of lark-like melody, loud, clear, articulate, and musical, ascending in a manner pleasant to the ear; as he sits with flexed legs on his boulder, singing inconsequently in the intervals of preening, without those laboured physical antics peculiar to other buntings, or as he mounts to some height, crossing from one side to the other of the corrie. In a cranny a foot down beneath the boulders of the scree his more soberly-hued mate has young, and from now on both parents may be watched arriving regularly at the scree with beaks full of crane-flies, which they pick up from the mossy beds of springs. Before the middle of August they will have reared two broods and left the Cairngorms once more after a stay of less than two months—the shortest of any British breeding-bird.

By the middle of September it is full autumn on the tops, and the herd of big stags have dispersed to their rutting grounds; and early in October stags are wailing and snarling in all the corries and high glens, and lone wanderers, roaring disconsolately, roam the passes. By the end of the month the first snow has fallen, ptarmigan are packed, the first snow buntings have come in to winter, and families of golden eagles sweep and hover over the mosses, hunting ptarmigan, as many as six great birds being within my ken at one time. It is the season of the autumn migration, to be witnessed even in the mountains—of fieldfares and red-wings, of golden plover (not those that nested on the mosses: they left in September) and of grey geese, whose cheery gobbling and honking causes quite a commotion, inciting fusillades of 'crackling' from the ptarmigan packs, while the deer turn their heads right back over their shoulders to follow these noisy travellers.

By the middle of November the rut is nearly over, and more than fifty big stags are couched in one of the lower corries, wherein there may be found henceforward, until they go up to the tops again in June. An inch of snow barely covers the tops with a sparkling mantle: but light though the covering is the snow reveals unexpected forms of life—the tracks of white hares, now extremely scarce in the Cairngorms, and also of stoats, whom I had never expected to exist at this altitude.

By the New Year the tops are quite lifeless, save for the chance hind and calf at 3,000 feet, and absolutely soundless. There are not even the tracks of hares: just the illimitable white waste with its faintly bluish ice-shine, and range upon range of snow-clad mountains swimming above the frost-fog in the straths. Such life as there is lies below the tops, in the corries—packs of grey crows quartering the moors with noisy *quor-rah/quor-rah*, flocks of hundreds of snow buntings in the *allts*, a few ptarmigan running, and unexpectedly sliding and falling, despite their feathered toes, on the steep frozen sidings.

At the end of the month, when there is an overall covering of nine or twelve inches of snow on the tops, not quite burying the heather in the corrie, nearly one hundred and fifty stags and staggyes of all sizes and ages from knobbers to royals, are feeding in that favourite corrie. At my coming down the hill the whole company mill around, prancing and horning and chasing. But there is, characteristically, no leader among them, and groups and individuals make off at tangents in starts and stops, before the entire herd eventually debauches up the hill.

Thereafter deep snow and frost isolate the tops for a calendar month, and my interest in them is restricted to watching (through my glass) the companies of stags marching along the dazzling white crests nearly six miles distant from my house, and to wondering what the ptarmigan are doing. By the time the snow melts the first pipits and golden plover will already be returning to their nesting grounds on the top, and another mountain season will have begun.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## CRITICISMS OF THE CURTIS REPORT

*To the Editor of THE FORTNIGHTLY.*  
Sir,

Lady Allen of Hurtwood has interesting and stimulating things to say about the Curtis Report in your March 1947 issue, and no doubt she will herself be taking steps to find answers to those of her questions which were not purely rhetorical—e.g., the reason why out of a very large total number of deprived children so few children are "adoptable".

There is one other point, however, which, if I may, I would like to clarify. Lady Allen mentions "... the Church of England Children's Society (I have not yet been able to discover what connection they have with the Church of England which entitles them to this name)." The reason for the foundation of this Society was that in those days (1881) good care under the auspices of the Church could not be guaranteed to two small boys who became destitute and who were in a Sunday School Class conducted by a young man named Rudolf. He, therefore, set about trying to find ways and means to remedy this, envisaging all the time that primarily the young Society must be the organ of the National Church. He therefore approached the then Archbishop (Tait) and obtained the Primate's consent to give his name "as President of the scheme you advocate." From August 24, 1881, the Society became the officially recognized organization of the Church of England in her corporate capacity, for providing homes for outcast and destitute children.

This identification with the Church has persisted and been strengthened throughout the years and succeeding Archbishops have been Presidents of the Society; the Bishop of London for the time being is President of the Executive Committee. All Diocesan

Bishops are Vice-Presidents. The Society's Clerical Organizing Staff is composed of clergymen of the Established Church; and the local parish Clergy invariably act as Chaplains to the Branches and otherwise take an intimate interest in the upbringing of the Children. Although children of other denominations are taken into the Society's care if the relatives so wish, it is understood that all are brought up in the faith of the Church.

It is true, however, that we derive only a proportion of our funds from the corporate Church as such, with her many problems of finance, etc. We depend on the general public as well to help us to maintain and extend our work.

Yours faithfully,

W. R. VAUGHAN, Secretary,  
Church of England Children's Society.

Kennington,  
London, S.E.11.

## OLD KOREA

*To the Editor of THE FORTNIGHTLY,*  
Sir,

May I be allowed to protest against the review of *Old Korea*, by Elizabeth Keith and E. K. Robertson Scott, in your March issue?

Your reviewer recognized that it is superfluous to criticize a work "for not being something different," and also that "the authors make it clear that they are not describing present conditions" in Korea, but he then proceeds to complain about this book (which I have read) on the basis of what he thinks it ought to contain, namely, an explanation of the structure of Korean society and of the present political conditions and those which immediately preceded liberation. These complaints, and the reviewer's observations, occupy most of the 'criticism', but I am chiefly concerned with his statement that the book "gives an entirely false picture even of the Old Korea." As one who was resident in Korea from 1920 until the end of 1940 I should like to know what grounds he has for saying that the Korean native dress was discarded for general use "a very long time ago." Modifications there have been, and even attempts by the Japanese to enforce sartorial reform, but it is quite untrue that the native dress has been discarded.

Yours faithfully,

A. W. LEE (Rev.), Formerly of the Korean Mission.

Hammersmith,  
London, W.6.

Mr. JOHN MORRIS writes:

I regard it as an important part of the duty of a reviewer to point out the defects of a book. This he can normally do by reference to the actual subject matter. There are, however, occasions when it is necessary to go further than this; and it is not necessarily superfluous to criticize a work for not being something different. In the present case, I decided, rightly or wrongly, to use my space for the purpose of calling attention to a situation on which those of us who are interested in international affairs badly need further information.

I agree with Mr. Lee, however, that my remarks upon Korean dress were too sweeping. It would have been better if I had added "at any rate in the towns" after the word "discarded" in line fourteen of page 228 of your issue for March 1947.

## THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

### BEFORE THE DISSOLUTION

BY SYLVA NORMAN

HENRY JAMES, American by birth, European by choice, and British by adoption, died during the first world war in 1916. The publication of his unfinished autobiography and two volumes of his letters drew attention to him as a literary figure of some oddity. There was speculation as to what he stood for, whether his later novels repaid the task of reading them, in what way, if at all, he counted, and how far he was already out of date. Worse followed: his readers, a choice minority of intellectuals, were driven to hunting him in second-hand bookshops; he had gone out of print.

This well-chosen selection of his short stories,\* given in progressive order, stretches over thirty years and provides, as it were, a miniature view of James the novelist that is of great value for the "beginner". For the stories echo, in matter, the longer works of fiction, and show a parallel development. After our second war suspicion has, on one ground at least, become a certainty. James, in his outermost aspect, is a period piece, most elegantly removed from this present which is not orderly, cultured or serene enough to harbour him. Though by no means unreadable he is far from general, and what strikes us now, apart from his personal perversity, is his portrayal of a lost social condition—one that has not decently faded, as the furnishings in his quiet old houses fade, but has been violently—and for James too horribly—outraged. Viewed from our footing outside it, his little solar system is seen to be in painfully unstable equilibrium, vulnerable to the forces of disruption, utterly doomed. But to step inside and submit to its rotation is to feel an agreeable sense of relaxation as though the unnatural strain has been in our surroundings (and where all is relative, this may indeed be so).

In his own day, even, life was not so free from economic and political troubles as James showed it. But he clung to the narrow stratum of society that he moved in. (A reference to "decent rustics" is his nearest approach to Thomas Hardy's soil.) His people are moneyed, cultured, reserved and social, travelling for pleasure in an art gallery of a Europe, leisured enough to indulge thoughts and speculations to their highest bent. Here is where the characters become "Jamesian"—no longer the mere idle members of a set, but steeped in his personal consciousness, at the mercy of his whim and fantasy. Doubly removed now from the world we all inhabit, they play with mental twists and psychological queries even to the extent of letting these rule their lives. This is especially evident in the shorter stories, for while a single idea dominates a tale, the idea is rarely worked out in a single episode, but greedily eats up a whole career. Repeatedly, in the stories Mr. Garnett has chosen, we may see it happening, often with the help of the supernatural. Sir Edmund Orme, for instance, long since dead, tortures the woman who once rejected him by walking invisibly with her daughter. Lord Mellifont in "The Private Life" is so much a social automaton that when nobody is observing him he lacks existence. In "Maud-Evelyn" a young man vows his affections to a dead girl he has never seen, ignoring the living and expectant one. "The Jolly Corner" is a homestead strenuously haunted by its living owner till he meets in it the self he might have been.

\* Fourteen Stories by Henry James. Selected by David Garnett. Rupert Hart-Davis. 15s.

To enjoy the later James, in novels or stories, the reader has to enter this hushed circle almost reverently, leaving impatience, hurry, and all practical politics outside. Otherwise he may fall into H. G. Wells's predicament when, as a rest from cosmic anxiety during the first world war, he maliciously attacked Henry James in *Boon*. The present world, he shouted, had no room for James and his embroideries (as though that present world were worthier). In James's narrative method he saw the pivotings of a hippopotamus chasing an uncapturable pea. It was a bitter, peevish action coming after years of personal friendship. James, who could feel the pea under twenty mattresses, was hurt beyond healing, and if he was no more directly killed by criticism than Keats was, yet he died with the taste of it still active.

Mr. Garnett, rescuing the grain of truth from the huge husk of injustice, presents his own metaphor of an aged retriever unravelling complex scents but always at last returning, bird in mouth. Even this kindlier estimate is slightly out of balance; for if the dog "gets there", he does something so much finer on the way that the pre-arranged end, when reached, is not always on an equal level. Themes became difficult to James, for whom crude physical experience was not only rare but also, as he saw it, raw, unfinished and inadequately moulded to a pattern. The business of art was to improve on life by dragging the last ounce out of a situation. More and more, during the quiet years at Lamb House, the whole intimate, speculative process tended to repress the clashing and manoeuvrings of his brain. On first coming to Europe, he had found many a subject in the impact of Americans on the European scene. (One of his most vigorous stories, "An International Episode", would seem to have influenced Somerset Maugham in *Our Betters*.) When he dropped this theme, until returning to it in the final novels, no practical widespread drama took its place, to dominate and direct him.

Yet to see in James, as many Americans have done, a renegade from the sources of his inspiration, does not touch the truth. His sources were never exclusively American. The influence of Flaubert, Daudet, Maupassant was strong in him from the outset. Had he remained in his early setting he could not have been the novelist we know—a cultured cosmopolitan with a greater love for his adopted country than most have who were born in it. In an essay commenting on the 1914 war he confessed his quickened emotion for the English vision, and showed himself frankly, almost naïvely, grateful for the cataclysm that could rouse his languid feelings. Here was something shared and tangible; but his literary habits had been set too long for him to grasp at it. He had gone inside himself with his troupe of shadowed characters, chasing their mental twists, perversities, sensations in a stealthy ballet, before coming out into the half light with a Q.E.D.

One of the last stories in the present collection, "The Beast in the Jungle", is so much the cream of this later James that one hunts warily for the signature "Max Beerbohm". There are curtains everywhere—between the man and woman, between him and the "something" he is seeking, between all these whispering phantoms and the reader. Meeting the woman in his middle years the man recalls gropingly that he had told her once about this *thing*—invisible, unidentified, the beast in the jungle—which he feels awaiting him. She, the elder she, less woman than sybil, believes in it. She grows ill. One day, she tells him (poor James could not anticipate our slang) "You've *had* it"; he had it and missed it. Then she dies. He goes on hunting for "the lost stuff of consciousness" till it dawns that what he had had and missed was love—her love for him and his for her. So the story ends on what, for James, is a high emotional note. And it is typical of him that the emotion is unshared, entirely introspective, hardly focussed. Yet it is this or nothing. If it looks like nothing we have Wells's hippopotamus, and the fault is in our eyesight. Properly gazed on, the beast changes; Mr. Garnett's



retriever has followed up his scent most faithfully and come home in triumph.

Much could be said of James's style and phraseology: the sudden brief felicities in his involutions, the deliberate slacknesses, the chuckles of humour piercing solemnity, the care in selecting even proper names. His prose, in quality, is remarkably a matter for personal taste. Quite out of the tradition of good English it has for some of us a magical savour that yields an almost immoral satisfaction, so far is it from austerity and yet so controlled. Its final fruition is the perfect instrument for a writer who was looking with perhaps the last appreciative eyes on all things lovely in Western Europe before they were forced into premature decay.

**THE SOVIET IMPACT ON THE WESTERN WORLD**, by Professor E. H. Carr. *Macmillan*. 5s.  
**SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE PATRIOTIC WAR**, Vol. 2. January 1, 1944 to December 31, 1944. *Hutchinson*. 25s.

The central theme of Professor Carr's interesting and timely little book is stated in its first and last paragraphs. "To-day", he says, "when the open enemies of democracy have once more been overthrown in a victorious war, western democracy is confronted by a new challenge from a country which purports to be the pioneer of a new and more progressive form of democracy—Soviet democracy"; and he closes by stating that "the fate of the western world will turn on its ability to meet the Soviet challenge by a successful search for new forms of social and economic action in which what is valid in individualist and democratic tradition can be applied to the problems of mass civilization." The question which Professor Carr leaves unanswered is what, in his view, is valid in individualist and democratic tradition. "The view that the . . . primary aim of education is to make the individual think for himself is outmoded." If this observation is justified, does it not follow that the individualist and (in the Western view) democratic tradition is outmoded too?

The difficulty in which Professor Carr's omission to define his attitude more precisely in this respect places the reader is, that he has no guidance to help him

decide whether a synthesis between Soviet democracy and Western democracy is possible. For all who are neither Communists nor men of the extreme Right this is one of the fundamental problems of politics, and Professor Carr has not made so substantial a contribution towards solving it as he might have done. None the less, the book is a valuable one.

Its merit lies partly in its refreshingly objective and dispassionate tone, partly in the range of subjects which Professor Carr examines. He states with commendable clarity the nature of the Soviet criticism of Western democracy: that it is formal, purely political, that it lacks "positive belief in itself, and is therefore dangerously tolerant of opposition," and that it makes no provision for the participation of the masses in administration. In passing, the liberal might inquire whether it is lack of positive belief in oneself that makes one tolerant of opposition or whether it is really the weak man who is afraid to stand up to criticism. However this may be, it is in studying the economic effects of the Soviet experiment that Professor Carr is at his best. His exposition of Soviet planning and its relation to our plans for social justice and full employment is most illuminating, as is his analysis of the social discipline in the Soviet system as an advance on the crude discipline exercised by the fear of dismissal. There is, perhaps, an element of over-simplification in the description of the place of trade unions in the Soviet State, but the short study of the conflict of ideas over, and the development of, these institutions under the Soviet régime is full of interest.

What Professor Carr has to say about Soviet foreign policy is not perhaps particularly novel or unexpected, but his analysis of the Soviet search for security in the "protective belt of friendly powers" is well reasoned, while he makes a good point in arguing that economic considerations play a smaller part in the foreign policy of the Soviet than in that of other powers. In fact, the reasonableness of Professor Carr's views on this aspect of Soviet policy is likely to give rise to a good deal of distress and the usual charges of "dishonesty" on the part of the anti-Soviet crusaders in our midst.

The second volume in Messrs. Hutchinson's series of Soviet documents and materials, covering 1944, gives a useful though not particularly exciting survey of the events of that year from the Russian point of view. There are perhaps two features of particular interest. The first is the careful stressing of the secondary, but yet not unimportant part of Russia's Allies in planning and winning victory, and the diverse variations on this theme. The second is the emphasis, exemplifying Professor Carr's description of Russia's foreign policy as "realistic", on the paramount importance of the unity of the Three Powers. Both these are significant of what the Russian is taught to think.

W. T. WELLS.

**YEARS OF CRISIS**, by Kenneth Ingram. *Allen & Unwin*. 21s.

Mr. Ingram is too much of a prophet to be able to disguise himself convincingly as a historian. His publishers say that the reader will obtain from this book such a comprehensive picture of a world in crisis that he can draw his own moral conclusions. But as we follow the path which Mr. Ingram has carved through the jungle of the years 1919-1945, we feel that we are being led for a purpose. What this purpose is, becomes apparent only towards the end of the journey.

In the first part of the book we are transported into the frame of mind we

knew in the inter-war years (the more effectively, perhaps because the author has never completely succeeded in freeing himself from its toils), generous to acknowledge our own failings and fatally willing to whitewash the crimes of our neighbours. We are shown the economic weakness of our civilization and the persistence of that mutual suspicion which severed East from West and provided Hitler with an opportunity he was quick to seize.

The second part tells the story of the second world war. But it is a story which is periodically interrupted to remind us that the war against the Fascist powers conceals a more fundamental social conflict which will rage even more fiercely when open hostilities have ceased.

In a volume of less than 500 pages of well-spaced type there is not room to substantiate comments such as this and the result is a book which falls disappointingly between the two stools of history and politics. Presumably for lack of space, no attempt has been made to define either communism or fascism, although both terms are freely employed. Nor is any comparison made between the two systems save for the debatable opinion that, in the inter-war years, "those who identified bolshevism and fascism overlooked the fact that the Soviet Union desired no territorial expansion."

The actual course of the war is accurately and lucidly described; in particular, the account of the German advance on Moscow moves forward with vigorous intensity. But by a grievous omission there is not a map or diagram throughout the book. (At one point we are actually asked to make a mental map of the area covered by the advancing Russians.) Compared with the Russian front, the European campaigns receive scant attention. Without due consideration of its strategical context, the Italian campaign is dismissed as "a heavy debit on the Allied balance-sheet"; while Montgomery's masterly handling of the Battle of Normandy is sketched only in bare out-

line. Other examples of a lack of balance could be quoted—for instance, the assertion that ultimate victory was 'mainly due' to the magnificent achievements of the Resistance movements. Nevertheless the reader will enjoy this sincere attempt to see the period of our own lives in historical perspective.

NIGEL BRUCE.

**ENGLISH CHURCH MONUMENTS, 1510 to 1840**, by Katharine A. Esdaile. With an introduction by Sacheverell Sitwell. *Batsford*. 21s.

One of the major disservices done by the Gothic revival of the nineteenth century was to draw rigid architectural frontiers. Anticipating the political frontiers of a century later the medievalists of that day imprisoned themselves within an 'ideology'. The Iron Curtain fell and is still only partly lifted. Its position was determined not by a line in geography but by a point in time. That point was fixed, for English students of architecture, at the Reformation. Since it is true that few churches were built between the middle of the reign of Henry VIII and the later Stuarts, it was convenient to assume that nothing worth while was built afterwards. The political facts and the introduction of Italian models and influences helped to support this theory of the clean break. A monument of falsity has been erected on this foundation. Tradition has been ignored or flouted. No sense survived of craft or custom handed down; of skill and delight in workmanship. As though the unknown masons and carpenters whose memorial is inscribed in every medieval building had exhausted the possibilities of their art and left no successor.

Blinded eyes are now opening. The whole body of British architectural art and the arts dependent upon it is being examined bit by bit. Mrs. Esdaile writes the first important book on post-Reformation monuments. With such help we can embark on a new study—

almost anywhere: in Westminster Abbey or a country church. We may all deem ourselves unlearned in this subject; but if we are unsophisticated so also are the parishioners of many a church who have been able to oppose only their own common sense and conservatism to the active destructiveness of an incumbent. They have been conscious, no doubt, of some feeling more respectable than mere dislike of change. What if it were an unconscious response to conscious art? What if they realized, however vaguely, the beauty of that which has been so long despised? And what if they could appreciate that these also were objects of piety—not an obstacle to worship, as unhappy fanatics call them, but an aid, since they were designed for this place as a memorial to the dead?

To turn the pages of this book, and to look first at the plates, as every reader will, is to reinforce all such feelings by the beginnings of an understanding of the variety and beauty of English sepulchral art. Of course there are oddities, as in the medieval misericords and elsewhere. There is a low relief of highwaymen attacking a coach. A carpenter carries his bag of tools. A goat is eating a cabbage. A handsome cock pheasant is lifting a dainty foot. The tombs commemorate not the noble and great alone. We may find a forester, a miner, gamekeeper, housekeeper, shoemaker, watchmaker, wrestler. The beasts of heraldry come to life in colour and carving. The Hanoverian wig bestows more than opulence upon its wearer. "Reading from the pictures", as in childhood, we find it easy and delightful to accompany Mrs. Esdaile in her story of the development of the later monumental styles, of the men who designed and carved them and the materials in which they worked. The story links the tradition with the medieval centuries—deliberately overlapping, for this purpose, by showing examples from the fifteenth century. It is the same, not a different, story which is pursued through

Tudor, Stuart and Hanoverian times into early Victorian. Nor need it stop there.

Mrs. Esdaile has recovered from oblivion the names of many sculptors, English, Huguenot, Flemish and others who worked here, or has added to our knowledge of those known already. One of these is the picturesquely named Epiphanius Evesham, a Herefordshire man whose early Jacobean masterpieces can be seen in the Abbey and traced in the churches of Kent, Essex and Lincolnshire. At least thirty other masons or sculptors have been identified, and something of their lives made known. This implies painstaking research: here very modestly displayed. We have emphasized the importance of these monuments as works of art; Mrs. Esdaile brings out other aspects, such as their historical and documentary interest. It is unlikely that this

book will be supplanted: it may be hoped that the author will supplement it. Mr. Sitwell writes a suggestive introduction. This is his period also, and Mrs. Esdaile's work is complementary to his *British Architects and Craftsmen, 1600 to 1830*; and to F. H. Crossley's *English Church Design, 1040 to 1540*. Mr. Sitwell relates this English work to its affinities in Spain, Italy, South Germany and elsewhere and finds the comparison creditable to the English artist.

W. THOMSON HILL.

**CHILD OF WONDER.** An Intimate Biography of Arthur Mee by Sir John Hammerton. *Hodder & Stoughton*. 12s. 6d.

Arthur Mee was author or editor of an impressive number of works, from the

Number 4, March 1947, now ready

## The Trollopian

EDITED BY BRADFORD A. BOOTH

Beginning in June THE TROLLOPIAN, the Journal of Victorian Fiction published by the University of California Press, will appear quarterly in June, September, December and March. The annual subscription in Great Britain is 16s. 6d. net. Single copies cost 5s. net each. Enquiries and subscriptions should be addressed to Bentley House, 200 Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

forty-eight parts of *Harmsworth's Self-Educator* to the thirty-seven volumes of *The King's England*, a work somewhat extravagantly described as 'A new Domesday Book of 10,000 Towns and Villages'. Mee was fond of round numbers. His second serial venture *Harmsworth's History of the World* provided '10,000 pictures of 10,000 years'; later there was 1,000 *Beautiful Things*, and *Arthur Mee's* 1,000 *Heroes* and many more. His output was enormous: he claimed at one time to write a million words a year. Sir John Hammerton, his collaborator in several ventures, suggests that this was possibly an exaggeration, although no one will deny that his energy was prodigious, his enthusiasms unbounded and his influence great. Indeed it is difficult to estimate how many thousands of children have been reared on *The Children's Encyclopaedia*, or its successors *My Magazine* and *The Children's Newspaper*.

Others have compiled works, the chief value of which lies in the information they give or the inspiration they impart, but never with the success achieved by Mee. Yet he was not an accomplished writer: his work, Sir John suggests, was only "somewhat above the standard of good journalism," and lacked "that indefinable something which would have made it lasting literature." His real merit as a writer was "the inspirational quality" of everything he wrote. He was to the end a child of wonder, and he was able to pass on to the reader the wonder and enthusiasm he had experienced himself. And as a maker of books he had no rival. He visualized the finished production, often before he had started writing the book or planning it in detail. The appearance of a book sells many more copies than publishers care to admit, and in his lavish use of illustration, his choice of title, his skill in sub-editing and making almost any subject look interesting by the frequent use of paragraph headings, he had no equal.

His reading was limited mostly to

newspapers and works of information, and he rarely read for pleasure. In fact it seems that he wrote more than he read. Much of his writing was based on his vast collection of newspaper cuttings, thousands and thousands of them, all carefully classified in large envelopes so that an article on any subject could be produced at short notice.

Sir John Hammerton knew Mee for over forty years and records carefully the stages of his career, from his humble beginning as a reporter in Nottingham to his later days of affluence and success with the *Harmsworths*. It is a generous but uninspiring tribute: this is not, one feels, the real Arthur Mee, the legendary author of a hundred books, the inspired editor of *The Children's Newspaper*. Mee deserves a better book than this, and one wishes that some of his magic could have been transmitted to the biographer, and through him to the reader.

C. W. SWINSON.

#### THE BRITISH MUSEUM LIBRARY, by Arundell Esdaile. *George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.* 15s.

Mr. Esdaile, who started his career in the library section and became secretary of the Museum, has done a service to the public in making known through his book the history of this great collection. There are few visitors to this country from overseas who do not allocate a portion of their time to visiting the library of which Sir Frederic Kenyon in his introduction to Mr. Esdaile's book says: "The British Museum is, next to the British Navy, the National Institution which is held in most respect abroad."

In his preface the author points out that the book should really be considered as the first of three volumes which would be needed to complete the task, and it is to be hoped that these will appear some day either from his pen or from that of another. Mr. Esdaile has confined himself to the departments of Printed Books and Manuscripts, and Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts.

Now that by law a copy of every published book has to be deposited with the Museum it is perhaps taken for granted that this was always the case. But at one time it had to acquire by gift or purchase what it wanted.

The Museum was created by an Act passed in 1753 and the library of Sir Hans Sloane of Chelsea was the first big collection of books to become the property of the nation. As time went on, other collections were acquired and other books became the property of the Museum by gift and these have been carefully traced. It is notable how during the whole period of the library's existence, whenever a very rare treasure has been in the market, there has had to be a constant fight by the trustees with the Treasury to get funds allocated for buying it; or for the purpose of acquiring the land or erecting the extra buildings needed to house the ever growing collection.

The history of the Museum book catalogue which is to be found in the centre of the reading room makes most interesting reading. It is fascinating to see how the Herculean task of incorporating the various catalogues into a whole has been accomplished, for while this is being done the cataloguers must keep pace with additions. It would, I think, be hard to find in any part of the globe a more complete and better arranged catalogue, which, we are told, was patronized by most of the great writers of the last generation. And that is probably equally true to-day.

An account of the evolution of the various departments and appendices giving the names of the trustees and various keepers of all the different departments (the names are now to a large extent history), are included. But what is perhaps more interesting still is the short history of the reigns of the keepers of printed books from the start and the various influences which each had on the collection as a whole.

It is to Panizzi that posterity owes the

erection of the reading room as we know it to-day. This is perhaps the best known part of the vast library to its users, but comparatively few stop to think who its creator was. It can be said that Panizzi probably left a greater mark on the whole structure of the library than any of his predecessors in office had done.

Mr. Esdaile has spent the greater part of his working years in the Museum and his book is a labour of love, on his retirement, to show students how and by whom their reference library was formed and brought to its present great position.

J. A. WALEY COHEN.

**SUMMER'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT**, by Constant Lambert. *Oxford University Press.* Three guineas.

For a long time book publishers have appealed to the collector's instinct by the

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production of luxurious limited editions, signed by the author, and more recently this vogue spread to the realms of music. Such lavish productions were naturally halted by war conditions, but the Oxford University Press has made a fresh start in this direction with the vocal score of *Summer's Last Will and Testament* by Constant Lambert, with drawings by Michael Ayrton.

The present edition is limited to 150 copies, of which one hundred, signed by the composer and the artist, are for sale.

The score is a large folio of some seventy-eight pages, with six drawings. Aesthetically it is difficult to balance a page of music, with its abundance of necessary detail, against the illustrations; but Hubert Foss, who supervised the production, is to be congratulated on his solution of the problem. He has contrasted clearly-defined scores of music of a relatively small note size against the bold drawings of Michael Ayrton, so that the pages present the fairly even blackness which is satisfying to the eye. The layout and engraving of the music is in itself an artistic achievement, which reflects credit on the firm of Henderson & Spalding. It would be unfair to criticize the poor quality of the paper: the publishers would certainly have used better if it had been available for this otherwise handsome production.

The music is in the form of a masque for orchestra, chorus and baritone solo, to words taken from the Pleasant Comedy entitled *Summer's Last Will and Testament* written by Thomas Nashe in 1593. After an orchestral *Intrata* consisting of a *Pastorale* and *Siciliana*, "Fair Summer droops" is set as a *Madrigal con ritornelli* for chorus and orchestra. Then follows a similar setting of the well-known words "Spring, the sweet Spring" in the rhythm of a *Coranto*. A bacchanalian frenzy is reached in the *Brawles* "Trip and go", which end on a quieter note with some clever choral vocalization on "Ah" merging into a few bars of humming.

The fifth movement is another *Mad-*

*rigal con ritornelli*, the words being "Autumn hath all the Summer's fruitful treasure." This is followed by the orchestral *Rondo Burlesca* "King Pest", which is sometimes heard in the concert hall as a separate item. Then comes the final "Adieu! Farewell earth's bliss", set as a stately *Saraband* for baritone solo, chorus and orchestra.

The whole work is imbued with the spirit of a modern renaissance—the twentieth-century counterpart of the Elizabethan spirit in literature and music. The settings, modern as they are, fit the sixteenth-century poetry of Thomas Nashe perfectly. The verses were written against a background of plague and pestilence, and this is reflected not only in the music—particularly in "King Pest" and the final *Saraband*—but also in Michael Ayrton's drawings. In them the imagination of a Blake is combined with the rugged draughtsmanship of a Dürer into something essentially modern in its forcefulness.

*Summer's Last Will and Testament* was first performed under the composer's direction at a B.B.C. Symphony Concert at Queen's Hall in January 1936. In addition to the baritone solo and chorus it requires a full modern orchestra, including two harps. But one can gain little idea of the orchestration from the present vocal score, in which the orchestral part is realized in terms of a piano duet. The composer says: "Although much of this vocal score is playable and effective as a piano duet, the arranger, Mr. Archibald Jacob, has at my request supplied a clear presentation of the contrapuntal texture of the full score rather than a pianistic transcription." It is to be regarded primarily as a student score enabling those who have not seen the full score to obtain a fair idea of the music. Why, if this is so, is the orchestration not more clearly indicated in the arrangement? There are less than a dozen indications of instrumentation scattered about the piano part and the student is left guessing as to how the composer has

coloured the bare notes in his orchestration. This is a serious omission: a little extra care could have made the score so much more valuable.

EDGAR HUNT.

### THE CONCERTGOER'S HANDBOOK, by Hubert Foss. *Sylvan Press*. 15s.

How pleasant to compile such a book as this! A personal reaction, perhaps, but quite in keeping with this very personal book. It is a tribute to Mr. Foss to say that he has pleased himself in writing it, for his evident enjoyment and enthusiasm shine through the text as happily as they pervade one of his broadcasts. But more than charm is required to justify the appearance of yet another handbook, and this one must stand or fall by its aims and achievements like any other.

One of the author's intentions, as expressed in the preamble, was to produce a concise book "which offers just the right amount of knowledge and proper understanding necessary for the immediate situation, but no more." This statement might lead one to expect a concise version of Percy Scholes's *Companion*, but no such comparison is possible or desirable. Mr. Foss's virtues are harder to define, if no less sound, than are those of Dr. Scholes, and he is entirely on his own ground as far as this book is concerned. He treats music as an art, not as a technique, and all within the frame of a self-indexed book. To quote again: "The method tries to be expository—that is to say, it tries rather to discuss the musical result of facts than the facts themselves." From this point of view Mr. Foss succeeds admirably.

The conciseness which has been aimed at in this work of limited scope necessitated many omissions, and although the precise nature of these has been dictated by the author's personal fancy, for which he makes no apology, there is good sense behind most of them. One is less happy about the omissions of contemporary

names. Mr. Foss has expressed his awareness of the difficulty of the position without lessening one's irritation at discovering, for instance, that the three people to whom the book is dedicated claim a paragraph each for their scholarship and that Nadia Boulanger and Dr. E. H. Fellowes, two of the other great names in this sphere, receive no entry.

However, the most successful aspect of the book is not its reference value but its human quality of readableness and its clear artistic exposition, well atoning for any incompleteness which only larger books can avoid. To widen the usefulness of the Handbook, by leading the reader on to fuller sources of information, a bibliography is appended which, though not exhaustive, should prompt many to visit a library.

PHILIP MORRIS.

"WHOSOEVER will, let him take the WATER of LIFE freely". (Rev. xxi., 17)

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## BOOKS ON THE TABLE

THE assertion that material progress has failed to make the human race happier is in danger of becoming a cliché. If those who make it just to be in the fashion stop to think, and take L. T. C. Holt's *HIGH HORSE RIDERLESS* (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.) for a guide, they will discover nevertheless that they have 'said a mouthful'. It is hard to deny that "knowledge and wisdom, work and leisure, art and religion, life and death become indivisible parts of one art, the art of the good life," for otherwise the horse of destruction must gallop on riderless to destruction. The author has summarized his thesis under twenty headings, each of which would stretch the powers of a discussion group, however earnest. To quote any one of these would be unfair to the other nineteen but a few of his chapter headings will hint at the scope of the book: "The City at Play", "at Work", "at Home", "The Twilight of the Arts", "Education for Freedom", "Work and Wealth",—with superb photographs throughout to 'highlight' the argument.

## Finding the facts

Fresh from this concern with the sublime it is disconcerting, though far from ridiculous, to read that Aston Villa and Sheffield United football clubs began in a Sunday School. So says the latest broadsheet of *PLANNING* (Political and Economic Planning, Annual Subscription £2), which is devoted to CLUBS, SOCIETIES AND DEMOCRACY. The attributes of the groups, independent of the State, into which the British have long been accustomed to form themselves are here examined with a view to discovering what part they play as vehicles of democratic activity and to how many people they bring awareness of the meaning of citizenship. The information in these twenty pages should be invaluable to the

student of sociological problems or to any general reader curious about the way democracy works, and the appendices containing the names of societies, foundation dates, membership statistics, etc. are particularly helpful.

"PEP is an independent, non-party association for economic and social research . . . It does not seek to propound any political doctrine as such, but to formulate opinions which flow from the discovery and study of the facts." This is its watchword and for more than ten years it has been publishing every three weeks or so full-scale reports which are a concentration of much laborious and patient investigation.

## Thoughts for to-day

Democracy restores to man a consciousness of his value, teaches him by the removal of authority and oppression to listen only to the dictates of reason, gives him confidence to treat all other men as his fellow beings, and induces him to regard them no longer as enemies against whom to be on his guard, but as brethren whom it becomes him to assist.

Not as might be supposed from either of the foregoing but from Godwin's *Political Justice*, written in 1793. How far short the world is to-day from his ideals of government may be gauged anew from George Woodcock's *WILLIAM GODWIN* (Porcupine Press, 12s. 6d.). This biographical study attempts to rectify the modern neglect of Godwin in favour of the achievements of his contemporaries. He is often only remembered for the sweet sake of Shelley, the son-in-law on whom he incessantly sponged. But Mr. Woodcock proves that Shelley's intellectual debt to Godwin was at least as great. In fact, the latter's philosophy had an enormous influence on all in that circle of poets and thinkers who gathered about the Shelleys. The author gives a full analysis of the works, especially the once famous *Enquiry Concerning Political*

*Justice*, which, as this is practically unobtainable now, puts the reader in his debt and shows moreover that Godwin's principles of truth and freedom are still pertinent.

## Pre-Boswell

When Godwin was born Samuel Johnson was already celebrated, combining the rôle of Tory and High Churchman with a contempt for patriotism, slavery and aristocratic patrons. Part X of *JOHNSONIAN GLEANINGS* by Aleya Lyell Reade, "Johnson's Early Life: The Final Narrative" (privately printed for the author by Lund Humphries, 21s.), is the ripe fruit of forty years' research. How wide this has been may be gathered from other titles in the series, such as: "Notes on Dr. Johnson's Ancestors and Connections", "Francis Barber, the Doctor's Negro Servant", "The Jervis, Porter and other Allied Families", as well as three books on the Doctor's boyhood and on his life between 1728 and 1740. The whole is indeed a labour of Mr. Reade's love, scrupulous in scholarship and at its rightful post beside, and complementary to, the Boswell.

## "as she is spoke"

By a natural transition, the great *Dictionary* being in mind, *USAGE AND ABUSAGE: A Guide to Good English*, by Eric Partridge (*Hamish Hamilton*, 15s.) comes next. This is great fun, rather more for the author than for the sometimes rueful reader. The essays on "Jargon", "Colloquialisms", "Slang", "War Adoptions" and "Vogue Words" remind us how miserably dependent through laziness most of us are on the inexact word or phrase and of how quickly we rub the bloom off the novel or ultra (this, says Mr. Partridge, "fortunately is obsolescent"! ) expressive. Most of us would avoid misusing 'while' as in Sir Alan Herbert's example: "The curate read the first lesson while the rector read the second," but, after an intensive course of 'which', 'what', 'that', 'who' or 'whom' under Mr. Partridge's tutelage,

some may be doubtful evermore which, or what, to use. This of course is no criticism of him but of those who make a 'utility' makeshift of Shakespeare's tongue instead of the luxury that, or which, it is.

## What literature is

As Keats said: "English must be kept up" and Basil Willey re-inforces the plea in *THE "Q" TRADITION* (Cambridge University Press, 1s. 6d.) and who better? Professor Willey, on his appointment to the King Edward VII Chair of English Literature at Cambridge, made this his inaugural lecture and goes some way in proving his fitness to succeed Quiller-Couch when he says:

This is still the defence of literary culture in our time, as it was in Arnold's that by learning and propagating the best that has been thought and said in the world, it may help to make reason and the will of God prevail.

And he applies his argument to the individual in 'Q's' own words:

The man we are proud to send forth from our Schools will be remarkable less for something he can take out of his wallet and exhibit as knowledge, than for being something, and that something recognizable for a man of unmistakable intellectual breeding, whose trained judgment we can trust to choose the better and reject the worse.

## Poetry from Italy

How two Englishmen have used their considerable literary gifts to express the thoughts of an Italian and of a Chinese may be judged by two books of poetry on the table. The first is *POEMS FROM GIACOMO LEOPARDI* (John Lehmann, 7s. 6d.), translated and introduced by John Heath-Stubbs, who says he has tried to produce work which will convey the poetic quality of Leopardi to the reader unacquainted with the original. Born as he was at the end of the eighteenth century he was surprisingly little influenced by the Romantic movement of the nineteenth. His isolation may be inferred by his indifference to Byron's poetry which on the Continent, at any rate, was much more than a vogue. Mr. Heath-Stubbs feels that probably "the deepest affinity

of Leopardi among English poets is with Wordsworth" but does not push this far; though the very first poem in the book does bring Wordsworthian echoes. Mr. Heath-Stubbs is remembered gratefully for himself of course as one of the more outstanding of the young *Routledge* poets of a year or so ago.

### Chinese philosophy

THE WAY OF ACCEPTANCE, a new version of Lao Tse's *Tao Tê Ching*, by Hermon Ould (*Andrew Dakers*. 5s.) is the second book. The author claims that his "version" is an "intelligible paraphrase of a famous manual of philosophy" the teachings of *Tao Tê Ching* being "paradoxical, elliptical, antinomial—in a word, difficult." This work was probably written about four hundred years before Christ—and its wisdom is dateless. Mr. Ould explains that the trend of his own reading hitherto had been towards Indian philosophy rather than Chinese. His renderings confirm this, and to say that they sound like Rabindranath Tagore is, from this reader, very high praise indeed. For instance:

How shall water become clear save by keeping still?

It is by the still and the motionless that life is quickened.

Those who follow the Tao do not crave replenishment;

Always satisfied but never surfeited, they are ever-renewed.

### Contemporary writing

Number 14 of MODERN READING, edited by Reginald Moore (*Phoenix House*. 6s.), departs from the style of its predecessors; it is not paper-covered and some new features increase its size. Among these John Steinbeck and Gustav Fechner, the authors considered in "Writers and Their Work", receive the competent treatment of Lewis Gannett and Henry Miller respectively. Both

Americans, the English of these two has that pungent, alert and concise quality, without either facetiousness or *March of Time* solemnity, which can be most attractive to readers this side of the Atlantic. Its stories, essays and poems seem to justify the contention that *Modern Reading* "offers its readers a cross-section of what is being currently thought and done by significant British and American authors." But when the Editor says: "Whilst drawing from the literary movements of our time we shall resist becoming the handmaiden of any one of them" he is being unnecessarily portentous.

### Produce of Ireland

Maura Laverty is a novelist who grows. *Alone We Embark and Never No More* appeared to be worthy of all those encomiums reserved for Irish writers fortunate enough to have an eloquent sponsor. Now comes LIFT UP YOUR GATES (*Longmans*. 8s. 6d.) which makes one wish to have read her story book for children, *The Cottage in the Bog*, so well does she understand the mind of a little girl. Her tender study of Chrissie, in a Dublin slum, who sold the convent dinner can lent her by kind Sister Martha to buy a smaller boy a chocolate roll, is a beautiful piece of work. The crushing guilt that is the sensitive child's special hell becomes the reader's—who also shares that magical lift of the heart at the end when Sister Martha shows her confidence in Chrissie. Then those slums—the sinks of poverty, smells, rats, drunkenness and ignorance that are somehow always magnified in the shadow of the Roman Catholic Church—how they come alive, in all meanings of the word, under the author's delicate touch! Maura Laverty is a prophet with honour—but, I wonder, save in her own country?

GRACE BANYARD.

# THE FORTNIGHTLY

JUNE, 1947

## AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

By W. W. ROSTOW

LIKE the war to which it succeeds, the present period of diplomacy presents to all nations problems of great novelty. For the United States, however, the Second World War, and the process of peace-making in which it is now caught up, have required a re-definition of its relations to the world unique among the Great Powers. That re-orientation is still in process; and its outcome can by no means be predicted in detail. The evolution of the American position since 1939, sharply marked by Mr. Truman's appeal to Congress for aid to Greece and Turkey, appears to involve changes in the American outlook, and in American foreign policy, long-run in character.

For Russia, France, and Great Britain the recent war constituted a peculiarly violent and dangerous recurrence of national experiences. Russia had known before invasions by land, mounted from the bases of Eastern Europe; nor was this the first occasion on which France had been engulfed by a military force, generated in Central Europe, which poured through the Ardennes, and swept along the North Sea and the Channel Coast. For Britain, the domination of virtually the whole of the Continent by an enemy power was, in fact, more typical of her military history than the pattern of the First World War, with a formal front sustained on the Continent throughout the period of hostilities. The collapse of France in 1940 presented Britain with a desperate, but familiar, problem. There was a sense in which the war in Europe simply confirmed, for British and Europeans, habitual conceptions, deeply bred and transmitted over centuries of human and national experience.

For the United States it was not, of course, new to fight in Europe or to fight Germany. But in many ways the First World War had left the country unmarked. This was not simply a consequence of the brief period or the limited character of American participation in the war of 1914-18. It resulted from the conclusions popularly drawn from that war, and from those that were not drawn. The United States returned to isolation, or more precisely to what has been called a Continental Policy; that is, the pursuit of security within the Western Hemisphere, and virtual disengagement from the major issues of the European and Asiatic Continents. In the schoolboy's lore of the 1920's and 1930's American participation in the First World War was regarded as a glorious, but probably ill-advised, adventure. The implications of that adventure, and the conception of the national interest which had, at bottom, motivated and justified it, were largely forgotten or ignored. And this was almost as true of those who continued after 1920 to seek American entrance into the

CLIX



League of Nations, as those who believed that some version of the Monroe Doctrine should define the outer limit of the American commitment in foreign affairs.

Those who persisted in the Wilsonian tradition argued their case for the most part in general terms of "collective security". It required the fall of France in 1940 and the clear threat of invasion to Great Britain to translate that case into the more persuasive vocabulary of the American national interest. Those two events provided sufficient impetus to support the lend-lease compromise, and a shoot-at-sight policy in Atlantic waters. But in the last analysis the United States went to war only when the enemy chose directly to threaten the continental position with the attack on Hawaii; and the Germans helpfully declared war as well. In short, the United States went to war in December 1941 under a most primitive and direct national challenge, understandable and acceptable to all.

It is, perhaps, worth recalling very briefly the general shape and the traditional main objectives of American diplomacy. The foreign policy of the United States from the onset of the Revolution to the end of the nineteenth century was concerned: with the winning of independence, in which a French alliance, temporarily accepted, played a decisive part; with the expansion to the West, which involved a war with Mexico as well as extensive dealings with France and Spain; with the protracted negotiations which finally established the peaceful Canadian boundary; with the avoidance of British intervention during the American Civil War; with the formulation of relations with Latin America around the somewhat elastic concept of the Monroe Doctrine; and with an extension of the American interest to Alaska and the mid-Pacific islands. In the main, American diplomacy was simply a function, over this century and a quarter, of the larger effort to establish and consolidate an independent continent-nation, and to protect its position in the Western Hemisphere.

In Europe the United States generated consciously no major national interests; its diplomacy was designed to remove or to limit European stakes on the American Continent and in the Western Hemisphere, and to avoid, as Washington had urged, the entanglement of the American destiny "with that of any part of Europe."

In the Far East commercial interests led the United States into fairly elaborate diplomacy, in both China and Japan, even before the Civil War. These interventions yielded a commercial treaty with China, and they opened Japan to the Western World; but the colourful negotiations that produced the Treaty of Wanghia in 1844, and which brought Commodore Perry's seven black ships to the Bay of Yedo in 1854, were not sustained in the last half of the nineteenth century. The United States, largely lost interest. That mid-century passage in American history may well have contributed, however, to the curious tendency to accept intervention in the Far East as a more natural facet of the

American Destiny than intervention in Europe: a tendency which, to some extent, affected American policy in the recent war and which still plays some part in popular thinking and in American diplomacy.

The diplomatic history of the years from 1898 to 1939 can usefully be summarized as a period of experimental groping towards a new relationship of the United States to the rest of the world. The American continent had been consolidated by the 1890's; and the nation looked out upon the seas with a margin of unemployed enterprise and a consciousness of power. It built a navy and toyed inconclusively with the doctrines of Captain Mahan.

There was a fairly continuous passage of imperialism with respect to portions of Latin America, which after yielding a solid result, in the form of the Panama Canal, gave way finally to the Good Neighbour Policy of Roosevelt, Hull and Welles. There was the war with Spain in 1898, which removed that country from Cuba and which left the United States with the difficult and embarrassing problem of the Philippines. There was the First World War, with its barren aftermath. There was the policy of the Open Door in China, and the failure to sustain it in 1931, when neither the United States nor the rest of the world faced the implication that Mr. Stimson then drew from the onset of Japanese aggression.

Reflecting on this record of abortive and bankrupt American initiative in Europe and Asia it is understandable that many Americans should have concluded, in the course of the 1930's, that the country should undertake no serious national commitments outside the Western Hemisphere. In any case, such was the controlling national view on the outbreak of war in 1939. On October 3, 1939, the Declaration of Panama established in the Western Hemisphere a 'safety belt' around the Americas, south of Canada, from approximately 300 to 1,000 miles in width, and it warned the belligerents to refrain from naval action within that area. In November 1939 a cash-and-carry policy of arms exports was passed by the Congress, offering some concession to American sympathies, and some modification in the previous Neutrality Act, but designed consciously to avoid the Freedom of the Seas controversy which ultimately effected American entrance into the war of 1914-18. The United States, in this extremity, abandoned a doctrine it had irregularly maintained from the days of Napoleon, the Barbary pirates, and the war of 1812.

Less than a decade later, in the period 1945-47, American military and diplomatic representatives have constituted the occupation authority in Japan, and they have shared the occupation of Korea, Germany, and Austria. An American diplomatic representative in Nanking has stubbornly sought the terms by which a unified China might be established, and even with the failure of the first phase of that effort, the American interest persists. Early in 1946 an American Secretary of State, as a matter of high national policy, insisted on the enforcement of an international agreement relating to Northern Iran; and an American President has more recently defined a long term American

interest in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. A successor to the League of Nations is locating itself in New York City. And these operations have been supported by a very large majority of the American people.

This revolution in diplomatic behaviour may be traced to the more or less conscious acceptance of two related sets of ideas by the American Government and the people. The first of these is essentially military, and the second relates to the balance of power in the Eurasian Continent.

American thinking about the military security of the nation has been successively altered in the past six years by the crisis in the west of 1940-41; the attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941; and then by the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima in August 1945.

The pursuit of a continental policy was always based on the implicit or explicit judgment that, given maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, a serious military threat to the United States could come only through sea-borne invasion; and that the United States was capable of defending the approaches to the continent against any likely naval coalition. In the course of the great debate over isolationism, in the period 1939-41, much of the argument, in effect, came to rest on this latter point. Many sober converts to intervention were won when they concluded that, over a period of years, with German domination of the European continent and Great Britain, and with the operation of a German-Japanese coalition, the naval defence of the Western Hemisphere would prove impossible.

It is probably fair to conclude that an acceptance of the reality of this threat was decisive to the passage of the Lend-Lease Act early in 1941. It had, at last, become evident that the unstated, and somewhat ironical, premise of American isolationism was a control of the Atlantic which required a friendly British sea-power based on a friendly Britain.

The effect of the disaster at Pearl Harbour was, of course, to provoke a simple and universal determination to impose total defeat upon the Japanese. It had, also, certain consequences which affected both technical and popular thinking: the relative utility in modern war of the battleship and of the aircraft-carrier was dramatized; the threat of direct, if sporadic, air attack on the American continent was raised; and, above all, the concept of isolating the United States from a major war by defensive naval dispositions was placed, perhaps permanently, in disrepute.

The experience of Pearl Harbour, and of the subsequent Eurasian war in which the United States became fully engaged, obviously explains much of the American diplomatic revolution. The terms of that revolution have been driven home and its character significantly altered, however, by the emergence of the very long-range aircraft, guided missiles, and the atom bomb. Without those instruments, it is possible that, as a result of the war, the United States might merely have drawn the conclusion that it must in the future positively and actively dominate the approaches to the American Continent, either itself

or with its Allies. It may well have decided that such a positive extension of the old continental doctrine would suffice in the post-war world, and retired, in effect, to some more active version of isolationism.

The new and awful weapons may well, in the last analysis, forestall this outcome. For it lies clearly within the potentialities of modern aircraft and atomic weapons to inflict grievous national damage on the United States from bases deep in Europe or Asia, and to impose such damage by the mobilization of a relatively limited pool of resources, as compared with those required to inflict comparable damage during the Second World War.

Once it is accepted that the United States is capable of being militarily threatened from distant interior air bases the main lines of an appropriate national policy become clear. It consists in:

- maintenance of the ability promptly and effectively to counter-attack any potential enemy who might consider atomic attack on the United States;
- the quest for international agreements which would effectively remove the danger of atomic weapon attack;
- and the quest for both immediate and long-run solutions to problems throughout the world which might lead to war and to the employment of atomic weapons.

It is a thin substitute for the two comforting oceans which were formerly believed to shelter the American continent, to be able to threaten a potential enemy with at least equal counter-attack after he has inflicted serious national injury. The United States has abandoned its island status, in a military and diplomatic sense, with a reluctance the people of Great Britain will understand; but the conclusion of General Marshall, contemplating as Chief of Staff the lessons of the recent war, is likely to be accepted and written firmly into American policy: "It no longer appears practical to continue what we once conceived as hemispheric defence as a satisfactory basis for our security. We are now concerned with the peace of the entire world." The 'respectable defensive picture' counselled a hundred and fifty years earlier by Washington is no longer judged to suffice.

It may appear strange to belabour the realization in the United States that it now must live in a world where real dangers lurk, where military security is not guaranteed by nature. For the people of Europe the recent war and the atom bomb have strengthened a sense of insecurity which has been virtually a continuous part of European life so long as its history is recorded. For the United States this is, relatively, a new element in the national state of mind, and one which, while it was not created by the atom bomb, may well be maintained because of it, when the mood of June 1940 and that of December 1941 become difficult to recapture.

The recent military experience of the United States, and the conclusions drawn from it, may have promoted a willingness to devote a larger proportion of the national energy and resources to the quest for stable peace; but they have not, and they cannot in themselves determine the cast of American policy in the particular regions of Europe and Asia where American diplomacy is

freshly engaged. For Great Britain and France the problems presented by Germany, Austria, and Eastern Europe are basically familiar; and there are, whatever their present worth, traditional formulae of the national interest on which to guide the day-to-day operations of diplomacy. Similarly, the position of Russia in Europe and in Northern Asia, however striking it may be to this generation, is in many ways a reversion. Russian troops have been in Berlin before; and a powerful Russian interest in Eastern Europe, in Manchuria, and in Korea is not new. In the case of the United States, not only the public at large but the Department of State as well have been forced to define the American interest in strange regions under novel circumstances.

It was noted earlier that the revolution in American diplomatic behaviour stemmed both from military judgments and from conclusions drawn concerning the balance of power on the Eurasian Continent. While the debate, so far as the United States is concerned, might not exist at all without the former element, the substance of the debate concerns issues arising from the latter.

The processes of war and of wartime diplomacy placed the United States, by the autumn of 1945, in Berlin and Vienna as a joint occupying power; in half of Korea; virtually alone in Tokyo; and it yielded a rather special, if ambiguous, status for the United States in China. In all those areas, excepting China, American representatives directly confronted the representatives of the Soviet Union; and, further excepting Japan, they confronted them on an equal basis. At all these points, and throughout the Eurasian area, two central observations were made:

1. In all the areas which it occupied or in which its influence was predominant for other reasons the Soviet Union appeared to seek to maximize and to consolidate its national power, partly at the expense of other powers, and to extend Soviet power into neighbouring areas.
2. In the areas where the Soviet Union was seeking to extend its power, economic, social, and political conditions existed to which the Soviet Union, or its local advocates, might effectively appeal.

The vigorous behaviour of Soviet diplomacy, in the unstable setting of the post-war world, seemed to raise, if generously projected, the threat of Soviet domination of the whole Eurasian continent. Should such an outcome materialize, its exact technical significance, in terms of air warfare with atom bombs, is difficult to gauge. In terms of every other standard of national power, however, it would represent a great diminution of the absolute and relative power and influence of the United States in the world. It is, and will probably remain, a major objective of American policy in Europe and in Asia to prevent Soviet domination of the Eurasian continent.

Just as the war revealed that a military policy of hemispheric defence was grounded implicitly in the existence of a powerful and friendly British Navy based in Europe, the diplomacy of the post-war world evoked a realization that a diplomatic policy confined to the Western Hemisphere implicitly assumed the avoidance of a structure in Europe and Asia which would place the Euro-

pean continent, on the one hand, and continental East Asia, on the other, under the dominance of a single, possibly hostile, power. In the two post-war years the threat of such an outcome has appeared real, or potentially real; at some moments in a military sense, but more urgently in terms of the political and economic life of those regions. And the possibilities of avoiding this threat have appeared to depend directly on the maintenance of an active American policy in distant continents. If the war catapulted the United States into Europe and Asia, the atom bomb and Soviet policy are holding it there: the atom bomb because any war would now threaten the United States; Soviet policy because it has been judged to be aggressive with respect to American interests.

In days of pre-atomic warfare the significance of military control of Western Europe and of China was reasonably unambiguous to other major powers, and latterly it was driven home in the United States. Under present circumstances those areas may or may not be for the United States a matter of great military moment, narrowly defined. They are evidently of significance, however, for the non-military power—in the widest meaning, the political power of the United States; and, perhaps more important, their orientation will affect the possibilities of maintaining within the United States the relatively free political and economic life it now enjoys. There is a sense in which the foreign policy of the United States is now mainly concerned to secure the political rather than the military security of the country—in a comfortable phrase, to protect the American way of life. The realization has grown that in defence of the American national interest the United States may or may not face a military war with the Soviet Union; it certainly faces a conflict of political and economic conception and, broadly, of political influence.

Simply to recognize the existence of, and even to respond to, a clash of interest between the Soviet Union and the United States does not, of course, constitute a foreign policy. The formation of policy has required judgment with respect to the nature of that clash, the optimum means for dealing with it, and the manner in which its existence, and even continuance, can be made consistent with our common larger aspirations for a stable peace. It is around these issues of formulation and balance, that the American debate revolves and a foreign policy has been shaped.

*(This and the succeeding article, in the July number of THE FORTNIGHTLY, are partly based on the author's Inaugural Lecture at Oxford (where he is Harmsworth Professor of American History), "The American Diplomatic Revolution", portions of which are reprinted here by courtesy of the Oxford University Press.)*

## CHINA AGAIN HOPES

BY O. M. GREEN

THE New Year festival of 1946 was gladdened for all China by the news that at a conference of all parties in Chungking complete agreement had been reached between Government and Communists. So close an observer as General George Marshall, who as official American mediator was better able to know the facts than anyone, believed that peace had been secured: others might therefore be excused for similar hopefulness. Yet before April the Communists had flung away, declaring that the Kuomintang were secretly working to wreck the agreement and retain their monopoly of power. The war began again, if it had ever stopped, and is still raging. Now, within the past few weeks fresh causes for hopefulness have arisen which, without underrating the dark side of the Chinese picture, are not to be ignored.

It would be tedious to detail the course of the war and indeed impossible. Battles were reported for propaganda purposes, which never took place; negotiations were announced only to flicker out aimlessly; and cease-fires ordered with no cessation of fighting. General Chiang undoubtedly held his hand until July when he evidently decided that further argument unbacked by force was useless. But he waved the olive-branch as well as the big stick, always urging the Communists to accept the still open terms of the Chungking agreement, enter the National Assembly and co-operate peacefully with others.

Throughout the autumn the Communists lost much ground. In December Kalgan fell to the Government troops, a heavy loss as it was the Communists' chief base in north-east China, well-provided with factories built by the Japanese, and the chief link in their communications with their comrades in Manchuria. Then in March they were driven from Yen-an, their famous capital in Shensi since 1934, subject of so many glowing descriptions by their foreign admirers. So far as can be seen the Communists have no other base in North China which can compare with Yen-an and Kalgan, and the Government is not likely to allow them time and opportunity to build another. Yet they continue to put up a hard resistance with their unexcelled guerrillas, and the Government's efforts to clear the North China railways, which roughly form a capital "A"—the Peking-Hankow, Peking-Nanking and the Lung-Hai for the cross-bar—have, up to the time of writing, been making slow progress.

General, now called Mr. Marshall, since he became Secretary of State, gave up his long and valiant attempts at mediation in January and returned to

America where he published a report on the quarrel which summed it up in one word—distrust between the controlling powers of Kuomintang and Communists so unconquerable that "they each took counsel only of their own fears" and any offer by the one side was merely regarded by the other as a trap designed for their ultimate destruction. On the Kuomintang side a group of reactionaries, strongly backed by military men who maintained that the only way to end Communism was to stamp it out by force, were deaf to all General Marshall's arguments; while "the dyed-in-the-wool Communists do not hesitate at the most drastic measures . . . to wreck the economy of China and produce a situation that would facilitate the over-throw or collapse of the Government, without any regard to the immediate suffering of the people."

The dire effects of the civil war are sufficiently revealed in trade figures and the terrible depreciation of the dollar. In a total trade with Great Britain of £9,882,946 in 1946 China's adverse balance was £4,863,736: with America it was still worse. According to Mr. O. K. Yui, the Finance Minister, military operations eat up eighty per cent. of the Government's revenue, not to mention the diversion of industries which must keep the soldiers supplied. With the disruption of railways and communications produce cannot move. But this unfortunately is not the whole story. The Yangtze Valley is untouched by the war. But the Chinese shipping companies have been able to put pressure on the Government to exclude British ships from the Great River (though there should be, as there was formerly, ample business for all) and while the Chinese have not enough ships for the work, they have pushed up rates to prohibitive heights. China is rich in coal, yet it is actually cheaper in Shanghai to buy American coal than Chinese.

It is curious that so little appears to be coming from China south of the Yangtze (nearly half the country) although there is no fighting there. Last July the Chinese achieved a really brilliant feat in getting the Canton-Hankow trunk railway, which they had torn up during the war to check the Japanese advance, re-opened throughout to traffic. There is moreover nothing to interfere with traffic, by junks and barges at least, on the West River and others which used to pour their rich produce through Canton. Yet exports from the South are still a trickle compared with pre-war days. It is to be feared that inordinate taxation, official "squeeze" and enormous smuggling, not the more or less primitive kind of bygone years, but conducted by well-organized and heavily armed gangs including officers of the army and navy, are the cause.

With no exports to support the currency, no metallic reserve, monstrous inflation was inevitable. There are at least four different currencies in China, one in the centre, another in the north where the Communists have their own currency, another in Manchuria, others in the south and I believe the west. No one knows from day to day in Shanghai what the dollar will purchase and whether the ricscha ride which cost \$5,000 yesterday will not cost \$6,000 to-day. Hotel charges are higher than in the best New York hotels and wages have

been forced to a pitch at which the Chinese workman can no longer compete with the European.

Regulations against the import of non-essential goods were tightened up in January and in February Dr. T. V. Soong, the Premier, proposed a number of subsidies for exports. This immediately gave rise to a general belief that further devaluation of the dollar was impending, which, coupled with rumours that persons in high places were using inside knowledge to enrich themselves, caused a panic in which on one day the dollar, officially quoted at 3,050 to the American dollar, dropped to 17,500. The Government certainly acted with commendable promptitude. Dealings in gold bars (a favourite form of gambling) and foreign currencies were forbidden as also the use of American dollars which had become the common medium for business transactions, payment of salaries, rents and so forth\*; strikes and lock-outs were forbidden, salaries and prices in certain directions were fixed; private fortunes abroad were ordered to be brought home; a severe inquisition into the conduct of various banks was started; and the dollar was pegged at 12,000 to one American dollar—48,000 to the pound. The panic was for the time being stayed, a financial landslide averted, not least perhaps because it was plain that General Chiang Kai-shek had taken charge of the situation.

One outcome of the crisis was the enforced resignation of Dr. T. V. Soong, the Premier. Many foreign friends read of this with unfeigned regret and sympathy. But it must be confessed that among his countrymen Dr. Soong has never been popular. Financial genius and able organizer, he is shy, temperamental and abrupt. Latterly he has given repeated offence by refusing to appear before the Legislative Yuan (or Council) and report on his doings. Popular opinion held him responsible not only for the financial crisis but for not checking the alleged gambling in high places mentioned above; incongruously enough (for "T.V." has always been a Liberal) he was associated with the reactionaries of the Kuomintang whom the Communists are by no means alone in detesting. When he did appear before the Legislative Yuan there were shouts of "Get him out; Premier Soong must go." It is a sad end of a great career which has, in the past, been of much benefit for China. The Premiership was temporarily taken over by the Generalissimo.

So much for the dark side of the Chinese picture, gloomy indeed, yet on which judgment may be tempered by the memory that China had been more disrupted by what was in fact fourteen years of war (dating from Japan's seizure of Manchuria) than any country, her industries wrecked, her administration shattered. And not least is recovery hampered by her vastness, over which the Republic has never yet established uniform control among the wide

\* In the past two years hundreds of millions of gold dollars have been brought into China and spent there by American troops. Private Chinese deposits in America alone are estimated to amount to \$300,000,000, and there are probably plenty of deposits elsewhere, in Switzerland for example.

varieties of peoples and interests concerned. China may be compared to a man scarred and weakened by wounds, continually thrown back by relapses, yet in whom healthy forces are at work to obliterate the scars and re-invigorate the system. Dr. T. V. Soong may or may not have been made a scapegoat for others. But his downfall revealed the new strength of public opinion which can be of the greatest value in developing a balanced democracy. There are other signs, too, of its working.

In November the National Assembly met at last after four postponements, under General Chiang Kai-shek's resolute decision that the adoption of the Constitution must wait no longer. The Communists and the Democratic League, an association of middle parties, refused to participate. But at the last moment the Social Democrats and Young China Party, most important sections of this League, came in and about 1,700 men and women out of a possible 2,020 assembled, party men, independents, intellectuals, business and professional men, representatives from overseas, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Manchuria.

There were heated moments, of course; but, with the aid of a number of steering committees, the proceedings were thoroughly businesslike. With the usual Chinese common sense it was enacted that anyone who did not vote would be reckoned as assenting; no one could wreck a motion by abstaining from voting. But there was never any sign of a split, though more than once the Generalissimo (who significantly had accepted nomination to the Praesidium as representative, not of the Kuomintang, but of Nanking City) used his influence to thwart insidious motions by the Kuomintang reactionaries. On Christmas Day the Constitution was triumphantly adopted. If fairly enforced, it is undoubtedly a good, liberal instrument ensuring the large degree of local self-government which China's huge size and immemorial practice alike demand, with adequate control, by local election of provincial officials and through the elective Legislative Yuan (which will be a sort of Parliament representing the National Assembly between its meetings), over the Government.

With the adoption of the Constitution the "period of political tutelage", during which the Kuomintang were politely supposed to be indoctrinating China in constitutional government, came automatically to an end. "Henceforth," said General Chiang Kai-shek to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, "whatever comments the Party may have to make on affairs must be passed to the Government as observations, not as orders." Nevertheless it took four months of hard bargaining in Nanking before the Coalition Government, which will carry on and prepare for the inauguration of the Constitution next December, finally emerged.

This Coalition has obvious defects, first and foremost its cumbrousness. In contrast with the exquisite simplicity of the imperial system, in which the officials kept order (themselves being kept in order by the Emperor) and

collected taxes while the people governed themselves,\* China's adaptations from foreign models have been extraordinarily complicated. At the top of the Coalition Government is the State Council which frames policy and instructs the Executive Yuan accordingly. This body (commonly called the Cabinet) submits its measures to the Legislative Yuan, which, if it disapproves, can have them referred back to the State Council. Finally there is the Control Yuan, carrying on the duties of criticism and impeachment of the Censors in Imperial days, also able to hold up measures of which it disapproves. With so many Councils to be satisfied, it does seem that action must at best be slow and heavy.

At first sight, too, the preponderance of Kuomintang still appears excessive, with seventeen in the State Council against four each of the Social Democrats, Young China Party and Independents; and twenty out of twenty-seven in the Executive Committee. But these are all drawn from the Liberal wing of the Kuomintang which supported General Chiang in the Chungking concessions. The Executive Committee, as has been seen, is doubly checked; it is mostly composed of Ministers and Vice-Ministers, some of them experienced and well-trying Liberals. And it is specially noticeable that eleven places have been kept open in the State Council for Communists and Democratic League: if they come in, the Kuomintang will be in a minority of six.

In the main, the Coalition does appear to be a genuine move towards representative government on democratic lines. The appointment of General Chang Chun as Premier makes a good impression. A thick-set forceful man of fifty-eight, with strong features and kindly mien, a great reader of history, a Christian, he made a name for himself as Foreign Minister before the war and in recent years the huge western province of Szechuan has become under his governorship the model province of China. Other appointments could be mentioned which give ground for confidence.

One thing is clear. The formation of the Coalition, the prominence given in its inaugural programme to a promise to seek peace "by political means" (in other words, not by fighting) with the Communists, and the places left open for Communists in the State Council put the responsibility squarely upon them. If fighting goes on, it will be because they will it. With men like Mao Tse-tung, the Red dictator, and his immediate followers there is no arguing. But there are others even among the leaders of a different cast; and General Marshall has expressed his conviction that great numbers of young Chinese have only been attracted to Communism by revulsion from the bad administration of the Kuomintang and could be won back by genuine reforms. How far Russia is helping the Communists it is impossible to say. There is no doubt whatever that she facilitated their entry into Manchuria, where they are now

\* Under the great Han, Ming and Manchu Emperors this was the best government in the world. During our thirty-two years' tenancy of Weihaiwei we adopted it almost unaltered and it worked to perfection.

so strongly established at Harbin in the north, with Russia conveniently near behind them, that the Chinese Government apparently thinks best for the present to let them alone; and Mr. Molotov's eagerness to have China's internal affairs discussed at the recent Moscow Conference excited many suspicions. But China's foreign affairs are essentially dependent on internal conditions. If reform is really enforced, Communism will dwindle and wither away for want of the food it feeds on; and it is certainly doubtful whether Russia would continue to back it against the masses of the people.

The Coalition will be closely watched in the coming months. There is no instant sovereign remedy, miracles are not to be expected, the whole administration needs purging from top to bottom, and there is a woeful shortage of experienced men. China, too, is suffering from exaggerated self-assertiveness which is up in arms against foreign help. There are, for instance, hundreds of ex-employees of the Shanghai Municipal Council who could unobtrusively redeem the Settlement from its present deplorable muddle and mess. But native pride forbids their employment.

Yet China has great assets. In General Chiang Kai-shek leadership has clearly shaped itself to the needs of the time: the harsh soldier of twenty years ago has broadened into the far-sighted statesman, whose aims are as much beyond dispute as the greatness of his prestige. In his support a new enlightened public opinion has come into existence against which neither Communism nor Kuomintangism can prevail for ever. China has still a hard, stormy path and many discouragements to face. But there is light at the end of it.



## THE FUTURE OF CYPRUS

BY W. L. BURN

IN February, the National Delegation of Cyprus presented to the Colonial Secretary a claim for the "organic union" of the island with Greece.

Mr. Creech Jones was by no means unsympathetic but it is evident that the claim has not so far convinced the Cabinet. A new Governor has been appointed in the person of Lord Winster, to be met with a boycott of Greek-Cypriot elements in Nicosia; as a consequence of which the Greek-Cypriot members of the Advisory Council have been dismissed. Meanwhile, the Dodecanese Islands have been formally transferred to Greece; and in the background is the momentous re-orientation of policy following upon President Truman's decision to afford help and countenance to Greece and Turkey. In these circumstances the future of Cyprus raises problems of very great delicacy and complexity, which cannot be adequately expressed in terms of national self-determination *versus* British imperial interests.

It has been the fate of Cyprus to be the objective of powers engaged on offensive or defensive enterprises in the eastern Mediterranean. Engulfed by the Crusades, it became for three centuries the fief of the Lusignans, when a brilliant and oppressive Latin feudalism was established, with the native inhabitants, mostly the descendants of Greeks who had migrated from Asia Minor, as its base. The Venetians seized the island in 1489 as a base against Turkish advance and held it until the successful attack by Selim II in 1570. Thereafter, until 1878, Cyprus remained under Turkish rule, burdensome in the taxes it demanded, but otherwise apathetic and (save for the terrorism of 1821) relatively mild.

British interest in Cyprus had been negligible until 1878 when, by the Cyprus Convention, Britain secured a protectorate over it in return for her engagement to defend Asiatic Turkey against Russia. It is necessary to the understanding of British policy in Cyprus to appreciate the reasons for the establishment of the protectorate. Cyprus was selected because it was: (1) a "place of arms" from which British forces could assist in the defence of Asia Minor; (2) so situated as to be useful for protecting the Suez Canal and the route to India; (3) a "territory sufficiently large, possessed of sufficient natural resources and inhabited by such races of people as should allow the experiment of what good government will do being fairly tried." Unfortunately, the Turks showed no interest in the "experiment in good government" so obligingly offered at their door; competent authorities had always doubted whether Cyprus would

have been any use for the defence of Asia Minor; and when Britain acquired control of Egypt the island appeared strategically as well as politically superfluous. The twenty years of British rule which followed the initial outburst of activity and enthusiasm were thus set against a background of disillusionment and it was in this period that Cyprus became the "neglected island" which it was unfairly represented to be long after the neglect has ceased.

It ceased when Joseph Chamberlain came to the Colonial Office and initiated the period of public works and public guidance designed to improve the communications and water supplies of the island, to renew the forests and to promote agriculture. Technical mistakes were made (the Messaorian storage reservoirs were unsuccessful) and far too little was done in the sphere of public health. Nevertheless, the material development of the island was substantially improved.

Politically the situation was far less satisfactory. There was little understanding of the fact that the problem of government in Cyprus was not the same as that which existed where the governed were simple and primitive tribesmen. The British authorities usually liked the Cypriot peasant but they took no pains to cultivate the Orthodox priesthood or the literate classes generally. Nor did they make provision for higher education. As a result, most schools and monasteries become seminaries of disloyalty and the younger Greek-Cypriots came back from the University of Athens to spread that disloyalty still further. The Legislative Council established in 1882 with six nominated and twelve elected members (nine Greek and three Moslem) was effective only in its factiousness and during the Balkan Wars a demand for union with Greece grew up in the towns. This demand was strengthened by the British offer of Cyprus to Greece in 1915 in return for Greek assistance to Serbia; an offer never accepted but never forgotten. After the Armistice of 1918 a delegation of Greek-Cypriots came to England to present their case for union but although they received some support from the British press they were unsuccessful. The Admiralty is supposed to have advised retention of the island; M. Venezelos made no formal request for its transfer; the Greek débâcle in Asia Minor ruined the hopes of Pan-Hellenists; and it was obvious that Italy had no intention of evacuating the Dodecanese.

Nevertheless the agitation in Cyprus for union with Greece ("*Enosis*") or, failing that, for a larger measure of self-government, flourished. Disloyalty was sedulously indoctrinated among the Greek-Cypriots and publicly flaunted. In 1931, with the additional incitements of the general economic depression and a disastrous drought, and in the face of the supine detachment of the Colonial Office, seditious speeches were followed by the burning of Government House at Nicosia in October. Ugly riots ensued in other towns but order was restored by the end of the month. The leaders of the disturbances were deported; the Legislative Council was abolished; a press censorship was established and the flying of Greek flags and other seditious acts were prohibited.

On the positive side the teaching of English was made compulsory in the elementary schools and a teachers' training college was founded; the police organization was reformed; investigations were made into the island's most acute problem, that of rural indebtedness; and there was a marked revival of British interest in the history and life of the island.

In 1933 a nominated Advisory Council was established but with this exception and minor modifications the constitutional position remained unaltered. The war, however, introduced further complications, material and otherwise. Although no attack was made on Cyprus such an attack was expected after the fall of Crete and a considerable number of troops were stationed, at one time or another, in the island. The civil airfield at Nicosia was made into a properly-equipped military airfield and six other landing-grounds were constructed for military use. The non-material effects of the war are less simple to explain. Cypriots were encouraged to enlist for service abroad, partly by the use of propaganda (now seen to be debatable) in favour of "Greece and Liberty". In 1943 the Government allowed the Progressive Party of the Working People (A.K.E.L.) to function as a legal political party. The A.K.E.L. was vociferously in favour of union with Greece and at the time of the E.A.M. revolt in December 1944 a number of Greek-Cypriots in sympathy with it issued a manifesto denouncing British imperialism. At the same time the Communist movement was noted as gathering strength and in January 1946 eighteen leaders of trade-unions were charged with issuing seditious and inflammatory matter. The so-called Pan-Cyprian Trade Union Committee had by this time come under Communist domination and the accused were charged with encouraging the overthrow of the constitution by violence. In October 1946, however, they were released and in the same month the Colonial Secretary announced that a consultative assembly would be summoned to consider proposals for a constitutional reform, with a view to the re-establishment of a central legislature.

These proposals met with little response. It was not merely the extreme Left Wing elements among the Greek-Cypriots who clamoured for union with Greece. Encouraged no doubt by the restoration of the Greek monarchy, numbers of the Greek-Cypriot *bourgeoisie* have supported the demand; and two other factors, which did not exist after the 1914-18 war, have to be taken into consideration. The Italians have at last been dislodged from the Dodecanese and consequently British rule over a population mainly Greek in origin and language (though never of Greek nationality) may appear more anomalous than it did in 1918. Moreover, the Greek Government has for the first time formally associated itself with the movement for union, though in terms courteous to Britain; the Prime Minister declaring in March of this year that the settlement sought, if it materialized, would win the eternal gratitude of the Hellenic nation.

So the case stands for examination. The most obvious, though far from

the only, consideration is the clash between the "nationalist" and the imperial conceptions. An empire, by its very nature, must include peoples of different languages, races and traditions. If the *raison d'être* were simply identity in these matters no empire, including that of the U.S.S.R., could continue to exist. It has also to be observed that the "nationalism" of the Greek-Cypriots is not the same thing as that of French Alsatians after 1871. Cyprus had no organic connection with Byzantium after the eleventh century and it has had no organic connection with the modern Greek nation at all. It is not an Alsace-Lorraine, forcibly severed from its mother-country in full political consciousness. Its "nationalist" aspirations are certainly not among the strongest of their kind. Even if they were stronger than they are the mere fact of stating them does not justify their application to the British Empire and to no other; still less their application to Cyprus and not, let us say, to Gibraltar.

The next consideration is the probable effect of union with Greece on the welfare of the Cypriots as a whole. It is necessary to say "as a whole" because two classes, the Moslem-Cypriots and the peasants, whether Greek or Moslem, are often apt to escape notice. The National Delegation described the Moslems as a "small minority", although in 1931 when the total population of the island was 347,959 they numbered 64,238, or nearly a fifth. The Delegation described their intentions towards the Moslems as "the best" and spoke of their "wish" that minorities should participate equally "in all the rights and privileges of full citizenship in a free State." But, before that, there occurred a significant and possibly sinister passage. "It would be neither reasonable nor proper that their views should become an obstacle to the rights of liberty of the overwhelming majority nor a hindrance to the political progress of the island." Putting all these statements together it appears that the Moslems and the other small minorities are to enjoy "full citizenship in a free State" subject to the restrictions inherent in the conceptions of liberty and political progress held by the majority. This, of course, is a common attitude of majorities. They say, we are going to achieve wonders and we must not be hindered by backward elements. Greeks and Moslems are on tolerably good terms in Cyprus at present but the position of the Moslems sharing a common allegiance with the Greeks to an authority which tries to hold the balance between them would not be the same thing as the position of the Moslems as a minority in Cyprus and a tiny minority in the Greek State as a whole. We do not want to leave, or create, another Palestine in Cyprus; with the possibility that the Moslems might appeal to their co-religionists, if not in Turkey, then in the Arab States. The policy of not bothering about a minority, of trusting that racial relationships will somehow settle themselves, is a dangerous one.

Then there is the peasant, in an island where the industrial workers number only about 20,000. It is to be emphasized that no plan for Cyprus, whether made in London, Nicosia or Athens, is of any use unless it assists the peasant

and, in particular, deals with the gnawing problem of rural indebtedness. Mr. B. J. Surridge, in his *Survey of Rural Life in Cyprus* (1930), noted that only eighteen per cent. of the peasant proprietors were not in debt and that the co-operative societies had not only failed to develop co-operation but had also failed to provide an alternative supply of credit. The result was that the peasant was the slave of the money-lender, obliged to buy seeds and stock from him at the highest price and to sell produce to him at the lowest. This is a problem which can only be dealt with, and that slowly, by an authority of the highest impartiality and integrity: it is not, to speak frankly, a problem which can safely be left to the Greek-Cypriot urban politician. We have by no means been able to eliminate corruption from the administration but very few people acquainted with the island will believe that a more competent and completely incorruptible government could be formed from the politicians of Nicosia. A further consideration regarding the claim of the National Delegation to speak for "the people of Cyprus" is the possibility that the younger generation of Cypriots, who learnt English at school and many of whom served in the British Army, is by no means committed to the demand for union with Greece.

It is the argument of this article that the mere existence of "nationalist" aspirations in Cyprus is no reason for its transfer from Britain to Greece and that there is no evidence (rather the contrary) that such a transfer would assist the welfare of the inhabitants. But, of course, this is not the end of the matter. We are bound to consider the effect of a transfer not merely on Anglo-Greek relations but on the whole political situation in the eastern Mediterranean. The National Delegation did, indeed, suggest a specious compromise in the form of a British base in a Greek Cyprus. In present-day conditions a base cannot be confined to a small area. As the Americans have found in Panama, as we ourselves decided in respect of Eire, it needs a great deal of space outside the actual fortified area, for radar stations, gun-sites, landing grounds. An island the size of Cyprus has to be defended as a whole and it is difficult to see how it can be defended as a whole if it is not governed as a whole; if we had to negotiate with a government in Athens for every necessary extension of our defences. Moreover, although the present Greek Government is friendly to us, we cannot assume that this will be true of every Greek Government. Suppose that as the result of a Communist revolution a Communist authority came into being in Cyprus. What would be the effect on our defensive position there?

Dismissing, as we must, the suggestion of such a base as specious, we return to the larger considerations. If it could be shown that Anglo-Greek accord and all that goes with it depended to a substantial degree on the cession of Cyprus to Greece, there might well be a case for that cession in spite of the objections we have considered. Nor would we then be justified in holding Cyprus to provide camps for illicit Jewish immigrants to Palestine. At the

moment there is not sufficient evidence that Anglo-Greek accord depends upon the cession of Cyprus. The attitude of the Greek Government is no proof: no Greek Government in present circumstances could do or claim anything less. The cession of Cyprus would not strengthen a Greek Government to any marked extent; nor would refusal to cede damage Anglo-Greek (or Anglo-American) relations unless an ambiguous and indecisive policy on our part encouraged a Greek Government to stake its existence on the acquisition of Cyprus. If a Greek Cyprus were the missing piece in the Mediterranean jigsaw puzzle, then there would be a strong and perhaps an overwhelming case for discarding the obvious objections to it. It is not so at the moment and it is not likely to be so at any period of the time which one can foresee. Until it is so the case for the British retention of the island remains the better, with this proviso: that to discourage ill-founded Greek hopes and possibly American suspicions it should be stated carefully and convincingly at once.

## RUSSIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

BY WALTER J. KOLARZ

MOSLEMS of the Middle East, fearing the 'Russian Colossus', may be tempted to find an up-to-date interpretation of a Koran prophecy that Gog and Magog will one day pass the Caucasus mountains, slay the Faithful and destroy the "blessed realm of the believers." There is and will be a Russian attempt to advance into the Middle East, not the barbarian, bloodstained spectacular invasion of Gog and Magog but one assisted by such subtle and powerful weapons as are in keeping with the spirit of Soviet Russia. The first three of these weapons—the imperialist tradition of Czarist Russia, the exploitation of local nationalism to the detriment of Russia's neighbours and the propaganda value of the economic progress of the Soviet Republics bordering on the Middle East—are generally known and appreciated. The fourth weapon, the Russian gift of absorbing foreign culture and national traditions and using them for the greatness of Russia, is not always clearly perceived.

The ideological arsenal which Russia can use for action in the Middle East is vast but her real aims in that part of the world are limited and always were. They are confined to the belt of States immediately bordering the Soviet Union: Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan.

Russian world politics, so far, has never ventured into areas where the ground was unknown and where Russia would meet problems for which she was ill-prepared. The characteristic feature of the Soviet Union is that both internal and foreign policies are carried out most thoroughly and systematically, with the "entire soul" as the Russians used to say. This systematic character is entirely lacking in Russia's tackling of the Arab problem but appears in classical form in her Persian policy, a study of which seems essential for an appreciation of Soviet methods in foreign policy and the intermixture of home and foreign policies.

Although there is consistency in Russian foreign policy throughout the centuries, conditioned by unvarying strategic and economic interests, Soviet Russia's claims and aims are different in quality and quantity from those of Czarist Russia. The Empire of the Czars demanded territories, zones of influence, privileges. The Russia of Marshal Stalin demands all these on a larger scale and in addition the souls of the peoples concerned.

The Russians of the Soviet epoch are firmly convinced that the aims of their Government, pursued not only in the Middle East but also in the Far East and

Eastern Europe, have nothing in common with imperialism. Not only the Soviet "man in the street" but to a greater extent even the intellectual élite of the Soviet State consider the actions of their own Government in the field of international politics to be rightful and legitimate while they are filled with genuine indignation at the "breaches of international law" allegedly committed by others. The Soviet Russian intellectual is deeply convinced of the existence of close, intimate links between the Russian people and practically all peoples over whom the Soviet Union has established or wants to establish some sort of overlordship. He takes for granted that such links are lacking between Anglo-Americans and other peoples.

One may say that the Soviet public is thrust into this apparently illogical attitude by the pressure of an all-mighty propaganda and an exaggerated patriotism but in reality there is much more in what, to most Western people, seems a "lack of logic". Here lies, in fact, one of the great misunderstandings between East and West. The world outside Russia has overlooked the intellectual wealth absorbed by the Russian mind in the last twenty years. The Soviet State through the medium of the Soviet Russian intelligentsia has appropriated to itself the national traditions of a number of peoples living just at the fringe and partly within the Soviet Union and has made these traditions part and parcel of Soviet political and cultural propaganda.

Persia is perhaps the most striking case in point. Besides trying to introduce communist or near-communist movements into Persia, Russia, particularly during and after the second world war, has made an attempt to promote the cultural ties between the Persians and the Soviet Union and at the same time to protect the "national minorities" within Persia. The pursuit of such conflicting aims has suffered setbacks which, however, will not deter Soviet Policy from resuming the conquest from within at a more favourable moment.

The emergence of an autonomist movement in Persian Azerbaijan, closely co-operating with the Soviet authorities, was co-ordinated with an ideological campaign stressing the affinities between the Russians and the Azerbaijanis. These affinities are by no means a pure invention of complaisant Soviet scholars supplying a scientific background to the political struggle, which they indeed do. The affinities exist in reality. They constitute but a small section of the great history of cultural inter-dependence between the Russians and the Asiatic peoples. This Russian historic patrimony was largely neglected under the Czarist régime but under Soviet rule has become an immense source of arguments used not only to strengthen the régime within the U.S.S.R. but also to support any active or, as it sometimes seems to Western observers, aggressive foreign policy anywhere on the enormous Asiatic front of world politics extending from the Caucasus along the present Soviet borders to the Pacific Ocean.

The Academy of Science of the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic recently undertook the task of demonstrating that the union between Azerbaijan and Russia is based not only on the superior Russian weapons which conquered the present

Azerbaijan capital, Baku, in 1806 but also on the attraction exercised by Russian culture on the Azerbaijanis. The compilation of the Academy takes great pains to show that long ago "Azerbaijani thinkers and public figures favoured the strengthening of Azerbaijan's links with Russia." Several instances are given of personal relations between progressive Russian personalities and representatives of Azerbaijani intellectual life and of the influence which the former exerted on the latter.

Soviet scholars usually speak of Azerbaijan without specifying whether they are referring to the Russian or the Persian Azerbaijan, thus giving to understand that the great personalities of the Azerbaijani Turks are the common property of both parts of Azerbaijan. This approach has helped to obliterate from the consciousness of the Soviet intelligentsia the existence of the frontier line between the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan and the Persian Province of the same name. Other facts too have contributed to the obliteration, in particular the many thousands of Persian Azerbaijanis attracted to the oil-centre, Baku, since the end of the nineteenth century. In Baku they came into contact first with revolutionary Russian and later with Soviet ideology and were thus predestined to become the backbone of a left-wing and ultimately pro-Russian movement in Persia.

Baku has become the Mecca of Azerbaijani revolutionary intellectuals and autonomists. Azerbaijani poets praise Baku with oriental exaltation. One of them, Tavrieli, has described Baku as "rose of beauty graven in stone" and another, Muhammed Biria, poet and also secretary of the Iranian Azerbaijan trade unions, says he came to Baku to drink the "life-giving water" of this city and that he wept "happy tears" on seeing Baku. These poems of the poets of 'Southern Azerbaijan' were published in Russian shortly before the breakdown of the Azerbaijani movement and undoubtedly strengthened the messianic spirit of the Russian intellectuals who read them.

From the point of view of Russian power politics in relation to Persia, Soviet Azerbaijan is not only a link with Persian Azerbaijan but also with the whole of Persia. Soviet Azerbaijan, once a part of Persia, has also purely Iranian cultural traditions which for the Soviet State have a more than platonic scientific interest since they serve a long-range Russian imperial policy. Thus the great Persian poet of the twelfth century, Nizami of Gandja, became a "poet of the Soviet Union" by the very fact that he lived and died on the territory of the present Azerbaijan Soviet Republic. Moreover, Nizami is being interpreted in a way which fits into the general Soviet ideology. The leading Soviet journal *Bolshevik* recently stressed that the "great merit" of Nizami consists in having undermined the basis of Islam by opposing the theological teaching of the unchangeable character of the world.

In a similar way Russia annexed the greatest Persian poet, Firdausi, by associating him with the Tadjiks, the small people of Iranian descent of which a part lives within the Soviet Union. The cult of Firdausi in Soviet Russia has a dual

purpose. It serves to flatter the Iranian intellectuals and to make the Soviet Union more attractive. On the other hand, Firdausi's works are used in a purely local sphere as an instrument for the education of the Tadjiks in loyalty to the socialist fatherland. A passage taken from Firdausi's greatest work *Shahname* was included in a "Letter from the Tadjik people to the Tadjik fighters on the front" and a book issued under the auspices of the Tadjik branch of the Soviet Academy said that the image of Rustem, the hero of *Shahname* and legendary defender of Iran against Turan, inspired the Tadjiks "in the fight against the German fascist barbarians."

Not only Firdausi but almost the entire history of Iran, certainly the entire Iranian past of Central Asia, has been brought into connection with the Tadjiks of to-day and as the Tadjiks of Afghanistan and India are silent while the Soviet Tadjiks, under Moscow's guidance, are most vociferous all the credit goes to the latter. The existence of an Iranian Republic within the Soviet Union, conscious of being the people of the Avesta, the religious book of the old Iranians, and of many heroes of ancient Iranian history has great importance not only for the ideological conquest of Persia but even more so for that of Afghanistan.

The symbol of Tadjik-Persian identity between the two world wars was the poet, Abulkasin Lahuti, proclaimed throughout the Soviet Union as the national poet of Tadjikistan. Lahuti was born in Persia and after participating in the Persian revolutionary movement following the first world war he fled to the Soviet Union. In many poems translated into several languages this Persian holder of the Order of Lenin dreams of the time when the "land of Shiraz will drink the blood of the oppressors," when his "old Iran" will be a "free Soviet country" and when a brother of the Dnieproges, the big electro-hydraulic station of the Ukraine, will stand on the banks of the Karun river.

No great variety of arguments and efforts might be needed to inspire respect for the Soviet Union among the people of Afghanistan which, unlike Persia, has a common frontier with Tadjikistan. Occasional references to the division of the Tadjik people into three groups living in Afghanistan, India and Soviet Tadjikistan and to the historical union of the present Soviet Tadjikistan with a large part of Afghanistan have, indeed, already been made. A far more important factor, however, which may determine the future relationship between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union is the establishment of an economically flourishing area at the northern border of Afghanistan. This area includes a new town, Stalinabad, the capital of Tadjikistan with already 100,000 inhabitants, a Lahuti Theatre and a Firdausi State Library. Under the new Five Year Plan Stalinabad may easily outgrow the Afghan capital, Kabul, just as it has already outgrown Herat, the once populous centre of Iranian-Tadjik culture.

Russia's big and growing frontier cities have a logic of their own; they make for territorial expansion sooner or later particularly when the neighbour in question is a disorganized State. A nearby frontier has often been unbearable to a Russian city. This is why Leningrad 'swallowed' the Karelian Isthmus,

why Odessa obtained breathing-space through the annexation of Bessarabia and why Baku is exerting constant pressure on the Iranian South. Stalinabad may turn out to be another case in point. The attraction of a modern city with big white buildings and trolleybus lines making its appearance in the once most neglected part of Central Asia is calculated to be irresistible to its neighbours and may indeed prove so to be.

Should the Soviet Union one day be able to extend her borders from Tadjikistan and Uzbekistan to the south, into Afghanistan—and the chances of such an extension may be favourable after the establishment of an independent Indian Republic—the Soviet people, particularly the Soviet intellectual, would not look on this extension as the addition of an alien district, the conquest of something strange and new, but rather as a re-union.

These Soviet intellectuals may have just read a book by an Uzbek author, Aibek, published in 1946 in Leningrad in a Russian translation of 35,000 copies, in which it is brought home to them that Herat, the most important town of Western Afghanistan, is not only closely linked with Tadjikistan but also with another Soviet Republic—Uzbekistan. The book is a biography of Mir Alishir Nawai in whose person Soviet cultural propaganda skilfully links up Tadjik-Iranian culture and literature with the cultural efforts of the Uzbek people. Nawai, the "founder of the Uzbek literary language" is held in high esteem by the Afghans too but they lag far behind the Soviet Union in glorifying the great poet. There is already a Soviet stamp bearing his effigy and his name has been given to the new Uzbek National Theatre in Tashkent, a particularly large and splendid building. Thus Afghanistan, to all intents and purposes, has lost Nawai and may one day lose Herat which in the Soviet mind has become so closely connected with Uzbeks and Tadjiks. Aibek's book, *Nawai*, indeed begins with the words "Herat the town of poets became more and more beautiful and colourful . . ." The great stress laid on historical and cultural affinities, however, cannot obscure the fact that there is oil in Northwestern Afghanistan, at least according to repeated statements of Soviet scientists. These potentially oil-bearing districts of Afghanistan seem to be adjacent to the strip of Northern Persia where Russia hopes to obtain oil concessions.

While only the Russia of the Soviet period has succeeded in using the Azerbaijanis, Tadjiks and Uzbeks for purposes of imperial policy in the Middle East there is a long tradition of Russian—Armenian association and of exploitation of the Armenian issue to the embarrassment of Russia's neighbours. The Armenians are one of the most unfortunate peoples of the world and their poet, Ovanes Tumanyan, rightly said that Armenia's sorrow was a shoreless sea. Russia made a most favourable bargain by her association with a people whose history has been one of almost uninterrupted suffering. Russia offered the Armenians shelter and protection, a problematic protection in times which compromised and jeopardized them beyond all real advantages implied by protection. In return Russia obtained from the Armenians a large number of

people who worked in various ways for the glory of the Russian rulers, for the material prosperity of Russia. The Armenians were, indirectly, even responsible for the extension of Russia's borders and were in many cases what modern terminology would describe as a Russian fifth column in enemy or potentially enemy countries. It does not belittle in any way the tragic historic destiny of the Armenian people to say that the ghastly Armenian massacres in Turkey were directly connected with the rôle which Russian policy allotted to these people.

Soviet Russian policy towards the Armenians is not copied in every detail from this pattern of Czarist Russian policy but basically it is guided by the same spirit. Soviet Russia took from the Armenians, essentially a people of shopkeepers and merchants, their economic wealth and gave them the semblance of a State which was first subordinated to a Trans-Caucasian Soviet Federation and after 1936 was made a direct member State of the U.S.S.R. The Armenian Soviet Republic became the smallest of the new "States" of Trans-Caucasia, much too small for the liking of Armenian nationalists who considered that the "real Armenia" within the U.S.S.R. was more than twice as large as their Republic. Considerable Armenian minorities were left in Azerbaijan and Georgia while Armenia became one of the ethnically most homogeneous Republics of the entire Soviet Union. The Armenians believed, not without reason, that Moscow's favours went to Georgians and Azerbaijani Turks, their neighbours, and that they themselves were regarded as "a negligible quantity". Armenian nationalists specially resented the "loss" of Tiflis and Baku, the two largest cities of Trans-Caucasia whose development, in their view, was largely due to the spirit of enterprise of the Armenian *bourgeoisie*.

Despite all these setbacks to Armenian national ambitions the mere fact of the existence of an Armenian Republic turned out to be a considerable asset to Russian policy. It became an agency of propaganda and organization by which certain sections of the Armenian diaspora scattered over the world could be attracted. Whatever hardships Armenians may have endured in the transition to a collectivized economy these cannot be compared with their sufferings in Turkish Armenia which have made history.

Individual Armenians, tired of living abroad, returned to their homeland but this re-immigration never assumed the character of a mass movement before the 1939-1945 war. Only after the war, in connection with a marked deterioration in Russian-Turkish relations, was greater consideration given again to the Armenian question and a new systematic Russian "Armenian policy" took shape. It was expressed in two decrees, one of December 1945 providing special facilities including State subsidies, freedom from customs duties and taxes, for all Armenians wishing "to return to their homeland" and one of July 1946 granting Soviet citizenship automatically to any repatriated Armenian on crossing the Soviet border. Many Armenians may look on this repatriation with scepticism, may prefer to live in foreign countries, but others have returned



or will return and others, though not returning, will manifest their gratitude to the Soviet Union, thus increasing the number of pro-Russian sympathizers in the capitalist world, who are particularly valuable in the Middle East itself. In Lebanon Armenians are the main supporters of the local Communist Party and in Persian Azerbaijan many Armenians had leading posts in the pro-Soviet autonomy movement.

The Armenian Church also has its place in the Armenian policy of the Soviet Union. The 'Catholicos of all Armenians', just as in Czarist times, supports Russian State interests and has not only assisted the official repatriation campaign but has also pleased the Kremlin by condemning the general conduct of the Vatican as "incompatible with the high aims of Christianity."

Under the Soviet régime Armenia has been transformed from a predominantly agrarian country into a highly industrialized one, deriving four-fifths of its income from industrial production as against one-fourth in Czarist times. The capital, Erevan, has grown from a small town into a respectable city of 200,000 inhabitants. Thus Armenia clearly needs an increase of human material which if need be could be brought from Inner Russia but for the wider political aims of the Soviet Union it is preferable that the additional manpower should be supplied by Armenians returning from abroad. Every additional Armenian settling down in Soviet Armenia, working in the textile industry of Leninakan, in the chemical works of Kirovakan, in the machine-tool factories or scientific institutions of Erevan, not only contributes to the success of the Five Year Plan but also increases the pressure of an overpopulated Soviet Armenia on the comparatively empty Turkish spaces across the frontier.

The danger threatening Turkey does not lie in Armenian slogans about the "return of the Armenian lands of Kars and Ardahan" but predominantly in the fact that Soviet Trans-Caucasia is developing at a tremendous pace while Eastern Anatolia is in a state of relative stagnation. The existence of Erevan but also of Batum and Tiflis in Soviet Georgia is a challenge to north-eastern Turkey similar to the challenge of Baku to north-western Persia and of Stalinabad to Afghanistan. In all three cases the industrial potential, the technical progress and the accumulation of human material on the Soviet side of the border are the principal assets of Soviet policy in the Middle East and Central Asia. The ethnic and historic claims are there, in some parts they are strongly stressed but they would be ineffective had they not the economic and demographic arguments on their side.

National claims by "peoples of the Soviet Union" assume dynamic and aggressive character only when encouraged by the central authorities, that is only when required in the interests of the Soviet Empire. Should they be in contradiction to these interests they would be suppressed or pushed into the background. Thus Armenian aspirations were ignored when Russia sacrificed Kars and Ardahan to a policy of friendship with Turkey in 1921 and were promoted a quarter of a century later as part of a general policy aiming at the isolation

of Turkey and her "peaceful encirclement". The Georgian claims against Turkey, partly conflicting with Armenian claims but far exceeding them in scope are less crystallized as yet but they are there. Should Russia decide to conduct an anti-Turkish offensive on a more impressive scale these claims will be brought forward since they serve Russia's desire to be not only the predominant but practically the sole Black Sea Power. The claims aim to secure for Russia a major foothold on the southern shore of the Black Sea including the port of Trebizond.

Soviet methods and trends towards expansion in the Middle East and Central Asia are clearly discernible; there are possibilities of expansion in which the Soviet leaders show a particularly keen interest but there is no plan of short-term conquest, no desire to advance at any cost within a specified time as was characteristic of Hitlerite Germany. The rulers of Russia think in terms of historic periods, not of 'spring offensives'. They do not want Russia to conquer only but to digest, they do not mind taking one step backward in order to take two steps forward at a more favourable moment. The rulers of Russia rely less on the sword than on the stubbornness and patience of the Russian common man, on the pioneering spirit of a people colonizing a country of gigantic size. Even now with a period of sacrifices just overcome and another lying ahead they believe this spirit will not fail them.

## CRIME AND ITS TREATMENT

BY SIR HENRY SLESSER

SOMETIME before the war the School of Law in Columbia and Chicago Universities asked Professors Michael and Adler to report upon the need for institutes of criminology and criminal justice in the United States. They proceeded to undertake a detailed survey of the state of knowledge and methods of research in the subject from every aspect and, in 1932, published the results of their work in an important book, *Crime, Law and Social Science*, which has had a profound effect upon the understanding of this difficult subject. In the result they warmly advocated the establishment of institutes to undertake research which would have a direct effect upon the devising of means whereby crime might be mitigated and criminals redeemed. Not until 1947, however, was Lord Templewood, a former Home Secretary, able to congratulate Cambridge University in England that they had at length inaugurated a specific Department of Criminal Science.

He pointed out in his inaugural lecture\* that there was great need for the scientific study of penal questions, that the "history and lessons of crime have been too long neglected" and that even lawyers have seldom regarded criminology as a serious study and that governments have tended to act haphazardly and leave penal problems out of the general province of social reform. He went so far as to declare that such negligence is "particularly apparent in England".

Thus the present archaic distinction between felonies and misdemeanours has no relation to modern problems, nor can the division of punitive treatment into penal servitude and imprisonment in the technical sense be justified upon any system of criminal therapy; it is merely a relic understandable by jurists but in practice indefensible. Sir Samuel Hoare, as he then was, when at the Home Office, undertook a special study of penal questions; he personally visited many prisons and came to the conclusion that "juvenile delinquency was the fundamental problem of crime and its prevention." He now states in his address that over half the habitual offenders have first been convicted before they were sixteen years of age and nearly a fifth before they were twenty. It is the young offender who, lacking proper supervision, is in his opinion most likely to be re-convicted. To send such young law breakers to prison generally is a mistake. Nevertheless, says Lord Templewood, the number of young persons

sent to prison has recently been increasing, from some 1,500 in 1938 to nearly 4,000 in 1944. At the same time the number in Borstal institutions is less than before the war. The fact emerges that there is lamentably little consistency in the treatment given to offenders by magistrates, if not by judges. The new Department of Criminal Science has published the following disquieting summary:

Whereas the average for England and Wales of probation sentences for 1938 was 51 per cent. and just under 6 per cent. fined, Liverpool put only 35 per cent. on probation, but fined 21 per cent., and Gateshead put 34 per cent. on probation and fined 38 per cent. Other districts vary rather in the proportion of cases they dismissed after the charge was proved. The percentage under this heading for England and Wales was 24 per cent., but Swansea put 26 per cent. on probation and dismissed 42 per cent., whilst Bootle dismissed as many as 56 per cent. of the cases and put only 21 per cent. on probation. In Windsor the percentage placed on probation remains always under 10 per cent. Sometimes a comparison of the figures for two consecutive years will show a complete revolution in the policy adopted by a particular town. Thus in 1937, Oldham put only 21 per cent. on probation and fined 36 per cent.; in the following year the percentage on probation went up to 61 per cent., and no use at all was made of fines, and this policy was continued in 1938.

These and similar comparable figures throughout the country show how much the imposition of imprisonment, fine or probation still depends upon the idiosyncrasies of a particular bench. Moreover while some magistrates regard probation "as little more than dismissal or acquittal", to quote Lord Templewood, others take care to follow up the cases and even provide for after care.

In the bill of 1938, not yet, alas, law, the minimum age for imprisonment by a Court of Summary Jurisdiction was to be raised to sixteen, "no offenders between seventeen and twenty-one, unless their characters were so unruly and depraved that they could not be safely detained in a Remand Home, and no offenders between seventeen and twenty-one unless and until the Court had obtained and considered information as to the circumstances and character of the defendant and was of opinion that no other method of dealing with him was appropriate."

Much confusion in the discussion of treatment for criminal persons has arisen from the fact that a crime in law need not necessarily be contrary to the generally prevailing moral code. Criminal liability is far more definite in scope than is demanded by any ethical standard, and the increasing tendency for new crimes to be created by the legislature or by ministerial powers under statute, having for their sanction not so much a public feeling of reprobation as the specific requirements of policy of a temporary kind, produces often a divorce between public opinion and existing penal provision—this is particularly true of offences of a semi-political or economic character—laws curtailing the right of self expression or commercial action deemed undesirable by the State.

Thus, apart altogether from the growth of humanistic sentiment, the old notions of retribution or deterrence (though Seneca favoured reformatory punishment) have largely lost their justification; no closer definition of a criminal

\* *Crime and Punishment* by Lord Templewood. Stevens. 2s. 6d.

can be found than that he is a person who has behaved in some way prohibited by the criminal law—and this may or may not involve public disapprobation.

We cannot divorce the problem of proper remedial methods of dealing with criminals from the question: what order of acts should be made criminal offences? For in the end the control of crime is sought to be achieved by one of two methods—that of retributive justice, the older conception, which in one way or another involves discomfort to criminals as a retaliation for their crimes, and the more recent curative system, which latter is peculiarly the subject which Lord Templewood and many other reformers have set themselves to consider.

At present no sufficient acceptance has been given by progressive minds to the fact that in dealing with criminals, however clinical may be the treatment, some punishment is essential; it is the combination of these two requirements which demands far more study than it has yet received; it is fatally easy to err on one side or the other. Thus after addressing a number of delinquents at a Borstal institution, at the end of my discourse, the Governor asked whether any "gentleman" wished to ask a question. Such a courtesy in the circumstances appears to me to be misplaced and to err on the side of sentimentalism. On the other hand, the new conception of the nature of prison labour has done much to mitigate the old vicious idea that the object of imprisonment, as in the case of the treadmill, was to break the spirit of the prisoner; the desire now prevails that the convict should be enabled, under discipline, to recover his self respect. "Training", says Lord Templewood, "should be based upon hard, but not lifeless, work." In no case should young offenders be sent to general local prisons; the new experimental "open prisons" should be used for the young and for those who have proved themselves worthy of trust. The right to earn pocket money for good work done is to be encouraged. The work of the Howard league in this matter has done incalculable good.

There remains the need for moral and religious influence. Again to quote Lord Templewood:

We must expect many failures. We are dealing in the world of crime with offenders who have often lacked home life and any useful training, who are often abnormal and mentally or physically unfit, who are untouched by religious influences and have little or no feeling of personal or social responsibility. Theirs is a problem with a very hard core. And, as long as there is original sin in human nature, we shall never completely break down this hard core. We can, however, reduce it. We can reduce it by sensible and sensitive methods of penal treatment. Some of these methods I have suggested to-day. But all these methods put together will not reach the root of the core. For the root is moral, and the reason why the root has grown in recent years is that, however we may explain it, many moral restraints have lost much of their power in the confused and restless world of to-day. To reach therefore, the basic core, there is need for the force and heat of moral fervour.

It would be unfair to suggest that in this connection much valuable work has not been done by prison chaplains, by visitors specially dedicated to this work of spiritual reclamation, and by probation officers, yet, at the same time it must be admitted that the bad old spirit of regarding the criminal as a person irre-

trievably lost has not been entirely eliminated. The work of moral restoration can be greatly stimulated when once the prisoner realizes that help is waiting to be given to him when he leaves the gaol, and the work of the prisoners' aid societies in this connection could well be supplemented by the State finding employment far more than is at present the case, though even now many governors have worked to encourage the rehabilitation of those under their care.

The psychological contribution is also of importance; crime may be produced by mental disorders, poverty, thwarted energy and, in particular, in the case of the young, by a broken or unsatisfactory home. All these causes require, and should receive different treatment. While terms such as 'imprisonment', 'probation' or 'binding over' are useful as indicating modes of treatment, they tend to conceal the complexities of individual treatment, whether institutional or domiciliary. These are matters necessarily beyond the duty of routine surveillance, but it is suggested personal discrimination could be carried far further than it is to-day, more particularly in the case of the inmates of prisons; outside probation work is by its very nature far more elastic. The imposition of the fine, which is the penalty most usually employed by justices has this defect, that its severity varies so much with the means of the defendant and, moreover, often affects the family of the delinquent more seriously than himself, yet no other means of dealing with minor offences seems open at present where probation is not appropriate.

What is most needed to-day is a recognition of criminology as a specific social science. We must know more of the nature of criminal activity and organization, of the character of individual criminals, of the environment from whence they come, of the ways in which they commit crime and, lastly, of the comparative methods by which different States, officially and unofficially, deal with their wrong-doers. We have much vague generalization on the subject, and recently, a type of literature has become popular which deals with the experience of particular and unusual convicts, but of exact knowledge, worthy of the name of science there is terrible lack; neither legislators, judges, justices nor the police have yet awakened to the real and growing menace to society involved in the multiplication of criminals—modern weapons and means of rapid aerial and other transport, added to the acceptance of violence and illegality in two great wars, have increased the seriousness of the social menace.

We should not be stating the whole gravity of the case if we ignored the admitted decline in religious and moral standards, the Church appeals only to those who will listen to her voice, and they, for the most part, suffer from temptations other than those generally recognized as criminal. Sexual morality is at a very low ebb, as the appalling divorce statistics show us, currency and tax evasions are almost endemic, and people hear, not always with aversion, of other societies where the whole of the Christian foundation of conduct is openly repudiated. In all these circumstances it is not surprising that delinquency, particularly among the young, is so frequent and intractable, but those responsi-

ble for our laws and their administration cannot escape their share of the responsibility.

We would wish to know, if possible, why potential criminals become actual ones. Here statistics, though useful, are not in themselves conclusive. Certain types of crime, those of violence for instance, seem to be declining. Pilfering and larceny are to-day the staple offences. The effect of the rarity and value of goods and the effects of unemployment must be considered; psychological and social influences have both to be assessed. The effects of war and military service cannot be ignored, and the whole modern environment, the films, the press, the extension of educational facilities, all these for good or ill cannot be ignored. Above all we need to study the mental condition of wrong doers. According to a reliable American report, in that country twenty-five to forty per cent. of recidivists are feeble-minded and the same proportion or a greater one, was found to exist among youthful first offenders; the same investigation states that in the United States over fifty per cent. of the criminal population were suffering from some abnormal nervous or mental condition; for example, of 1,000 cases in Detroit only 204 were found mentally normal, in another State, out of 7,000, sixty-nine per cent. were what is called 'psychopathic'. If these tentative researches be only approximately true, it would appear that crime is largely a mental problem and should be treated accordingly. A sense of inferiority among certain children, it is said, is largely responsible for juvenile thieving; sexual crimes constitute a problem of their own.

A recent work by the sociologist, Dr. Mannheim, would regard unsocial acts, now not regarded as criminal, as more deserving of punishment than many present individualistic offences. He criticizes our criminal code as being too atomic in character and supports a view which is more perhaps characteristic of the Russian system under which offences of a political nature are regarded as far more serious than the infliction of personal injury. If this view be generally accepted, and there are signs of its development even in Western Europe, whole new problems of treatment may arise; the method of persuasion by argument and inducement, practised by the Church in medieval times, and more violently by the Nazi and Fascists in our own, ranging from mild argument to physical coercion is not impossible. Nor can curative brain surgery, in these days of the medical approach to crime be altogether ignored. Sterilization and eugenics may not be discounted as possible future safeguards against crime. All these possibilities are not mentioned with approval, but merely to emphasize the change which is necessarily coming over our attitude towards crime and its prevention, and to suggest the need for the encouragement of such institutes of research as Lord Templewood has commended.

## NEW PROCEDURE IN PARLIAMENT

BY DEREK WALKER-SMITH, M.P.

THOSE who seek to understand our parliamentary procedure will find that its evolution has followed the winding trail of empiricism rather than the straight high-road of theory. Its evolution has been characterized by a typically British desire to find something which works, something which serves the purpose of the present. A part of the difficulty of understanding this empirical aspect is because the purpose of Parliament, which it is designed to serve, has changed over the years. In its early days Parliament was in effect divorced from the executive government of the country, which was in the hands of the King and his inner council of ministers. Indeed this is in some ways an under-statement, since it was actually for the most part in opposition to it. Its main function was to acquire and to retain control of taxation, and to use this control as a lever for compelling the redress of grievances before the grant of supply without which the King's Government could not be financed. In this stage of its development, Parliament, or more accurately the House of Commons, was essentially an assembly of private members mainly in opposition, but not necessarily organized opposition. It follows that the primary purpose of the infant parliamentary procedure of those days was the safeguarding of the rights of private members in debate. It is in consequence broadly true to this day that the greater part of its case law, based on precedent and on the decisions of successive Speakers, has been evolved to serve this end.

This case law, however, is only part of the law and practice of Parliamentary procedure. There is a more modern growth, a sort of statute law, which is embodied in the Standing Orders of the House. It is broadly true that of these two elements, whereas case law is concerned primarily with assuring the rights of private members in debate, Standing Orders are primarily directed to make possible the business of Government by securing to the Government sufficient parliamentary time for its dispatch. The Standing Orders were called into being by a change in the function of Parliament, slow in developing but clearly recognizable. The divorce of the executive from the legislature (apart from the limitations placed on the executive by the Commons' control of taxation) did not survive the evolution of the doctrine of responsibility of Ministers to Parliament. After the Whig revolution of 1688 this doctrine gained statutory acceptance, and by the eighteenth century was formally established. It is interesting to note that in the reign of Queen Anne an Act was

passed forbidding Ministers to sit in the House of Commons. The idea was to guarantee the independence of the Commons from ministerial control and interference; but the parliamentarians of those days were shrewd enough to see that the ultimate effect of such a measure would be to divorce the Commons from the real business of government, and thereby inevitably to decrease their power and responsibility. The Act was repealed and the doctrine of ministerial responsibility in both Houses, with an interesting emphasis on the Commons, became a statutory reality. The necessary corollary of ministerial responsibility to Parliament is the Government's need of an increasing amount of parliamentary time, in which to obtain parliamentary approval for the policy pursued by the Government and for legislation initiated by it in furtherance of its policy.

In view of the empirical nature of the development of parliamentary procedure it is not to be wondered at that its necessary revision failed to keep pace with the change in the function of Parliament. The doctrine of ministerial responsibility, with all that it involved in the change in character of the House of Commons, from an assembly of private members to the Chamber in which the main business of government was scrutinized, was firmly established in the eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century the process of modification of procedure had begun; but the rights of private members still loomed large, and a meticulous exercise by private members of all their rights in debate might have seriously handicapped the business of government. The main motive force of that part of our procedure which is contained in Standing Orders has been, as was shown above, the securing to the Government of sufficient parliamentary time. It is not surprising, therefore, that Standing Orders made their appearance with the Reform Parliament, by which time the difficulty of ensuring efficient discharge of Government business with a procedure almost wholly designed to favour private members was already apparent. From this time, for about half a century, the process of adjustment between the rights of Government and the rights of private members was continually if slowly being adjusted in favour of the former by the enactment of further Standing Orders.

This tendency was greatly accelerated by the obstructionist tactics of the Irish Party in the 1880's. There was nothing particularly remarkable about their tactics except for the thoroughness and single-mindedness with which they pursued them. The advantage of parliamentary procedure still lay with private members, if they were sufficiently careless of the business of government, or sufficiently hostile to it, to apply these methods ruthlessly. The natural consequence of this exploitation by Irish members was to sharpen the use by the Government of its counter-weapon of Standing Orders. It was possible for the Government, faced by the possibility of breakdown in its executive business due to the deliberately obstructive tactics of a minority party, to use its majority for securing the revision of the procedure by Standing

Orders. This, in fact, is what happened in the 1880's; and the Standing Orders then produced set the seal on parliamentary procedure, as a method of trying to preserve the balance in the conduct of debate and in the distribution of parliamentary time between the necessities of Government and the rights of private members.

This period of accelerated development was marked by an advance on two fronts, the evolution of the idea of standing committees, and the introduction of the guillotine.

Standing committees had their origin in the 1880's first as a temporary measure and then as a permanent part of the procedure of Parliament. From time to time their compositions and duties have been revised and re-fashioned; but they remain in essence a method of saving the time of Parliament as a whole, by delegating to comparatively small standing committees sitting in the mornings the duty of the detailed consideration of a Bill, clause by clause, which is known in the jargon of Parliament as its committee stage. Such standing committees are in effect a Parliament in miniature, the Party representation being exactly proportionate to the strength of parties in the House, and the chairman sitting in a neutral capacity, though himself a party Member of Parliament.

The guillotine, perhaps a little more difficult to understand, is only the popular or perhaps, more strictly, unpopular description of this parliamentary device. The proper name for a guillotine motion is an Allocation of Time motion, which prescribes the exact and maximum time by which the deliberations on any particular stage of a Bill must be completed. The name guillotine has arisen because of the inexorable way in which the closure falls at the prescribed time irrespective of circumstances. The Allocation of Time, or guillotine, motion draws up the timetable for the particular stage of the Bill, so that at the end of the time allotted (or of each day's proceedings) the guillotine takes the form of a closure of the Bill by compartments the guillotine falls and all Government amendments are voted on without discussion and all opposition or private members' amendments are automatically rejected without being moved or put to the vote. It is not surprising that this ruthless method of curtailing parliamentary discussion in the interests of the dispatch of Government business has been generally unpopular with parliamentarians, to whom free discussion is the breath of life and the prime justification for existence. In view of its general unpopularity, and of the distinct departure from the old tendency of parliamentary procedure always to safeguard the rights of private members, the guillotine has normally been sparingly used, and to a large extent its use until very recent times has been superseded by the acceptance of a voluntary timetable between the Government and the Opposition for the discussion of any particular Bill.

In particular the guillotine procedure has been less used than what is graphically and descriptively known as the kangaroo procedure. The origin of this

can be found in Standing Order 26 Sub-Paragraph 3, which was known as the kangaroo closure procedure and is in effect a forerunner of the guillotine. This procedure fell into disuse, however, and was largely replaced by the provisions of Standing Order 28 which is the kangaroo. This enables a Speaker or Chairman to select amendments, leaping over those which he does not choose for discussion. The kangaroo procedure is described in the fourteenth edition of *Erskine May* as being very effective in saving time and as being applied by the Chair in entire independence of Government initiative. It will be seen, therefore, that the kangaroo saves parliamentary time, but does not in fact lend itself to the degree of control by the Government which is given by the guillotine.

The two main methods of adjusting the balance between the Government's need of time and private members' rights, evolved during the last half century, were parallel; they were not combined until March of this year, when the guillotine was used in the proceedings of standing committees. It was made clear by Mr. Arthur Greenwood, when moving the guillotine procedure motion on the Transport and Town and Country Planning Bills on March 3 last, that it was the first occasion on which an allocation of time order had been proposed in relation to a Bill in standing committee. Indeed traditional reluctance to guillotine a Bill in standing committee was well illustrated in the National Insurance Bill in 1911, which was peculiar in that one part of the Bill was retained on the floor of the House and the other was sent upstairs to a standing committee. In consequence of this one half of the Bill was in its committee stage subject to the guillotine, while the other half, which had been committed concurrently to a standing committee upstairs, was allowed to go on its way unhampered by this procedure.

The reluctance to use the guillotine in the proceedings of standing committees was overcome for the first time in regard to the Transport and Town and Country Planning Bills this year. The effect of the motion carried on March 3 was to draw up a timetable in the standing committees. The motion ordered the committee stage on these Bills to be concluded on or before April 2, leaving the detailed timetable of the Bills within the general limit to be worked out by the business sub-committees of the standing committees concerned. These business sub-committees were constituted under the sessional orders, and consist of a chairman of the standing committee with a small number of members, again in proportion to the strength of the parties in the House. The main consequences of enforcing this timetable procedure were, first, the compression of a large number of sittings into a very short space of time with the necessity of afternoon sittings being held in addition to the normal morning sittings; and, secondly, that a rigid guillotine procedure was adopted with the consequence that a large number of Government amendments were carried without any discussion, by the mere machinery of majority voting, and a large number of opposition amendments were rejected without any

discussion by the committee at all.

It would not be right to say that these proposals came upon the House like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. It had been widely realized that consideration must be given to the difficulty in which any Government might be placed by the press of legislative business inevitable in the immediate aftermath of war. For this reason the coalition Government had considered a scheme designed to meet the special circumstances of the period of transition from war to peace. The scheme which they worked out (but which in fact did not receive the War Cabinet's approval) recommended certain modifications in parliamentary procedure which might be tried on an experimental basis during the first one or two sessions after the war. This scheme was then considered by the Select Committee on Procedure which was set up in the first month of the meeting of the new Parliament in 1945. Among the proposals considered by this committee were that machinery should be prepared for prescribing and enforcing a time limit on the proceedings of the standing committee, and that certain minor amendments should be made in the procedure and practice of debates in committee.

In regard to the proposals for an increase in the sessions of a standing committee, the select committee in its first report considered that the proposals that standing committees should sit three days a week should be regarded as experimental to relieve congestion. So far as afternoon proceedings were concerned, however, they recommended a revival of Standing Order No. 49a which had fallen into disuse. This Standing Order made possible the adjournment of the House after question time until the evening so that the intervening afternoon period could be used for the work of standing committees. They also recommended the possibility of seven simultaneous standing committees, a recommendation that for various reasons has not been followed up. Nor in fact has the procedure of Standing Order 49a been found suitable to the contemporary needs of Parliament. As can be seen its usefulness depends on the assumption that there will be some periods in which there is so little business for Parliament as a whole that the House is able to adjourn for several hours to allow the committees to sit in the afternoon. This has never yet happened, and at present there appears no likelihood at all in the foreseeable future that it will happen.

The Select Committee envisaged the possibility of the guillotine being at times necessary in the proceedings of standing committees; and in such cases they recommended that the detailed allocation of the sittings to parts of the Bill should be worked out by the business sub-committee of the standing committee.

What has in fact been done in the standing committees dealing with the Transport and Town and Country Planning Bills has therefore been in excess of anything contemplated by the Select Committee on Procedure. The guillotine itself has, it is true, followed the lines indicated in the report on the Select



Committee on Procedure. It has, however, been applied together with not only the three morning sittings a week, but also with two or more afternoon sittings. These afternoon sittings have not taken place during a temporary adjournment of the House for that purpose, as contemplated by Standing Order 49a; they have, on the contrary, taken place during the sitting time of the House, and not infrequently simultaneously with debates of the first importance on the floor of the House itself, thus placing members serving on these standing committees in the dilemma of divided loyalties.

It is interesting to observe how the guillotine procedure has worked out in practice in the case of these two Bills. By a curious coincidence the number of clauses on which no discussion took place at all was the same in the case of both Bills; that is to say, thirty-seven clauses had no discussion at all, while in the Transport Bill seven schedules, and in the Town and Country Planning Bill six schedules, likewise received no discussion. In addition to the parts of the Bills which received no discussion at all as a result of the guillotine, many discussions on clauses and amendments were curtailed for the same reason. What is interesting is that to some extent the opposition members on the two committees proceeded on a somewhat different technique. Broadly speaking, the members of the standing committee of the Transport Bill tried to give some discussion to as many points as possible, whereas the opposition members on the standing committee of the Town and Country Planning Bill chose rather to shape their course as if the proceedings were not subject to the guillotine. I do not want to press this distinction too far, as the arrangement of the timetable by the business sub-committee of the Town and Country Planning Bill naturally took into account the desirability of securing the maximum possible debate on the most important matters. Nevertheless, I think that, in spite of two rather different approaches to the conduct of the proceedings, substantially the same result was ultimately arrived at. The conclusion is inescapable that the committee stage of Bills, simultaneously subjected both to the guillotine and to a multiplication and concentration of sittings, is inherently unsatisfactory. It is in fact impossible in such circumstances to get a full and valuable discussion; and what discussion there is inevitably assumes an air of unreality. For example, it is neither logical nor workmanlike to have a fairly full discussion on perhaps two clauses, followed by the guillotining without discussion of the following three or four clauses of equal or comparable importance. The only alternative to this is a timetable system which would give a series of discussions on each of the clauses or amendments so short as to be entirely superficial, and incapable of providing the degree of detailed scrutiny which is at once the purpose and justification of the committee stage.

It was not solely the application of the guillotine which made the proceedings on these Bills in committee so difficult and so unsatisfactory. At least an equally important reason is to be found in the practice of sitting five times a week. This meant, in addition to the three morning sittings which

the Select Committee on Procedure had advocated as an exceptional expedient only, sitting on two afternoons simultaneously with the sitting of the House itself. The effect of this was to impose an almost intolerable burden both on the administrative machine in respect of the printing of amendments and report of proceedings, and also on the members serving on the committees. With all the other duties which fall to the lot of a Member of Parliament, it proved in practice difficult to the point of impossibility for members to keep pace with the progress of the committee and be able to give of their best in reasoned argument on so quick a succession of debates on matters of detailed complexity. It is common ground that the two Bills were in fact improved even by the degree of attention that they received in these very abbreviated committee proceedings; and it is also very widely admitted that they could have been improved considerably more by a less savagely curtailed and more realistic discussion in committee.

Nobody who believes in full and free discussion as an essential and valued element in the system of parliamentary democracy can doubt that the result of this experiment has been unfortunate and unsatisfactory. Two questions in particular present themselves for answer. First, should the compression of sittings into so short a space of time, with the necessary corollary of afternoon sessions during the sittings of the House, be abandoned? Secondly, should the guillotine procedure of the committee stage of Bills be discontinued? The first question is the easier and must, I think, clearly be answered in the affirmative. The pace was too hectic to be compatible with the thorough detailed scrutiny which is the main function of the committee stage. The proceedings of the sub-committee must be taken at a gentler pace; and, in particular, the experiment of afternoon sittings, other than during an adjournment of the House for that purpose as envisaged by the Select Committee on Procedure, must be discontinued.

It is more difficult to give a direct answer to the second question. It would, I think, probably be wrong, and certainly a departure from the recommendations of the Select Committee on Procedure, to argue from the unsatisfactory nature of the guillotine proceedings on these two Bills that the guillotine should never be applied to the committee stage of Bills. In principle, it is probably right that the machinery of the guillotine should be kept in reserve for the committee stage of Bills but only sparingly brought into action. In any event, it should never be coupled with the sort of concentration of sittings that was enforced in the case of the two Bills under examination.

Having said this, the question remains: how then can a mammoth programme of legislation be dealt with by Parliament? It is hard to give a wholly satisfactory answer to such a question. It is to be hoped that such programmes will be rare; and certainly if the history of the inter-war period repeats itself, the legislative congestion of the immediate post-war can be expected to thin out in the process of time. Legislation is after all not the only business of

Parliament, and certainly is not the only, nor indeed the main, business of Government or of the Civil Service. It is perhaps hard doctrine for the ardent legislative reformer, but it is nevertheless undeniably true that too much and too hurried legislation brings with it the inevitable penalty of a decrease in the speed and efficiency of administration. To argue that the parliamentary machine must be capable of adapting itself to any legislative programme, however large, is to overlook entirely the logistics of the question, which are in fact as vital and as inescapable in the practice of government as in the waging of war. Parliament must always expect to revise and improve its procedure in order to keep up with contemporary requirements. If, in spite of this, the parliamentary machine cannot discharge the burden placed upon it in conformity with the highest standards of parliamentary democracy, the remedy must be sought elsewhere. Governments must, however unwillingly, cut their legislative coat more strictly according to their administrative cloth.

*(The author, a barrister, is Member of Parliament for Hereford.)*

## TO-DAY IN THE MINES

BY B. L. COOMBES

IT is not too early to consider the miners' re-action to the new control, for the feeling of nationalization was around and about our mines long before the actual vesting ceremony at the beginning of this year. We knew the new control was coming and had prepared our ways for that change. Many of us had talked and hoped for nationalization during the last troubled years of mining for we believed that it was our sole hope of a better future and a more contented industry. Our hopes became a fact so swiftly that we were dubious if it could be correct, but by this time we have become used to the new control.

How do we feel about it after the working of these past months? We find sunshine, and shadows, in it. Most surely it is not the type of nationalization that most miners hoped for and desired. We expected a type of workers' control in which the men who produced the coal would have a say in its production and a voice in the methods to be used. During the first stages there was a sign of co-operation and a desire to suggest things which would ensure more efficient working. Lately there has been a slackening of that interest and a growing feeling that mining is slipping back to the old ways—under a control which is supposed to be different but has many of the old smells about it.

In many ways we feel it is just the name over the business that has changed while the management and the methods have gone on as before. We felt that if the old control was adjudged inefficient a change should be made to new management as swiftly as possible. There seems little sign of this and we are feeling somewhat bitter about it. We refuse to admit that there are not men amongst the best types of miners who would be able to improve conditions and outputs in the actual coal workings. Who should be more able than the men who have spent their lives in close contact with the coal? Yet we see position after position given to men whose main qualification seems to be that they know nothing of the craft of mining. This thing is becoming a joke in the mine workings, but it is a cynical joke which will boil slowly up into trouble unless some change in appointments is made.

We agree that our knowledge of the selling side and the distributive part of our industry is small and that in those sections we must allow past experience to have a preference. We do not complain about that but we are worried over this tendency to count the workers once again as only fit to use a shovel and swallow pit dust. Already this matter of appointments has brought a series of protests and some stoppages; these will be intensified unless some new method

is adopted. We see a new managing class coming into being—amongst them many of the old ones professing a new outlook—and these seem even more autocratic and no more efficient than the control they have replaced; but they appear more opulent and act in the confidence that this time the Government and the country will support their methods. In fact some of the Coal Board officials help foster that attitude in their frequent public speeches and they give us the feeling that the actual miner is a person who does not matter very much.

We still have faith in Mr. Shinwell and the leaders who have remained with us. That is why the stoppages have been so few and the output kept going so well despite all difficulties. We feel that Mr. Shinwell is sincere in his desire to give us a better life but we also feel that he has been badly advised and that most of his propaganda—whoever was responsible—was more suited for backward children than for an army of workers who are usually intelligent and politically keen. Much of the effort by the miners during the crisis was inspired by the hope of making nationalization a success. Sunday working of coal was a breach of custom which showed how eager the men were. Repairs have always been done on Sundays in the past but it was sacrilege to permit the filling of coal on the Sabbath. They surrendered that custom and several others in the time of need. Many made long and exhausting journeys to work across snowbound mountain roads and slept near the collieries when transport failed. Many men even now struggle to work when they should rest because they realize what is at stake. It is a pity that the miners are not given publicity that is worthy of adult reading and that more men worthy of their esteem were not included amongst the Coal Board officials.

In our own case we know that output could be speeded up by half if we could get more power underground. Our machines cannot travel at full speed and our haulage engines can move only a small load because the compressed air power is not sufficient. More than a year ago I was one of a workmen's committee that asked for a section of the mine to be electrified so that the rest of the power could be used at the inside workings. It would have solved our problems and the management agreed. We have been stirring it along ever since and the last report is that we may be able to get the necessary equipment before another two years. It is a tale of worn machinery and worn men. Yet every day we see new electrical equipment and poles being fixed for outside industry.

We have been told that extra supplies of food are being, or have been, allotted to colliery areas. It seems they must have lost their way for we have not had them. This matter of colliery canteens is not quite so simple as it appears. In these days a very large proportion of our miners travel a long way to work. They come to our pits from a radius of twenty miles. Often the bus or the train bringing one shift must wait to take the miners from the offcoming shift home. So in the half hour between shifts there is a deal of crowding and confusion. The canteen is crowded with men who want their food boxes

filled or some refreshment before going to work; or by men from the shift which has just ended and who want something before they start homeward. In this bustle many men have to go without. I am very fond of that early cup of tea and as my journey home takes about an hour I need something warm before I start. Yet I count myself lucky to get two cups of tea in a week. I have thirty-five minutes between leaving the pit mouth until I get into my bus—a quarter of an hour from pit to the baths, then strip, bath, and dress again into clean clothes. At the most I have five minutes in the canteen. If there is any crowd I go without my tea. This is quite the average case so it seems silly to blame us for not making more use of the canteen. Some of our canteens, too, need more experienced managers.

It would seem reasonable to suggest a revision of the time tables of our conveyances but that is not easy. In most cases they have to merge into the other passenger services and always they have to collect miners at the other collieries farther along the valleys. The folk who live close to the colliery get the benefit and, naturally, the outsiders do not feel happy about it.

We have had benefits under the new control. We do not now pay our tennance a week for the pithead baths and the paid holidays have been extended. Many other things have been promised and with the passing of time they will be granted. The five day week is with us and we are becoming aware of fresh problems. Before it started we had passed many nights trying to provide for the snags which we knew from experience would occur. Now it is operating we are meeting problems we did not expect. We feel some sense of surprise that many papers and a large section of the public appear to think that we are the first to be given a five day week. A little reflection will show how wrong that suggestion is. I know of industries in which the five day week has been recognized for many years and what of the clean collar jobs in which five days every week are counted as using up all a man's energy? So in some ways our five day week is just the getting in line with other people.

I have no doubt that for some months a loss of coal output must be the result of this shortened week. When sufficient new machinery gets working the loss may be eased but that will take time. It was an awkward position but from the urgent need of coal I have felt Mr. Shinwell would have had justification in asking for a postponement of the change. He preferred to keep his pledges to the miners and that was an honourable attitude. Otherwise he might have lost the faith we place in him and brought a feeling of distrust into the industry. We have had too many broken promises in the past and I hope that the Minister will not have cause for regret. I have wondered if it would not have been better to grant the shortened week and then treat the sixth day as an extra day—with pay—worked to ease our coal shortage until supplies became more plentiful.

It must be the dayshift coal getters who will see the chief changes, as in South Wales many afternoon or night workers have worked a five shift week for years.

Their position will not be altered or their pay. These men have had experience of the bonus shift and they are not fond of that system. In the past a man might work until the last shift, then be taken suddenly ill; or his wife or child might be dying, yet his failure to work that last shift would be penalized as if he had idled deliberately. Apart from accident or trade union work no excuse was accepted and he was paid four shifts instead of six. What were the reactions to this bonus cropping? In most cases the miner realized all hope of a full week had gone so he made a holiday of it by stopping away the remaining part of the week. It is illogical, I know, but the men seemed to have some idea of getting a kick back at the penalty.

Our committee meetings lately have heard a lot about what the officials term "ironing out". I will try to explain this new idea. In the past one colliery manager might have granted a small regular payment for some special co-operation such as working over-width. He got much better results by that extra payment. Another colliery manager might be opposed to that special payment but had made the difference up in some other way which brought equal results. These points had been amicably arranged and so had become part of pit custom—and mining men are tight on preserving customs. Now the Coal Board is trying to iron out these customs so that a dead level can be arranged. Under the unified control it would not be possible to grant men in one pit what was not given to those in another pit because that would mean increasing the custom payments and so the tendency seems to be to wipe out all such customs. The men are accepting this reluctantly because they realize the difficulties of the new control but it does not make things any pleasanter and there seems a possibility of them asking for a little more lenient ironing. That bonus shift I mentioned for night and afternoon workers is one example. It was originally granted in South Wales as an offset to the loss of social life and pleasure the men suffered by working those awkward shifts, but under the new control they will not have that one shift less to work than those on the ordinary day shift. Another effect is that in the past many types of underground workers had a sort of job and finish agreement. When the conveyor was shifted or the coal cut cleared they went home even if it was an hour before finishing time. That is another custom which is being ironed out. There are already many such alterations and the miners are beginning to feel that the five day week is not altogether such a grand idea as it had first seemed.

Above all there is one overriding grievance—the present wage system. The beginner in the mines if he is over twenty-one must have five pounds a week. The skilled miner, with the knowledge of twenty or thirty years of experience behind him can only claim one shilling a day more as skilled money. It is a ridiculous position—one shilling a day between a highly efficient man who can tackle most jobs underground and another man who has to be guided, watched, and guarded whilst he does the most unskilled work! The skilled man must accept responsibility and must also find his own set of tools and keep

them in condition. As a result no men will accept the job of repairer or similar tasks if they can possibly avoid it. Yet the most urgent need is for colliery repairers. Most of them at present are middle-aged men and the cream of the mining industry. They are the most thoughtful and the ones most active both in politics and in trade union affairs. Our leaders agree that the present position is unfair and have promised an alteration when a new wage agreement is formed. It is a credit to our craftsmen that they are patiently, though not silently, enduring this state of affairs.

Where the coal-getters are concerned some of the managements have tried to alter the position by paying a higher rate per ton on the coal; the idea being to increase the coal output and help the wage. It has had that effect but has brought a snag which disturbs every one of our committee meetings. You see, under machine mining conditions coal getting is becoming one of the easiest and least skilful of mining jobs and so young and partly experienced men can do it if there is a strengthening of experienced men in the gang to watch safety. These conveyor gangs can earn good money—sometimes twice as high as the repairers. Yet when the more skilled work of repairer needs to be done the repairers must come along to do it so that the coal-getters can continue to work—and the repairers must make things safe for men of half their experience getting twice their wage. It rankles.

It may not be easy for an outsider to realize what work the colliery repairer does. Where the roof is crushing he must be there to build extra supports to steady the pressure. He must clear falls and re-timber or re-arch the part underneath so that it is safe for men and coal to travel. He must build and repair the underground engine houses; in our pit we have thirty of these and some of them are fine examples of skilful work. He must build walls, blast for extra width or height, and every day be ready to meet some new emergency. Almost every shift he works in extreme danger so that the places and the roadways shall be right for the handling of coal next day. The actual coal-getter who does not need one quarter of the repairer's skill is the type of man who now gets one shilling a day extra.

We have told the managements that this must be changed, that the repairers must have the chance to work on the coal and so earn more money. They agree without any argument that things must be altered but if they take the skilled men off repairs the colliery must stop. They ask us to find men to replace them, then the repairers can go to the coal-getting. They know, and we know, that there is no hope of replacement for the skilled and experienced miners are scarce, and getting more scarce every year. They cannot be replaced, for a generation of mining craft is in their strong hands and cool heads. They have fought the mountain all their lives and what we have lost by not having their sons to work with them will take a generation to replace. That is the fault of the past, not the Coal Board.

## INCENTIVES TO WORK

BY G. F. MCCLEARY

AT a recent sitting of the B.B.C. "Brains Trust" the subject of incentives to work came up for discussion. One member said that many people worked for the love of it. He mentioned, as examples, cabinet ministers and newspaper editors, who, he thought, lived laborious days because of the impelling interest of their work.

It is natural that men and women who have achieved the intellectual eminence that leads to a seat on the "Brains Trust" should think nobly of work; and to the examples given there might have been added the creative artist. Think of the stupendous output of Walter Scott, who was hailed by Wilkie Collins, himself a distinguished novelist, as "King, Emperor, and God Almighty of novelists." Think also of the still more stupendous output of Handel and Sebastian Bach. Handel's father, who was a barber-surgeon, forbade his son to have anything to do with music, which he regarded as hardly respectable; he intended him to be a lawyer. But a well-wisher of the gifted child came to his rescue. He smuggled into an attic of the father's house a clavichord, inaudible behind closed doors, on which the young genius practised after the family had gone to bed. Of such rare spirits we can say, as Whitman said to the solitary thrush singing "by himself a song":

For well, dear brother, I know,

If thou wast not granted to sing thou would'st surely die.

To work for the love of the job is, however, hardly to be expected from those following some occupations. The youthful Handel may have got up at night to work at the clavichord, but it is doubtful whether many colliers ever felt a strong impulse to get up at night to work away at the coal face. A newspaper editor may find deep spiritual satisfaction in moving from his daily pulpit the minds of his fellow citizens; but it seems unlikely that many scavengers derive much satisfaction from moving the household refuse of their fellow citizens. Yet it is not necessary to be exceptionally gifted to love "The daily round, the common task." We may doubt whether cabinet ministers or newspaper editors derive from their work a more profound satisfaction than the French peasant does from his. If you find this difficult to believe, read the famous extract from Michelet's *Le Peuple* quoted by J. S. Mill in his *Principles of Political Economy*:

If we would know the inmost thought, the passion, of the French peasant, it is very easy. Let us walk out on Sunday into the country and follow him. Behold him

yonder, walking in front of us. It is two o'clock; his wife is at vespers; he has on his Sunday clothes; I perceive that he is going to visit his mistress.

What mistress? His land.

I do not say he goes straight to it. No, he is free to-day, and may either go or not. Does he not go every day in the week? Accordingly, he turns aside, he goes another way, he has business elsewhere. And yet—he goes.

It is true, he was passing close by; it was an opportunity. He looks, but apparently he will not go in; what for? And yet—he enters.

At least it is probable that he will not work; he is in his Sunday dress; he has a clean shirt and blouse. Still, there is no harm in plucking up this weed and throwing out that stone. There is a stump, too, which is in the way; but he has not his tools with him, he will do it to-morrow.

Then he folds his arms and gazes, serious and careful. He gives a long, a very long look, and seems lost in thought. At last, if he thinks himself observed, if he sees a passer-by, he moves slowly away. Thirty paces off he stops, turns round, and casts on his land a last look, sombre and profound, but to those who can see it, the look is full of passion, of heart, of devotion.

But the peasant proprietor is coming to be looked upon merely as a survival of an unscientific and uneconomic past. The march of progress is passing him by. In Soviet Russia, after a short period of toleration, he has been liquidated. Mechanization has revolutionized agriculture. In the great food producing countries the number of workers required to cultivate a given area of land has rapidly diminished. Surprising economies in man power have been made by the ever increasing use of machinery in agriculture. In transport and industrial production mechanization is of older origin and has proceeded much further, especially since the war of 1914-18. In office work, too, the use of machines has been much extended. When I came to London in 1901 as a medical officer of health, there was not one typewriter in the town hall in which I worked.

Mechanization, despite its manifold advantages, has taken something precious out of human life. When, in the middle of the sixteenth century, Hans Sachs made shoes for Eva Pognor and Sextus Beckmesser in Nuremberg, the shoemaker built up the whole shoe with his own hands. He knew the customer for whom he was making it. Those who wore what he had produced were friends or acquaintances. In the street or in the home he could see the finished result of his craftsmanship. Now, each shoemaker produces a mere fraction only of the whole shoe, and of those who will wear it he knows and cares nothing. Hans Sachs could vary the intensity and tempo of his work. In the second act of *Die Meistersinger* he breaks off to sing a glorious song. ("Give me the man who sings at his work," said Carlyle.) The up-to-date shoemaker cannot vary the intensity and tempo of his work. It is essential that he should keep pace with his mates in the line of production. And as to breaking off to sing a song—! Hans Sachs, in short, was a skilled craftsman; he had the joy of productive craftsmanship, one of the most precious of human possessions. The modern worker is more and more becoming the semi-skilled tender of an automatic machine.

Many years ago Henry Nevinson, walking with me on Hampstead Heath,

lamented over the "dehumanizing" influence of mechanized industry, which, he contended, had taken away much of the joy of work. I ventured to suggest that it might be to some extent counteracted by shortening the hours of labour, so that the workers with more free time of their own might derive from leisure more of the joy of life. He would have none of it. "No", he said, "that's no way out. What really matters to a man is his work."

He was doubtless right; and certainly at the present time my suggestion fails to meet the case. The problem we now face is how to get the maximum production out of a limited number of workers fed by a limited quantity of energy-building food stuffs. The President of the Board of Trade has told us that it will be necessary to increase our production by seventy-five per cent. to attain the standard of living we had attained before the war. It was not a very high standard, not the kind of standard we hoped to attain. But it will be hard enough to regain it. We are living on borrowed money. The American loan is being spent more rapidly than was expected. A bright young economist once assured me that the whole science of economics is based on the proposition that you can't eat your cake and have it. "It seems simple," he added, "but it has important implications, one of which is that you can't have your cake until it has been produced."

In the Graeco-Roman civilization, which was based on slave labour, the chief incentive to industry was the lash. The master had the power of life and death over his slaves, and flogging was a comparatively mild punishment for the failure of a slave to fulfil his master's requirements. But in Rome in the later years of the Republic and in the Empire the slave had another incentive to do his best for his master—he might win his freedom. The freeing of slaves became more and more common. For the most part, the slaves did not differ widely from their masters in race or colour. Some were as well educated as their masters, some better educated. After gaining their freedom they became part of the Roman citizenry; some, like Trimalchio, became wealthy citizens. In the Negro slavery of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the position of the slave was very different. He had little or no prospect of becoming freed. In some places it was made a crime to teach him to read or write. The incentive to work was the lash.

When the lash ceased to be used for that purpose a new incentive appeared in the fear of the "sack". The sack might be even more terrifying than the lash, for it might be followed by starvation. But the sack has now lost much of the fear it inspired when Charles Dickens threw the search-light of his genius upon the conditions in which the poor then lived and worked. With the development of social services and of organized labour combinations the fear of the sack has weakened; and the enormous increase in the number of government employees, central and local, has limited the field of employment in which the incentive of the sack can be applied. It is not easy to sack the holder of a post that is permanent and pensionable. He may, it is true, be passed over when

promotions are made; but that consideration appeals with varying effect to different workers. Those with simple tastes and no lofty ambitions may not be particularly anxious to shoulder the increased responsibilities that go with increased status. They may prefer a life of not too strenuous humdrum routine to a life of intellectual excitement in the performance of duties involving the taking home of papers for after-office study and the making of difficult decisions on which momentous consequences may depend.

Then there is the incentive, which still survives and is potent in America, that a man may by hard work become the hero of what Americans call "a success story"—a story that tells of some boy who, though born in poverty, achieves fame and fortune,

Who breaks his birth's invidious bar,  
And grasps the skirts of happy chance,  
And breasts the blows of circumstance,  
And grapples with his evil star;

Who makes by force his merit known  
And lives to clutch the golden keys,  
To mould a mighty state's decrees,  
And shape the whisper of the throne

American boys are brought up in the belief that every American citizen has a chance of becoming President of the United States. But since the Republic was founded only a hundred and fifty years ago, the number of citizens who have risen to that high office is but thirty-two. It is true that many other citizens have become millionaires, and even multi-millionaires, or have in other ways achieved exceptionally distinguished success, but in the aggregate they form only an insignificant fraction of the total number of competitors. The modern man has become more realistic. He is less inclined to "scorn delights and live laborious days" in the hope of winning a competition in which the odds against an average man are probably many thousands to one. More and more he is inclined to aim, not at fame and fortune but at permanency and a pension.

In seeking incentives to work, we need not trouble ourselves about such workers as Tennyson's "divinely gifted man", who broke "his birth's invidious bar"; they need no incentive. The problem is how to appeal to the average man, who, though not afraid of hard work if it is really required, feels a desire for more time to enjoy his home life, social intercourse, and the simple delights of the cricket field, the football field, and the greyhound racing track.

In Russia, where much attention has been given to devising incentives to production, striking results have, it is said, been obtained from encouraging groups of workers to compete against each other to produce the largest output in a given time. There are competitions between different groups in the same factory, between factory and factory, between city and city. The "shock brigade" is regarded as another potent stimulus to increased output. Shock brigades are groups of workers who volunteer to make special efforts to increase



production. They not only work in their own places of work but make ginger-ing-up visits to other undertakings:

They work with furious intensity, shaming the other workers in the shop into putting more regularity and continuity into their efforts . . . . They do not usually receive or expect extra payment for their exceptional efforts, although on a piece-work basis their total earnings at the standard rates are naturally greater than those of the average workman. They find their reward in the public approval and the honours accorded to them . . . . They get the best chance of receiving theatre tickets or being sent on holiday excursions . . . . They often enjoy the amenity of a separate dining-room in the factory restaurant, sometimes with flowers on the table, electro-plated spoons and forks, and special dainties.\*

Workers who have made contributions of exceptional importance to increased productivity are accorded marks of public approval far exceeding the privilege of taking their meals in a flower-decked room apart from the mere rank and file of the workers. They are given wide publicity. Their portraits appear in the newspapers. They may be awarded decorations. They may, like Stakhanov, become national heroes. But there is nothing novel in bestowing public honours in reward of distinguished services to the community. In Russia: "What is novel is the extensive use made of the incentive of organized public shaming of those who have fallen below the currently accepted standard of productive efficiency."† Mr. Harry F. Ward, an American journalist, has given examples of how this incentive is applied:

At Selmash I was stopped one day by a sign over the washroom: "This is where the lazy fellows smoke the machines away". Another day, on a blackboard in the plough shop were three columns headed "Drunkards", "Absentees", "Lazy fellows". Underneath were the names of the delinquents. They were caricatured—the drunkard with a big bottle, and the absentee sleeping in bed, and the lazy man with his head tied up pretending a toothache . . . . The drunkards and slackers have to get their pay at a special "Black window", where they are jeered at by onlookers. Sometimes the place for receipt of wages is a hole cut in the middle of an enormous black bottle. At Selmash it was the mouth of an enormous red-nosed drinker, with a sign "At the Black Pay window all the lazy absentees, drunkards, and snatchers will get their pay on (such a date)". To get it they had to mount steps and pass along a raised platform in full view. The children added to this publicity by coming into the factory and drawing caricatures of drunkards for the notice boards.‡

It seems unlikely that such incentives to increased production would be welcomed by British workers.

Much remains to be said on this difficult and important subject of incentives to work. Its importance was long strangely overlooked in standard economic writings. Mill, for example, regarded "aversion to labour" and the desire of every one "to obtain as much wealth as possible" as "perpetually antagonizing principles", each acting with an equal degree of universality. But, as Henry Sidgwick pointed out, this view "is open to the obvious objection that many

\* Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism*, third edition, 1944, pp. 608-609.

† Ibid, p. 618.

‡ Harry F. Ward, *In Place of Profit*, pp. 82-83 Cited by Sidney and Beatrice Webb in *Soviet Communism*, pp. 618-619.

persons get more happiness out of their work than they do out of a good deal of their expenditure."† Sidgwick also pointed out that the advocacy of peasant proprietorship by Mill and some of his followers sprang from their belief that the mere feeling of a peasant proprietor that he owns the land on which he works gives him a strong incentive to work quite apart from "the desire of wealth, which Mill and other economists treat as summing up all the springs of labour attributed to men in economic reasonings."\* In his chapter on the causes of variations in production, Sidgwick gave an analysis of the motives that lead men to exertion and care in work, and showed that they are exceedingly varied in range and intensity. Incentives that appeal strongly to some workers may have little or no influence on others, and their effects may vary widely with changes of conditions. Since Sidgwick's time much attention has been given to industrial psychology, and we are now in a better position to devise incentives suitable to varying industrial conditions.

In attempting to formulate and apply such incentives, it is necessary to bear in mind that work is not essentially disagreeable. "Business", said Walter Bagehot, "is really more agreeable than pleasure; it interests the whole mind, the aggregate nature of man more continuously, and more deeply. But it does not look as if it did." Bagehot did not define the range of occupations that he regarded as "business"; but his remark is probably of wide application. Nevins was right when he said that what really matters to a man is his work. In Tokyo, a Japanese journalist once asked me to give him a message for the young people of Japan, and I replied: "Tell them to make their work their hobby." This advice, which seemed to delight the journalist, I still think sound. A man whose hobby is his work is thrice armed against "the whips and scorns of time." He is of those of whom Carlyle said: "Blessed is he who has found his work; let him ask no other blessedness."

† H. Sidgwick, *Principles of Political Economy*, third edition, p. 43.

\* Ibid, p. 117.

"THE POETIC IMAGE"

BY JOHN ARLOTT

IN 1946 Mr. Day Lewis was invited to deliver the Clark Lectures at Cambridge: he has now issued his lectures in book-form.\* In this volume he is free of the limitations which restricted his earlier work in criticism. *A Hope for Poetry* (1934), written from the comparative immaturity of thirty, was a partisan glove hurled in the teeth of the over-conservative traditionalists, who wielded such powerful disapproval against Mr. Day Lewis and his immediate fellow-writers. *Poetry For You*, a more recent volume, which has also reached a 'standard' acceptance, was addressed specifically to a reading-public demanding an introduction (or often, and more lamentably, a series of introductions and re-introductions) to poetry. The years between 1934 and 1946 which have seen the acceptance of Mr. Day Lewis's own poetry have removed the need for him to state a limited case and, simultaneously, engendered in him a wide appreciation of excellence of all types in poetry. This characteristic was present in the two preceding books but, from their very nature and aims, it was never stressed. In these lectures, however, the author was entitled to assume sympathy and an informed response in his audience.

A university lectureship has by no means always guaranteed a high literary or imaginative quality, nor even a magnanimous view. All too often the academic lecture has recounted spiritually valueless facts in an unjustifiably dull manner. Mr. E. M. Forster, whose own Clark Lectures on *Aspects of the Novel* were also a model of their kind, has said "Study . . . teaches us everything about a book except the central thing, and between that and us it raises a circular barrier which only the wings of the spirit can cross." It is this lamentable aspect of contemporary criticism which Mr. Day Lewis attacks, not only forthrightly but also, tacitly and perhaps more effectively, by the quality of his own writing. The impact of his approach is startling after the spate of books which have handled poetry in the manner of a man who would dissect a woman's body to discover why he loved her. This approach has been most apparent in those German and Germanic-American 'critics' who have apparently decided that it is the office of the critic to be analyst rather than artist. The method has, too, been applied in this country, notably by Mr. I. A. Richards. The guarded word, the cold-blooded examination of an essentially warm-blooded art, have characterized writing in this field to a point at which readers must wonder whether the authors have ever felt any emotional

\* *The Poetic Image* by C. Day Lewis. Cape. 7s. 6d.

response to poetry. Too often ideologies, subject-matter and sheer mechanics, legitimate as *byways* of poetic enquiry, have been extended to the exclusion of poetic experience. On this issue Mr. Day Lewis rejects pedagogic over-care:

I should make it clear I do not assume a uniformity of response to any given poem: one may, however, assume a certain common factor in the responses to a poem of all the individual readers for whom the poem has some meaning. That common factor—let us be rash, and burn our boats, and call it pleasure.

The manner of most modern critical writing makes this honest attitude almost startling. E. S. Dallas, a forgotten and minor Victorian critic, whom Mr. Day Lewis quotes and recommends made the point in *The Gay Science*. It is a genuine service to the reader of criticism to point out, or recall to him, the existence of Dallas. His approach is bold and human and his criticism made early and valid reference to the influence of the unconscious upon the poet. His books *The Gay Science* and *Poetics* have not been conspicuously excelled in their kind in modern times. Only the unsound variations of fashion, greater essentially perhaps from its nature in critical writing than in other branches of literature, has concealed him from modern readers.

Mr. Day Lewis also draws attention to the work of the American critic, John Livingstone Lowes, another recommendation which should be echoed. His book on Coleridge, *The Road to Xanadu*, an unique and exciting detective story of the poetic-imagination, is too little known in England and rarely now published here. This is the rare example of minute scholarship becoming a work of imaginative creation. Lowes' *Chaucer, Convention and Revolt in Poetry* and *The Reading of Books* also deserve more attention.

Coming humanly as he does to his subject, Mr. Day Lewis is free to establish himself by carefully documented and argued points and then to draw the legitimate conclusion warmly; he does so with an enthusiasm which is most welcome. He makes strongly and directly the point that 'Modern Poetry' is not a strange object to be examined and explained in isolation as certain catch-penny 'guide-books' have claimed to do. 'This 'Modern Poetry' is neither more nor less than the present form of English poetry, stemming purely out of tradition. The attempted review of a ten-year period is no more true poetic criticism than a newspaper is true history—providing, like it, no more than the often ill-proportioned sketch map but a longer-sighter eye is needed to see it proportionately in the greater terrain.

Because these essays were originally lectures they have an unusually powerful first-impact effect. Unlike those misnamed 'lectures' which are read aloud and later printed for the comprehension of the original listeners, these have the true qualities of the spoken word. The sentences are always simple and there is an unbroken onward flow of speech, thought and argument. The reader is never pulled up by the rambling relative clause nor the finicking footnote: he has no need to follow a diffuse trail, the writing leads him. For all its warmth the voice of the book has dignity in its speech, even beside the

majesty of many of the quotations. For it is often by quotation that Mr. Day Lewis restates—as it is constantly necessary to re-state in every age—those great truths of literary criticism often missed by those who cannot see the wood for the blight-stains on a single leaf. He quotes these canons out of an impressive width and depth of reading—Coleridge, Goethe, Schiller, Dallas, Rilke, Dryden, A. C. Bradley—and others whose appearance initially surprises but which is tersely and satisfyingly justified. Hazlitt, whose matter and manner would have fitted these lectures admirably, is surprisingly neglected. Among the many poets quoted and examined are Meredith (justifying the author's enthusiasm in sensitively estimated extracts), Tennyson, Chaucer, Dylan Thomas and George Herbert. Again and again the critical points drive the reader back to re-examine a quotation with humility and new eyes.

The six essays isolate and identify the image and then examine the progress of poetry in relation to its use of imagery. The image as dominant, the image as instrument, are seen as variants in a pattern of poetry in which modern poetry reveals itself as legitimate, a normal development of the whole.

Impressive in his examination of poetry, Mr. Day Lewis is to be even more highly esteemed for his guidance through poetic processes. His own poetry, like this book, has a structural purity which undoubtedly derives from his classical studies. In his poetry he seems incapable of sinking (when he is not successful) below a level of extreme competence because his absorbed and rigidly self-imposed disciplines always produce soundness of structure. Many of the passages of this book show him moving with considerable certainty in regions which 'poetical' whimsy has sometimes attempted to wrap in mists of 'inspiration'. He shows the making of a poem as conscious selection and manipulation of the images the mind produces. He quotes Coventry Patmore's essay on William Barnes illuminatingly and happily:

The *curiosa felicitas* . . . which means the 'careful luck' of him who tries many words, and has the wit to know when memory, or the necessity of metre or rhyme, has supplied him unexpectedly with those which are perhaps even better than he knew how to desire.

A considerable humanising factor of this book is its humour. The pompous critic must alienate sympathy. But it is difficult for an imaginative man to be pompous in speech (as distinct from the essay read aloud which often passes for a 'lecture'). Mr. Day Lewis is too experienced a speaker to talk insensitively and he obviously used humour, which is unforced and charming, in order to establish sympathy with his audience. This same humour when printed still wins attention—its sincerity is beyond doubt. When he likens the faculty which brings images up into the consciousness to a woolly-witted dog the humour has a considerable image-value which he exploits effectively.

Re-reading shows the care with which these lectures have been prepared. There is an absence of 'padding' and of the hackneyed, unusual in lecture series. Basic truths are restated only to give the essential standards and

adjustments which maintain proportion. The tone throughout is that of a man discharging a welcome task upon which he has worked to the full extent of a well-equipped mind, with a deep feeling for his subject and a determination to offer his listeners the best at his command.

The establishment of trust is complete when the author says: "I have no reason to assume that the picture they give me . . . would occur to any other reader or was ever in the poet's mind" or again, "I am not at all sure that I do grasp its significance: the general *idea* it gives me is . . ." Yet, despite these disclaimers it will be an insensitive and dogmatic man who is not moved and won by the interpretations these essays offer.

With an academic audience there was an automatic assumption of a reasonable cultural standard. But, in Cambridge, was it to be safely assumed that minor diversionary tactics had not exerted a disproportionate influence upon critical values? Therefore every point is won: some of them would appear truisms until the reader recalls books of criticism written from a standpoint which denied these very truths. Mr. Day Lewis takes his place on the highest plane of contemporary critics of poetry with C. M. Bowra, Edmund Wilson, John Livingstone Lowes and T. S. Eliot.

It is the poet who writes: "He writes a poem; then he moves on to the new experience, the next poem: and when a critic comes along and tells him what is right or wrong with that first poem he has a feeling of irrelevance . . . No poem ever contradicts another poem, any more than one experience can be contradicted by another."

It is the fully-equipped practitioner-critic who writes of the last four lines of George Herbert's *The Collar*: "Now functional imagery—the use of images to underline and bring home generally accepted ideas—produces its own kind of image pattern. It is a clear-cut, lucid pattern because images best serve ideas by being so disposed within it as to muffle all their associations except the one required."

It is the orderly thinker who says: "So we may say, provisionally, that mixed metaphors or incongruous images seem to be successful in proportion as they lack sensuous appeal."

It is a man of perceptive humour who says: "How disastrous if Wordsworth's football had been kicked into Gray's poem. The trouble with Wordsworth's football is that it is over-inflated, and bursts in itself in the effort to compete with larks and rainbows."

It is the enthusiast who says: ". . . the Romantics, because in their verse the freshness, the intensity, the evocativeness of image most prized by us to-day are seen at a height unequalled before their time and unsurpassed since."

And it is a mature human who says: "Look inward then, but outwards too no less steadily; for the virtues which unite mankind in families and societies are themselves variations of that single theme which also unifies your disjointed memories and warring moods to make a poem."

## A JOURNEY THROUGH THE AIR

BY ASHLEY DUKES

"Having now come at last into these ample fields."

Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*.

JOURNEYS fraught with varied scene and calling  
Lengthen life, swift though a day of pleasure  
Runs to sunset. In such overflowing  
Fullness months and years are longer, falling  
Lightly as dry leaves in wind-blown measure  
Marking autumn's age and time of sowing;  
Thus I make my fanciful digression  
Of the air, birdlike in fair procession.

Let me as a falcon freely soaring,  
Fetching ample circuits, buoyant ranging  
On his course, myself ascend and hover  
Ravenous above this world, exploring  
From a height her seas and isles, unchanging  
Poles and continents, that to a mind discover  
Secrets hidden from the daily eye of travel,  
Mysteries no earthly dweller can unravel.

Then from the summit of my flight descrying  
Quarry far below, and poised stooping,  
Let me swift and passionate, voracious  
Fall on knowledge, merciless denying  
Nothing to my eager maw, but hoping  
Ever from the spur of a sagacious  
Appetite to be more surely, faster,  
And with good digestion, learning's master.

Let me survey that stone magnetical,  
Polar or no, that sets a needle bending  
In a compass, and discern the variation  
With each place or time, and so heretical  
Propound a doctrine. Let me airborne lending

## A JOURNEY THROUGH THE AIR

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Sailors aid (the pattern of our nation)  
Learn if in truth there be a north-west passage  
Through the Arctic, after Hudson's constant presage.

Let me confirm, in Marco Polo's diction,  
Names of cities, plains and rivers, Tartar,  
Indian or Chinese; and know of Prester  
John his dwelling, whether truth or fiction;  
View that Asian world of war and barter,  
Ivored elephant and snake to pester  
White humanity; and learn if Guinea  
Be a land of pride or isle of ignominy.

For the Pacific seas and southerly  
Islands, I reserve them for some later  
Kingdoms or republics to inherit,  
Praying their statecraft be more brotherly  
Than ours, as may become a greater  
Habitation and a race of merit;  
Over Madagascar give me hope of viewing  
My sister roc, whose giant egg is her undoing.

Whence is the fount of Nilus, and the tidal  
Vehemence resurgent in each bay and sea,  
Calm or tempestuous? Whence arisen  
The flow of inland lakes that idle  
Lie embracing rivers? By what fantasy  
Runs a wayward current in such prison?  
Where stands earth's topmost mountain, perpendicular  
By measurement, with site particular?

Does any Eldorado thrive, or womanly  
Amazon wage war? Exists a soundless  
Storm in Muscovy, or an Arabian phoenix rising  
Out of ashes? Are such legends humanly  
No more than allegories of the boundless  
Riches of God's universe still surprising  
Man, and germinant in his imagination  
Fondly manifesting the entire Creation?

By the Egyptian pyramids or Lucullan  
Fishponds let me mark the crane and swallow,  
How they fly at seasons, whence and whither,

Learning if where they host at sullen  
 Autumnal dawn, the last to come must wallow  
 In his blood and lose his pride of feather  
 For tarrying the rest upon a mission  
 Intuitive as my own, relentless in volition.

Are Russians known, who through their winter sleepers  
 Lie insensible, until with spring renewing  
 Life again? And why are found in caverns  
 High on mountain-tops, the bones of reapers  
 With their hooks? Or even, stranger tales pursuing,  
 Sailors with anchors, men from village taverns  
 With their tankards, all the remnant of humanity  
 Cast by some wave aloft in former vanity?

Glow within our earth a place of torment  
 Deep and sulphurous, which outward smoking  
 To the world is manifest and visible?  
 Such may be Hecla, that Icelandic vent  
 Whence issue spectral shapes of men provoking  
 Fear in their living kin, who indivisible  
 Saints from sinners in the dim terrestrial  
 Billowings of vapour, dread their trial.

Granted this hell be local and material,  
 How great its boundary, of what diameter?  
 Certain schoolmen answer with precision,  
 Twice a hundred miles Imperial  
 Roman, now Italian; but says Demeter  
 One Dutch mile, a spherical provision  
 Divinely made by cubic calculation  
 To hold the corpses damned of every nation.

Heed in such dispute calm reason saying  
 Better it is to doubt of all things hidden  
 Than be certain of uncertainties, revealing  
 Confidently where is Abram's bosom, playing  
 Like a pawn in chess theology, unbidden  
 Summoning fire and brimstone, or unfeeling  
 Bartering with limbo, hell or heaven  
 Souls in agony, for ritual's windy leaven.

Purposefully then to ground returning  
 Let me view the singular diversity

Of men and manners, their complexion,  
 Stature, disposition, ignorance and learning,  
 Custom, religion, riches or adversity,  
 Folly or judgment, impulse or reflection;  
 Whence these attributes, and are they fixedly  
 Fated, or still in their inception free?

Fortuitous as the stars in their variety  
 Made inconstant and unequal, without order,  
 Man is melancholic, merry, spendthrift, careful  
 In hourly handiwork as daily piety;  
 Many-coloured blooming as his garden border,  
 Bold in enterprise, yet of emotion fearful;  
 Swift of apprehension, using power  
 Wantonly as a horseman riding but an hour.

Man's the careless pattern of our planet  
 Spread unruly in the fold of valley,  
 Hill and plain, with cottage, castle, manor;  
 His the panoply of spire from granite  
 Tower springing, city wall and alley,  
 Fortress keep and ragged pride of banner,  
 Ship in narrow sea or desert ocean,  
 Haven her intent but man's her motion.

His this bridled earth of field and coppice,  
 Dale and farmstead, hedgerow, millstream;  
 His the river-banking, ditching, draining  
 Sea-salt pasture; wheat and poppies  
 Waving, orchard laden, face of coal-seam;  
 His the bridging, tending and maintaining  
 Nature for his handmaid, never mistress  
 Save in her yielding, smiling and resistless.

Out of England's garden with the single  
 Shadows of her trees in pasture standing  
 Sheep-encircled, let me over Channel  
 Speeding, look on Netherlands where mingle  
 Hedgeless plots rectangular expanding  
 To the highways' limit, in a panel  
 Framing the unknown husbandman's ambition  
 Prodigal of toil to win a scant fruition.

## A JOURNEY THROUGH THE AIR

Then by forests and calm rivers winging  
 Southward, let me scan with eager eye  
 Green serrated terraces, from a callous  
 Dry declivity by man's ardour wringing  
 The ultimate blood and secret treasury  
 Of the vine, a plant that with the aloes  
 Of a bitter heart can never amply flourish,  
 Being cordial as the sun, and quick to nourish.

Shall I willingly by wildernesses flying  
 Quit this haunt of friendly man whose mystery  
 Deepest in creation lies, or circling mountain  
 Crag and cataract, spread wings defying  
 Him their master through a history  
 Long erect in pillar, dome and fountain?  
 He in his turn will soar aloft—by stages  
 Wresting his engine from some later ages.

## THE MELANCHOLIA OF BURREN

BY GEOFFREY GRIGSON

ONE looked down from the rear of the ruined church on to the green, flat hay meadows around a farmhouse protected by ash trees, themselves a clear green of another shade. The meadows and the ashes were a triangle of colour wedged into the grey pavements of limestone which rose on either side, and rose again and again in dry terraces, desert surrounding life.

Nothing could less resemble, near or far, the Western Ireland of railway posters. The scale—the low, wide scale—the colour, the formation—all are different in Burren. There are no streams save one, though here and there a small lake lies in the grey. The water sinks down into systems underground; and for drinking the rain must be stored off the thatch. Yet Burren supports a plenitude of life. It always has. I put a hand in through a hole into a stone tomb, a regular, Christian cromlech, in the unroofed chancel, and felt a dozen roundnesses and pulled out one of them—a skull, with some traces of skin or muscle still tough around one eye-socket. The dead of all ages lie round among the living throughout all the hills, the limestone plateaux, the dry valleys of Burren. Leg bones and skulls lie, open to the weather, under the white chervil of the burial yards around many such roofless medieval churches. There are low, huge cromlechs by the score on the smooth limestone, hidden by the hazel scrub. There are raths and cahirs; there are rectangular towers, like single decayed teeth, the fortified homes of the Irish gentry of Burren in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, each with one wall blown out by Ireton's orders: under such a ruin may perhaps be a grass-grown cahir within which the family lived in earlier times, or a small thatched farmhouse with its outbuildings. And perched out of the ivy on the highest piece of stone-work of the tower a wind generator swings round and gives the farm electric light and current for a wireless set.

Limestone makes good pasture wherever there is soil over the rock, good grazing. Cattle are driven into Burren for the winter grass, and driven off fat in the spring. The farms in Burren are neat, the small houses well built and cared for; in fact, the limestone is, and has been always a good environment for man. An Irish dispensary doctor told me that the dry limestone dwellers differ in greater alertness, health, and economic well being from those who live a mile or two away on the sour, heavy, cotton-grass peat of the shales and coal-measures. The bones lies among the chervil, a new post-revolutionary tombstone, neatly inscribed in black Irish lettering, stands in the nave, the creamery



van collects the milk by the churchyard gate, rusty and difficult to open, and the children guide iron hoops down the road, and the whirling vanes of the wind-generator creak and moan; and one feels as in few parts of the British Isles, the living intermixture of past and present.

One feels, as Ruskin felt whenever he left England and looked again at the old tower of Calais Church, "that agedness in the midst of active life which binds the old and the new into harmony." "We in England," said Ruskin, "have our new streets, our new inn, our green shaven lawn, and our piece of ruin emergent from it—a mere *specimen* of the Middle Ages put on a bit of velvet carpet, to be shown; but on the Continent" (and he might have said in Ireland) "the links are unbroken between the past and present; and in such use as they can serve for, the grey-headed wrecks are suffered to stay with men."

It was partly in Burren, in the hamlet of Leana, among the hazels under a long, grey escarpment, that American anthropologists investigated the Irish way of life; and from their findings, described by Dr. Arensberg in *The Irish Countryman*, one understands the continuity of a thousand and more years, the system of kinship which continues, and why the villages are simply kinship centres of distribution, with the name of the family rather than the function of the shop displayed above the long glass windows. One realizes how ignorant the English landlords must have been that there was an Irish way of life, how the alien wall of ignorance which separated landlord and tenant was higher than any wall around the demesne. "Faith, gentlemen," says the agent to the landlords in William Allingham's remarkable poem, "Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland":

Faith, gentlemen, this country sorely needs  
A quicker clearance of its human weeds;  
But still the proper system is begun,  
And forty buildings we shall change to one.

But the Irish of the West have survived the landlords and the agents; and the "physique" of Burren means that the life can be modified, but hardly revolutionized and severed from its living, if weakened, tradition.

In one village or another, alongside the roofless church, will be a modern one, with much polychrome adornment, built with funds from the Irish Catholics of America; but still the ruin retains its sanctity. It may be scheduled, according to the iron notice nailed into the wall, as an ancient monument, but the ruin will become more ruinous, the churchyard will grow wilder, after a few last old people have claimed their right of burial within it, or within the church; and at last, ancient monument or no, the church will collapse, simply because the past is not antiquarian in Ireland, because it lives in the Irish, because the Irish peasantry feel no need to stabilize, and preserve, and shave and repoint a past from which they still have not been separated. In Kilfenora, in Burren, a village with wheel-cross, a fort near-by surrounded (like the celebrated fort on the Aran Islands) with *chevaux de frises* of pointed fragments of limestone, and with a ruined Cathedral, partly used (and locked) as a Pro-

testant church, I watched a cinema show one evening in June. The cinema came in a waggon, a show waggon painted red and blue; and from the waggon the film was projected into a tent, until the vast voice of Gracie Fields came to the stone ears of the bishops lying, in the ruined part of the Cathedral, in just such a scene for detail and surface of stone, for decay, and for black maidenhair fern in the joints, an umbellifer in the corner, and empty tracery in the wall above, as Cotman was able to paint a hundred and fifty years ago in Norfolk. But the cinema comes on wheels—and goes. Just as a fair comes and goes. For a funeral, or a cattle market, Kilfenora is full; for the cinema and the alien antics of Gracie Fields only the tent was full.

The scenery is not uniform in Burren. Life and death are uniform, even if life is more scattered in some parts. Limestone is uniform. Everywhere you find the wide magenta eyes of *Geranium sanguineum*; but the endless scrub of hazel bushes one gets inland only and away from the sea. Nearer to the sea, nearer to Black Head, the limestone gets bolder, at least to the distant eye, the hills more striated by their terraces, and more deathly. Inland many little gorge-like valleys are cut out below the pavements, below what in Yorkshire are called the "clints" of limestone and, upon the walls of these valleys, elder trees grow out of clefts tall and close against the rock. I think of the escarpment above Leana where these cleft-elders cling in patch after patch to the vertical limestone, giving a delicious heartening contrast of growth against the ungrowing.

Not so far away, at Kilcorney one may lean one's back against the last stump of a church wall and look across the dry floor of the valley to a tall cliff, softened with elder trees and pierced under their green with the black entries into caves. As the road curves up out of this particular valley, at the western end, a quick eye will see something unusual in the vegetation, something which upholsters the limestone and hangs down towards the ditch. The unusual, a wide spread of *Dryas octopetala*, foretells the appearance of Burren on its seaward slopes. Inland the *Dryas* covers only a patch here and there; facing the sea it is almost universal from near sea-level upwards. And a good plant it is, in its flowers, white and gold-centred, in its fruiting stage with long reddish, silken awns twisted round in a bunch, in its leaves, precise, clenched and regular, tufting the rock or the soil. *Dryas* ought not to be in Burren: it belongs typically to the sub-arctic lands around the Pole, to the rocks below the blue ice which covers Greenland, to Siberia, or else to highish mountains; and, with other plants abundant in the wrong place, *Dryas* is an element of Burren's peculiarity.

I shall mention of these others, the spring gentian, which properly is an alpine; and which I first saw like the flash of a sapphire ring lost in the grass as a car took me quickly along the sea road from Ballyvaughan around Black Head. Its colour is deep and clear enough for one to be able to pick it out in that way, pick out a mere single flower in the grass, as one goes by at forty miles an hour. The spring gentian is one of several flowers, most of them blues,

whose colour seems to have depth, like the colour coming from a jewel stone. Others I can think are the blue Navelwort, *Omphaloides cappadocica*, growing out of the shaded earthmould of gardens, and another borage, the groomwell *Lithospermum purpureo-coeruleum*, glittering in the undergrowth of the edges of woods on the Mendip limestone. There are mosses which achieve such an effect of coloured light in green or in gold. I have never seen *Schistostega osmundacea*, "a most lovely little moss sometimes illuminating the caves where it grows with a golden light, from the refraction of its young succulent confervoid threads," but one does not have to go far to see in the winter (as Samuel Palmer saw it in Kent) *Tortula ruralis*, its green tufts alight on the old thatch of a barn or a waggonshed. A neon light spreading its blue on to the particles of fog in Piccadilly Circus occurs to me, too, when I think of such plants.

It is the flora, dryas, gentian, maidenhair fern, and all the rest, so well described by R. L. Praeger in *The Way that I Went* (a very necessary book for finding out the best in Ireland, in flowers, antiquity, and in scenery), which bring to Burren such visitors as the district receives; and to Black Head they go, and I suspect not much further into Burren; which is no place for the average in taste. More people still just see the bare low outline of Burren as they cross over from Galway to the Aran Islands, where the flowers of Burren are repeated and which lie only a few miles off Black Head, flats of limestone blue in the deeper blue of the Atlantic. There are not good communications with Burren. It is divided by no bus route. There are few trains on the light railway which skirts it on the South, running from Ennis through Corofin (near Corofin, on the ruined church of Kilnaboy there is a fertility figure, a *Sheila-na-gig*), and then off through the coal measures and the bog to Lehigh and the rest of the little brown watering places of County Clare. My own first entry, by road from Ennis, through clouds of limestone dust, between limestone walls footed with dust-gray plants, was not heartening.

And later that day the barometer of the heart dropped a bit more when I climbed by a boreen up the hill from Kilnaboy on to the more or less level table of limestone across which rolls of low ranked clouds were moving, and dragging with them grey slanting patches of rain. A sell, I thought. And I knew, for example that Burren was not an area of caves like the limestone of Yorkshire or Fermanagh. There are caves in Burren, such as the ones I have mentioned. But few of the caves in that valley of Kilcorney afford more than a dry, elder-framed entrance. Fifty feet and the cave is blocked by mud. Praeger says in *The Way that I Went* and again in his *Botanist in Ireland* that one should view the great cavern of Poolnagollum under the 'mountain' of Slieve Elva. But view it, from above, is all one can do. Poolnagollum, to this surface view, is a pothole of the Yorkshire kind, a dark descent in which ash trees and mountain ashes grow up from the depth to the wall-guarded lip, around which, as around the Yorkshire pot-holes, droop the

liver-coloured flowers of the water avens. But there is no way down to its miles of tunnel, without aid. I walked round it, thinking that perhaps there was a concealed path. Then an Irishman came walking across from his farm below Slieve Elva in bright Sunday boots. Could one get into the cave? One could. How? I'll show you. It was easy. And he pointed down the steepest part where no path, no footholes were visible. Ah, he said, its easy, but you need ropes.

No, it takes a little time, a little patience, and a little travelling for Burren to begin to reveal itself. One needs an eye for the structures of rock, a taste for leg-bones among chervil, for medieval crucifixions and wheel-crosses, for raths, cahirs, castles, cromlechs, and Irishmen and plants, for as I say, life in death; for something more, in fact, than the obvious drama of white cabins by green grass under big black mountains with blue mountains small in the distance. One needs really to live inside Burren. If one is a botanist, one may as well take Praeger's advice in *The Botanist in Ireland* and stay at Ballyvaughan, or even south-east of Burren in one of the sun-parlour and steel chair hotels of the improbable town of Lisdoonvarna, where the priests of Ireland and others come to perambulate and drink the waters, which smell, as one lifts the cup, of an exceptionally bad egg mixed with suds from a blocked sink-pipe. Lisdoonvarna has the fascination of the ugly hotels, the peasant-priests, the waters, the season; the fascination of a spa occurring all of a sudden in a drabness and dampness of turf; but it is on the coal measures, and not in Burren at all.

The thing would be to find a farmhouse in central Burren, surrounded by limestone and hazel-scrub, perhaps a farmhouse in my valley of caves—there are several there, on either side of the remnants of the church—where one could either camp or find a bed. Living in Burren in that way, its felicity and its hardness, its sombreness under cloud, its electric colour in sunshine, particularly in low sunshine coming out under heavy cloudage, would soon enough be felt; and it would not be many days before some evening one experienced that strangest of effects on Burren—the limestone—plateau and hill—reflecting the pink off the clouds, and becoming, suddenly mile upon mile of pink rock. Wet limestone shines sometimes with the intensity of glacier or snow when the sun comes out again, but when the limestone is wet and the sky, or the clouds are pink, then one no longer believes in the dreariness of the battleship grey of Burren, no longer believes in Burren's melancholia. Moreover, in Burren, one must do one's own exploring. Botanically, it is well described; but for the best valleys the best ruins, such caves as there are, the cromlechs, the cahirs and the raths, all guide books to Ireland that I have seen are useless. Burren is not Killarney or the Twelve Pins of Connemara, and unless one can help oneself to some of Westropp's archaeological papers on County Clare or to one or two early nineteenth century books, one must fall back upon information from the farms and the villages and upon an ordnance map which does

not mark a tithe of the things to see—does not mark even the pot-holes under Slieve Elva.

Before I forget, I must mention one more plant of Burren, again a universal plant, inland and by the sea; for though one does not have to go to Ireland to see it, though it is not a rarity, it is a delicacy; and one which constantly sweetens one's progress among the rocks, which one constantly sees level with one's nose in climbing from terrace to terrace. And thinking of it now does one as much good as thinking of the dryas or the spring gentian. The plant is the mountain everlasting (*Antennaria dioica*). Its leaves are white, with the backs silvery and tinged with pink. The many flower heads to a plant are a suffused pink, a few inches off the ground. Compared with it, compared with a colony of mountain everlasting on the hard limestone, *Edelweiss* is a plant manufactured with a pair of scissors and a piece of flannel.

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### THE THIRD PROGRAMME

BY PHILIP MORRIS

To illustrate what was envisaged when Sir William Haley, Director-General of the B.B.C., advanced the first tentative suggestions for a third programme, Mr. Harold Nicolson may be quoted. Describing an incident which occurred just previously, he wrote:

When I was a member of the Board I strove for long to obtain a short period for poetry reading; in the end I obtained my desire; but when I opened the *Radio Times* I found that this unpalatable item had been tendered to the listener under the matey title "V. for Verse". In response to my enraged protests this title was subsequently altered. But the incident was for me instructive. It convinced me that our vision was becoming bifocal and therefore blurred; it convinced me that something must be wrong if the British public (inheritors of the greatest literature that the world has ever known) must have their poetry presented to them as if it were castor-oil in a spoon; it convinced me that one could never cultivate the public by pretending that culture was something else.\*

Well in advance of the end of the war, the B.B.C. made public its plans for, as it was described, a minority programme, its purpose to give listening of a higher cultural standard than any hitherto achieved. This promise, pretentious as it seemed at the time, was received with a certain amount of cynicism by those to whom such a venture would appeal, and the fear was expressed that it would simply result in the Home Service being robbed to provide for its new brother. Could the B.B.C., which had become increasingly servile to the masses, really take and succeed in this bold step? The continued non-appearance of the new programme long after it was expected did nothing to give reassurance that the B.B.C. was not wavering in its intention.

In the autumn of last year a definite statement of policy was made by the B.B.C., and on September 29 the Third Programme was started. It was apparent that what Mr. Nicolson has called an "oily, unctuous coating of compromise" was to be lifted from future programmes. In the Third Programme, no ground would ever be given for such criticism as applied to "V. for Verse".

To Mr. George Barnes was given the task of completing the plans. For six hours each evening, it was decided, there would be broadcast a programme devoted to music, drama, features, talks, poetry readings and short stories. No series would exert their ramping influence, and plays would be given in full regardless of length. A generous measure of repetitions, both recorded and "live", would be allowed. Broadcasts of foreign origin would be freely drawn upon, and an international spirit would be fostered in other ways.

When the first week's programmes were published they were impressive enough to dispel any fears of paucity. The most frequent complaint to be heard, indeed, was not of inability to listen to all that one wanted to hear. It is difficult to think of any other innovation of equally far-reaching influence to find such favour, but it must not be forgotten that on the whole the vocal sections of the public were confined to those who were more interested in the success of the experiment. It is unfortunate that owing to technical difficulties the programme still cannot reach all parts of the country as was

\* From *The Third Programme*. Published by the B.B.C.

at first hoped, and it will be interesting to watch for any general change of attitude when the coverage is increased.

Now that the Third Programme has been in existence for more than eight months it is time to measure its achievement. Music comes first in this consideration, because of all the arts it is the one which takes most naturally to the air. It only requires to be well chosen and well performed. For these reasons, it occupies more than half of the programme time. As for the choice, it is evident that care has been taken not to overlap with the Home Service by avoiding popular works unless the performance is of special interest. Visiting artists are welcomed for their own sake, and have shown a commendable willingness to avoid the programme of favourite "draws". There is M. Pierre Fournier, who played the wonderful unaccompanied 'cello suites of Bach, and Renata Borgatti who gave a model performance of the "48" over a period of several weeks. Things for which the Third Programme is to be profoundly thanked are these and similar collections of works which should be heard within memory of each other for their full significance in relation to the composer to be understood. Other examples are the Beethoven Quartets which were broadcast complete in one week by the Löwen-guth Quartet of Paris, and the series of concerts in which Dame Myra Hess played all the piano concertos of Mozart. What is so reassuring about the Third Programme to an experienced listener is the fact that it takes for granted that these things are of sufficient importance to be worth doing well: there is no niggardly duty run-through of a work or two, announced with that air of having done the composer proud which was irritating when one had to rely upon the Home Service.

In the field of dramatic music, it is encouraging to note that not only is an opera broadcast almost every week, with a repeat, but that a number of unusual works have been given which one could never hope normally to hear. Such are: Busoni's *Turandot*, Debussy's *Pelléas*, Moussorgsky's *Boris*, Smetana's *Dalibor* and *The Secret*, Strauss's *Der Rosenkavalier*, Verdi's *Falstaff* and Glinka's *Ivan Susanin*, some of which were broadcast from their native land. It is a matter of heated opinion whether those "specially arranged for broadcasting" weather their journey across the air the more successfully, but this is an old problem and one which the Third Programme has yet to solve.

A note may be added with regard to modern British music, which, it will be remembered, received great prominence during the war. It is noticed that the B.B.C. is wisely redressing the balance by showing a marked interest in those foreign composers whom we had begun to place in the "unfulfilled promise" class through not hearing enough of them. Hindemith, Schönberg, Berg, Bartók and late-Stravinsky have been re-discovered for us in quantity, and with good purpose. And the quite new idea of using the large library of recorded music as a medium for comparison of interpretations has proved interesting, though more time could profitably be devoted to it.

The attitude of the drama directors towards lengthy plays was shown very early in the history of the Third Programme, for in the first week Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman* was given twice in full. This was unique not only for the unprecedented length of the broadcast, but also because the second of the two performances was given "live", and not from a recording of the first, as had become usual. This practice has been followed several times since, resulting in greatly improved repeat performances. Although drama does not take a large proportion of time, a rare collection of plays has been broadcast, the international nature of which is indicated by the following list: *Agamemnon*, *The Frogs*, *Hippolytus*, *Peer Gynt*, *J. G. Borkman* and *Huis Clos* in translation; *Dr. Faustus*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Richard II*, *Comus*, *Hassan* and *The Adding Machine*. Mr. M. R. Ridley explains in his article in *The Third Programme* that Greek drama is peculiarly suitable in structure for broadcasting,

and no doubt further translations will follow. One of the best of specially written radio plays is Clifford Bax's *The Buddha*, which has been given two performances. The Third Programme is used for experimental drama, but this has up to now proved disappointing; the outstanding event, Mr. Louis McNeice's *The Dark Tower*, was originally a Home Service production.

Poetry in the Third Programme has attracted a reader of distinction known primarily as a poet. Mr. Dylan Thomas's musical and precise voice has been a feature of the poetry programmes right from the start. French poetry has been represented in programmes which included M. Pierre Emmanuel and M. Paul Eluard reciting their own works. The critics have their place in the serial survey of contemporary verse, "The Poet and his Critic", which feature has produced some penetrating if restrained comment. The poet is assured of the last word.

There is little space in an article to do more than mention the talks, covering, as they do, a wide range, but among them politics and science have been rather abstract and not well represented. In a different class, three talks come to mind for their excellence: Theodora Bosanquet on Henry James, Anthony M. Ludovici on Rodin, and James Stephens on James Joyce. Mr. Stephens, especially, ought to be given the freedom of the air more often: each of his rare broadcasts has been a delight.

It remains to be seen whether this wholesale dissemination of culture will attract more listeners than it has done up to the present. I think it will. Let Milton and Monteverdi be broadcast, and let them be broadcast often and without apology or hint of condescension. This is the way of the Third Programme, and surely it is the right way.

#### CIANO'S DIARY 1939-43. Edited With an Introduction by Malcolm Muggeridge. Heinemann. 21s.

The Italians have a common phrase—*roba del altro mondo*—to signify some outlandish story or episode which is beyond the range of normal experience. For a non-Italian—or, at any rate, 'Anglo-Saxon' reader of the twentieth century this term is the only appropriate one for the *olla podrida* of fawning and braggadoccio, naïveté and treachery, pettiness and spite which is revealed in Count Ciano's memoirs. As a portrait of Mussolini the Diary is unsurpassable—all the more vivid and effective because the writer never intended originally that it should be published in the present form.

The author himself stands revealed as a typical Renaissance figure, astute but utterly amoral, intelligent but withal characterless. That he rated (as the Americans say) higher than the playboy of temporary legend this book certainly proves. And in its own *genre* it is important. For, while there is little in the way of revelations, now that so much has

been brought to light about the period covered, the Diary supplies just those details of verisimilitude which will enable historians to see in proper perspective the relations of the Axis partners, the measure of Italy's unpreparedness for war on the Nibelungen scale imposed by Hitler, the extent of General Franco's subservience to our enemies up to the turning-point of the Battle of Britain, etc.

When the curtain goes up Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax are about to arrive in Rome. Instructions are given to Starace (then Secretary-General of the Party) to soft-pedal on press comment until they have left. At the same time the welcome to be accorded to them must be "not too enthusiastic". Ciano's verdict after the first conversations is characteristic—"Effective contact has not been made. How far we are apart from these people. It is another world."

The drama opens with the German (Ribbentrop) initiative to transform the anti-Comintern pact into a thorough-going German-Italian military alliance—which Ciano resisted, he tells us, for more than a year. Mussolini himself is shown

as irresolute and vacillating. Finally, in May 1939, in a moment of pique, he agrees to the "Pact of Steel". But the Pact included a clause stipulating that for a period of three or four years neither Italy nor Germany would create embarrassment capable of disturbing the peace of Europe. For Ciano, as Italian Foreign Minister, that was the crucial point, the touchstone. In August 1939 he was summoned to a Conference with Ribbentrop at Salzburg and found to his dismay that, completely disregarding that proviso, the Germans were going ahead with their action against Poland. "Berlin gives us absolutely no information . . ." is the constant refrain.

Mussolini more than once speaks in tones of utter contempt of the Italian people; he reveals himself in the evening of his days as the completely opportunist *condottiere* that he had always been—pace the great and wise, including Rabin-dranath Tagore, who had voiced approval of him in his epoch of glory. His was a tragedy of frustration. We see him here all the time furiously jealous of Hitler and the German war machine; as Mr. Sumner Welles records in his Foreword, "'action' was the only spring to which Mussolini's nature responded." The climax was that other Salzburg Conference of April 29, 1942, graphically described:

Hitler talks, talks, talks, talks. Mussolini suffers—he, who is in the habit of talking himself and who, instead, has to remain practically silent. On the second day, after lunch, when everything had been said, Hitler talked uninterruptedly for an hour and forty minutes. He omitted absolutely no argument: war and peace, religion and philosophy, art and history. The Germans . . . have to endure it every day, and I am certain there isn't a gesture, a word or a pause which they don't know by heart. General Jodl, after an epic struggle, finally went to sleep on the divan.

Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge pens a pungent Introduction. He sums up the Diary's value as providing "one more record, incomparable in its *naïveté*, of how futile a pursuit is power, and how certainly those who pursue it become enmeshed in their own deceptions and stratagems." Yet

one wonder sometimes whether such an appreciation in moral terms would be met with anywhere outside the British Isles!

WILLIAM RYDAL.

**THE MASTERS AND THE SLAVES: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization,** by Gilberto Freyre. Translated by Samuel Putnam. *Secker & Warburg*. 35s.

Brazil for all its size and population must not be taken as altogether representative of the whole of Latin America since it alone has a Portuguese background, it alone escaped civil wars in the nineteenth century by stabilizing in the form of an empire and absorbed a high percentage of Negroes into its racial and cultural make-up. Nevertheless, Brazil shares many conditions with its neighbours.

Thus Gilberto Freyre, a "pure white" sociologist trained in the U.S.A., reveals characteristics which we find in most cultured Latin Americans: great erudition, an intimate knowledge of the European background, a certain ironical detachment, a predilection for sex, a boldness in the exploration of native life and problems too vast and contradictory as yet to be precisely systematized. With this, a feeling of urgency; with so much still to be discovered and described, it could hardly seem to him worth while taking time to tighten and polish.

*The Masters and the Slaves* is the first of his important sociological studies to be translated into English. The translation is masterly. Mr. Putnam has taken infinite pains as his own footnotes and his bibliography added to those of the author's show. With this work begins a series of essays in which Gilberto Freyre has undertaken "to study the formation and disintegration of patriarchal society in Brazil, a society that grew up around the first sugar-mills or sugar-plantations established by Europeans in our country, in the sixteenth century." The book deals therefore chiefly with the north-eastern region, that of Pernambuco, where the author

himself was born in 1900. Here the patriarchal system based upon latifundary and slave-holding mono-culture found its most characteristic expression.

Three ethnic and cultural groups went to the system: the Portuguese, preconditioned less by their other over-seas ventures all of a completely different type, than because they had always hovered between Europe and Africa; the native Indian who above all through his women-folk contributed a great deal of local knowledge and practical skill; and the Negro who with the sugar-cane, both so ideally suited for the American tropics, first arrived in 1532.

Gilberto Freyre points out that the Indian's inadaptability to the heavy agricultural work on the plantations was due to the backwardness that kept him a nomad and left hard monotonous work to the women. The Negro, on the other hand, coming from a great variety of nations or stocks by no means all primitive, was a better plantation-hand.

Since the Portuguese arrived without women, miscegenation was universal. The Portuguese had no racial prejudices, a result partly of their contact with the highly cultured Moors. The only bar was religious; so the slaves were baptized on arrival.

In a country that had no riches to offer to the conqueror, sugar was the real wealth from the moment it became an object of luxury in the European markets at the end of the sixteenth century. And sugar meant the plantation-owner and the slave, because: "Only a method of colonization based upon large-scale property and upon slavery would have been capable of surmounting the enormous obstacles in the way of the European civilization of Brazil."

It is probably the author's most outstanding quality that he can view the consequences both good and bad without racial and social prejudices; he goes to the bottom of half-truths and examines the reasons. It is not the Negro who is corrupt and a corrupter, but the slave; the Indian dies only when forced into un-

healthy living-conditions; the half-breed is inferior because of a faulty diet and venereal disease; the white man goes to bits if his existence depends on the slave.

The bad features need not be permanent. Wherever inferiority exists, it is based on factors which science can subject to rapid change, or which will disappear with the social and economic system that created them. Slavery was abolished in Brazil as late as 1888, yet Gilberto Freyre can already assert:

We (the Whites and the Negroes) are two fraternizing halves that are mutually enriched with diverse values and experiences; and when we round ourselves out into a whole, it will not be with the sacrifice of one element to the other.

This goes far to explain why there is such a strong tone of optimism in the Brazil of to-day, paralleled among the Latin American republics perhaps only in Mexico where the mestizo bred of Indian and White has completely asserted himself.

This work makes fascinating reading because of its lively tone and the great variety of subjects touched. The vast material was gathered both by field-work and a close study of the written sources, family archives, diaries, and other private and official documents. The bibliography alone covers thirty-six pages. For all those interested in Latin America, one of the great reserves of civilization, this book is an indispensable guide.

LILLO LINKE.

**DEEP ANALYSIS,** by Charles Berg. *Allen & Unwin*. 12s. 6d.

Psycho-analysis is still not considered 'respectable' in many scientific quarters and the lay public remains confused as to its nature, status, and relation to general psychology. Lay opinion is still prone to a conception of semi-magical cures of mysterious complaints and scientific opinion is prone to doubt or even scoff at the psycho-analytic theory of human personality and behaviour, while perhaps admitting the reality of its therapeutic success. The difficulties which hinder a fuller acceptance of theory and a better



understanding of what is involved in the technique of clinical psycho-analysis are in part inevitable. These difficulties themselves have their origin in something whose existence is denied—that dynamic system of emotional attitudes and relationships which is normally inaccessible to consciousness. One form these difficulties take is just a refusal to accept the fact that the adjective 'unconscious' means what it says and that an individual's normal behaviour is largely conditioned by forces of which in the ordinary course of events he knows nothing.

But the difficulties have undoubtedly been increased by a lack of generally accessible case material of a verbatim kind and by the understandable but rather unfortunate attitude sometimes taken up by analysts in the past to genuinely sympathetic but critical inquiry. Dr. Berg sets out in his new book to help to remedy this state of affairs. This is a commendable object. The book is a detailed account of a complete and apparently successful analysis. It will interest a wide public.

Dr. Berg accomplishes a number of important tasks. He makes plain in what psycho-analytic technique consists and shows clearly that the secret of the process lies in the relationship which develops between patient and analyst—the 'transference' as it is technically called. The use of this term derives from the fact that attitudes which once belonged to the patient's relationships with his first emotional objects—his parents—become 'transferred' to the analyst. The latter's technique consists essentially in his handling of this relationship, from its inception to its ultimate dissolution when its work has been done. From the author's description the analyst emerges as a tolerant, morally neutral, reliable and completely objective listener and commentator. He never criticizes the patient's attitudes or actions but carefully translates them in a way which enables the patient gradually to realize and accept the nature of his emotional difficulties and to work through

them for himself.

Secondly, Dr. Berg makes clear the fact that intellectual appreciation of problems or the mere recall of forgotten childhood experiences have in themselves no therapeutic efficacy. Relief of suffering comes through the patient's *emotional acceptance* of his own hidden infantile attitudes—so deeply antagonistic to the standards of his conscious adult life—and by his re-experiencing them in relation to his analyst.

Notwithstanding these merits, the book is open from the scientific point of view to a number of serious criticisms. There is clearly a good deal of oversimplification in it and in some respects it will be definitely misleading. Many analysts would certainly say that the analysis described was a relatively superficial one and that the author has no appreciation of what the word 'depth' really means in relation to analysis. In fact, it would be wise to assume that this is not really a verbatim account of Dr. Berg's analysis but a highly bowdlerized one. It must be said that the theoretical standpoint from which the book is written is both out of date and superficial. It is out of date because, although Freud's work has not been superseded, certain parts of it have now come into greater prominence than hitherto and the whole is beginning to be seen in a new frame of reference. It is superficial in that it does not do justice even to Freud's original formulations.

Despite its shortcomings, however, and considering the state of public ignorance regarding psycho-analysis, Dr. Berg's book should be welcomed as a step in the right direction. Readers fortunate enough to hear two recent broadcasts by an anonymous psycho-analyst in the B.B.C.'s Third Programme may agree that what is now wanted is a book which deals with the whole subject in as simple and yet as profound a manner as was adopted for these two brief talks.

— BEN S. MORRIS.

**THE JEW OF TARSUS**, by Hugh J. Schonfield. Macdonald. 10s. 6d.  
**THE CHURCH AND HUMANITY, 1939-1946**, by the Bishop of Chichester. Longmans. 8s. 6d.

Mr. Schonfield's argument is that Saul the Jew remained Saul the Jew all his life and that the Messiah he proclaimed was, to the end, the Messiah of Israel, Saul devoting his life to bringing the Gentiles into the fellowship of the spiritual Israel: a fellowship transcending the very idea of nationality and destined to form a world-wide brotherhood of man. Saul never regarded Jesus as God and was never a Trinitarian.

Mr. Schonfield brings to his task a considerable equipment of scholarship, wide historical vision, an occasional engaging modernity of phrase and a conviction that being himself a Jew he can more naturally than any Gentile understand the working of the mind of the Jew of Tarsus.

The book falls into two parts: in the first, "Saul the Seeker", we are shown by a close study of Saul's background and upbringing that he was persuaded the coming of Messiah was imminent; how for a time Saul believed he was himself the Messiah but how the fact of the Resurrection compelled him to recognize it was Jesus, not himself, who was the Messiah; and how his experience at Damascus Gate convinced him he was the Envoy of the Messiah, in a category apart from and above that of any other leader or apostle and how this conviction, held in all humble sincerity, led to misunderstanding, jealousy and opposition which pursued him throughout his ministry.

The second part, "Saul the Envoy", expounds the ministry in these terms. It shows Saul, a truly gigantic figure in mind and spirit, wrestling and striving in a perpetual tension between on the one hand the contemporary political trends and events which largely favoured his work and on the other hand the conflicting schools of thought amongst the

Jews themselves which were a perpetual source of difficulty and hindrance. Saul's imperfections of character and tactical skill are no more glossed over than are his superb qualities.

The whole subject is treated in a context of careful historical documentation and Jewish doctrinal statement, but the author admits he often makes assumptions, in his view probable but admittedly not provable, of what were Saul's actions and thoughts; but even those who may most disagree with many of these will find the book exceptionally instructive and stimulating. It will clarify for many readers much they may find obscure in some of the Pauline Epistles and give them an enhanced appreciation of one who, viewed from whatever angle, was one of the world's greatest men.

The selections from the Bishop of Chichester's speeches and sermons during the war years are all variations on one theme: that man owes his first allegiance to God, not to the State, and must think and act accordingly. From this angle, the Bishop discourses on the right approach to a variety of problems, some now past, some still with us: the treatment of refugees and internees, our attitude towards Germany as distinct from the Hitlerite State, and towards the 'resistance' minority within that State, towards a now defeated Germany and towards the unifying forces in Europe, etc. Convinced that all effective religion depends on Church membership and fellowship, the Bishop also has much to say about the need for a closer co-operation between the various Churches and is insistent that much has been done and more can be done by the Churches working together without waiting for a possibly distant doctrinal unity.

The Bishop writes with great clearness and conviction and from the experience of much devoted personal labour over long years, yet it must be said his statements never seem able to depart from an academic aloofness lacking personal warmth. Most readers will more over wonder at the lack of any reference



to his own country's sufferings, or to the very relevant fact that Germany's propensity for oppression and aggression was manifested long before Hitler's rise to power in 1933. The speech which caused most discussion when made, a strong denunciation of our policy of obliteration bombing (House of Lords, February 1944) has only historical interest since Hiroshima revealed the nature of any future bombing; and it is interesting to find, in the first chapter, a detailed list of the clauses of the famous Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685. Most of us know well enough what this broadly implied, but no more than that.

JOHN HALET.

**DEFEAT IN THE WEST**, by Milton Shulman. *Secker & Warburg*. 15s.

Major Shulman sets himself a threefold object—"to tell the story of the defeat of the *Wehrmacht* in the West, to suggest some of the causes that brought about that defeat, and, finally to show how men, great and small, react to the overwhelming psychological experience of defeat itself." As a corollary he warns us against the belief that superior material resources is a guarantee of victory, for even with all such advantages *man* can still lose wars.

As an intelligence officer on the staff of the Canadian Army it was Major Shulman's duty to make a detailed study of the German Army before D-day; he was in close contact with subsequent operations, and, after the war he was detailed to interrogate a large number of Senior German Commanders. He is therefore well equipped to achieve his objects and he has produced a very interesting book, all the better for avoidance of sensationalism.

Before passing to the story of the war in the west he describes the rebirth of the *Wehrmacht*, its characteristics and the stages by which it passed completely under Hitler's domination. He analyses the causes that brought about its defeat despite the fact that more than once its victory

seemed assured. He lists the opportunities lost, and the fateful decisions which German commanders variously considered to have been decisive, but he himself summarizes the causes of defeat as—Hitler, discipline and ignorance. Hitler's mad strategical decisions and centralized control were the prime causes and after the elimination of Fritsch and Blomberg they were accepted, practically unchallenged, through a tradition of discipline carried to inconceivable extremes, blended with an astonishing ignorance of the situation either as affecting the enemy or the operations in progress. Nevertheless the plot against Hitler is shown to have been more wide spread than it appeared at the time to be; and its failure was perhaps the greatest disaster Germany suffered. Its success would not have enabled her to escape defeat, but it might have left her with a modicum of self respect and with leaders with legitimate authority.

The war in the west is described in considerable detail from the German standpoint, supported by many quotations from German documents and by statements made under interrogation. The actions of the Allies are only lightly sketched in but, particularly in the Normandy battle, it is clear how effectively they dictated developments; although Hitler's orders were mainly responsible for the completeness of the disaster. It is curious that although Hitler alone expected the invasion to take place in Normandy he subsequently was the last to be convinced that the main attack would not be made in the Pas de Calais, and refused till too late to allow reinforcements to be withdrawn from that area.

The worse the situation became the more did Hitler's control interfere with the steps his subordinate commanders considered necessary. The Ardennes counter-offensive was conceived and planned in detail in Berlin. Rundstedt realized that it could have no more than fleeting success and disclaims all responsibility for it. Many of the German commanders fought with courage and executive skill long after

they had abandoned hope but Rundstedt alone emerges as a figure that deserves respect and admiration.

How completely German morale broke down at all levels in the final phases of the war is shown, and it is a sorry picture. The various interpretations of oaths taken "to resist to the death" are grimly amusing.

Altogether this is a book thoroughly worth reading.

CHARLES GWYNN.

**LIFE ON AN ICEFLOE**, by Ivan Papanin. *Hutchinson*. 18s.

**UNDER THE CARPATHIANS**, by J. B. Heisler and J. E. Mellon. *Drummond*. 12s. 6d.

These two books tell us of life in what by very different means have become Soviet territories, for no one will query their ownership of the migratory icefloe

on which four indomitable men dwelt for a period of nine months, in 1937 and 1938, while the region described in the Carpathian book, better known perhaps to us as Ruthenia, became Soviet territory when this was suggested to the Czechoslovak Government at the re-establishment of peace in that part of the world.

The preparations for the North Pole expedition by Ivan Papanin and his comrades were undertaken with the greatest care; it was their concern to make their equipment as light as possible. The tent, including the bunks, weighed only fifty-three kilograms. Consisting of four layers, it was made very warm—between the two layers of thick tarpaulin they put two layers of eiderdown. The sleeping-bags were made of wolf fur. The clothing was of deer-skin, the caps of wolverine and underwear of the best merino wool. By the way, it was not possible for them to change this under-

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... Elders (Bishops) sitting... (and they) fell down  
and cast their crowns (their wisdom) before the Throne".  
— Rev. xi., 19; iv., 4, 10.

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wear more often than once a month, while dishes were washed about once in three weeks. The saucepans turned black, but the explorers had no intention of cleaning them, and this apparently did not cause any inconvenience, so that we may perhaps derive some lessons from these hardy fellows. They had various kinds of footwear, high waterproof boots, big heavy felt boots which could be pulled over the high boots, and fine strong thigh-boots of deerskin. Not far from Moscow there was a kind of dress-rehearsal for the expedition. Here all the equipment was tested, to see how well the scientific instruments functioned, whether the tent would retain the warmth and how far the explorers were capable of preparing the food, which had been selected with the utmost care and included a great variety of vitamin commodities.

The scientific results of the trip were very important and the four men certainly earned the applause of their Motherland, which made them Heroes of the Soviet Union. Amid their strenuous life in that desolate region—Ivan Papanin himself writing each day the interesting diary which is the major part of this book—they had time for various diversions, such as chess, and when a challenge was received by wireless from the champion, Lasker, he was asked whether he would take on the four of them. And once every ten days they held a meeting to discuss current political matters, the wireless man having collected material of what was going on in other parts of the world.

There was at that time no question of what should become of Ruthenia, the easternmost province of Czechoslovakia which had been so neglected for the thousand years that the Magyars had ruled it, while the Prague authorities had in a few years wrought wonders for the very backward population. There is much affinity between the Ruthenians and the Ukrainians, which accounts for the willingness of the Czechoslovak Government to let Ruthenia be absorbed into the

Soviet sphere.

This very beautiful book gives an admirable account of life in that remote district; some of the quaint wooden churches were unfortunately destroyed in the war, but it is interesting to learn that Ruthenians who have prospered, comparatively, in the United States have had some of them bodily removed and taken across the Atlantic. The two authors tell us much that we cherish, so that the life of these people is brought home to us. For instance on St. Ivan's Day in January, when the mountain slopes are still deep in snow, open-air meetings are held for the transaction of very important affairs. This is the day when the officials for certain posts are selected—the village postman, the verger and, most important of all, the chief shepherd. His wages are fixed according to tradition and are mostly paid in kind, with maize and oats, milk and cheese. The book has the additional advantage of excellent illustrations.

HENRY BAERLEIN.

**TRAVELLERS' VERSE**, chosen by M. G. Lloyd Thomas with Lithographs by Edward Bawden. New Excursions into English Poetry Series. Muller. 10s. 6d.

Miss Lloyd Thomas says the verse in her anthology is by those "who have travelled in fancy or fact or in both," and this, I think, is misleading. At least, it misled me, for I thought that the travellers in fancy would be those who went voyaging into strange seas of thought like Coleridge in *The Ancient Mariner* and Shakespeare in *The Tempest*. But the travels in this book whether in fact or fancy, are restricted for the most part to those which could be traced on a map, though in one or two poems the earthly scene shines like a parable with unearthly meaning—Yeats's Byzantium, Spenser's Hierusalem, the omnipresent Palestine of Eliot's Magi, and glimpses of Milton's Satan-haunted globe. Most of the poems, however, are much more

mundane, and in restricting herself in this way Miss Lloyd Thomas has helped to give a very individual tang to her selection.

The poems form a rather erratic journey round the world. Starting with several comments on those "motions of unrest" which send men voyaging, we cross to the Low Countries, by Paris with a détour through Spain to the Mediterranean. Here we stay for a long time, are shipwrecked with Byron, visit Italy with Shelley, T. Moore, D. H. Lawrence, Clough, and Newman; go on to Greece, Constantinople, Persia (Collins's "Persian Eclogues"), and Egypt. Then down the length of Africa, over the ocean to India, China and Japan; across the Pacific via Australia and Hawaii to South America; up the continent to the States, and home by the North Atlantic in a sort of convoy-route which touches the sub-arctic.

The poems fall roughly into two classes. The first of these is that of travel notes, descriptive poems designed to be read by those who have been left behind. Such verse, naturally, is often light, is always insular in outlook, and, indeed, is the global equivalent of the English topographical verse so admired by Mr. John Betjeman. Wit is a main characteristic of this type of verse, and in this selection it varies from the family-album humour of Thomas Lisle to the genius of Byron, which could easily have filled half the volume, if Miss Lloyd Thomas had not decided that no poet shall be allowed to "appear very frequently or at very great length."

In the other class the aim of the poet is not so much description as romantic evocation: strange landscapes are used as symbols for the unknown. The eighteenth century, as it may be expected, is rich in such verse, and the editor has found some delicious and unfamiliar examples. Here, for instance, is John Scott of Amwell, in his "Chinese Eclogue":

The distant prospects well the sight might please,

With pointed mountains and romantic trees:  
From craggy cliffs, between the verdant  
shades,  
The silver rills rush'd down in bright  
cascades;  
O'er terrac'd steeps rich cotton harvests  
wav'd,  
And smooth canals the rice-clad valley lav'd.

Nor is it just the minor poet who can make use of guide-books and geographical studies, for near John Scott's garden we find Tennyson's "Enoch Arden" on his desert island, and Wordsworth's "Youth of Georgia's Shore," whose lines about the flowers that set the hills on fire and the islands like "spots of sky" were inspired by Bartram's *Travels*.

Among the more recent work in this volume we find a new type of travel poem emerging, one which is less conscious of home sweet home, one which is concerned with less description or evocation for the benefit of the reader, than with the poet's own attempt to understand the nature and character of his subject. A poem like W. J. Turner's *Australian Shepherd* gives us not just the experience of the poet but perhaps that of the place itself. And Alun Lewis bores deeply beneath all surface appearances to an understanding of India which is surely greater than that of most English politicians.

Miss Lloyd Thomas's anthology is full of substance and surprise. The illustrations, by Edward Bawden, remind me of a cross between railway posters and a child's memories of the Wembley Exhibition. They make me hope that Messrs. Muller will embark on a series of New Excursions into Art—anthologies of pictures, each selection with a commissioned comment by a modern poet.

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## BOOKS ON THE TABLE

THOSE who echoed Winston Churchill's words in 1942 when he declared: "We have no wish but to see France free and strong with her empire gathered around her" and have since grown impatient with her handling of constitutional and political problems might read as a corrective *THE GERMANS IN FRANCE* by Jacques Lorraine, translated by A. G. Cerisier-Duvernoy (*Hutchinson*. 16s.). This is a sober account of Nazi plans for the Germanization of France and of how they nearly succeeded. The British, being saved the experience, can do no less than persevere with their understanding of and patience with France's worries, which are directly due to her ordeal at the hands of a people poisoned by the *herren-volk* myth. How these French, "the scum of Europe" as *Das Schwarze Corps* the official organ of Hitler's Black Guard called them, were to be classified and divided—'purified' is the German word—into near-Germans and slaves, is recounted in detail with the aid of quotations from German race theorists, poster proclamations and official documents of all kinds. The book's diagrams are especially illuminating in the assessment of what this procedure, unfrustrated, would have done not only to France but to the world.

## Recording history

It seems a long time since the Vichy Government conscribed hundreds of thousands of French men and women to meet Hitler's demand for workers but actually it is less than five years ago. *THE SOUND OF THE TRUMPET* by Sarah Gertrude Millin (*Faber*. 16s.) sharpens the fading events of 1942 to 1943 in this the fourth volume of her war diary. Written as it was in South Africa its detachment from the scene of the struggle gives added value to her recordings. She has the sort of objectiveness which is a welcome astringent after a surfeit of those sentimental yearnings from afar in which so

many writers have indulged; for instance, her laconic references to the bombing of London earn the almost effusive respect of one of those Londoners who was bombed. Mrs. Millin's comment is rare and always shrewd and so free is the book of unpleasant personal bias that, with its forerunners and its successors, it should be one of the stand-bys of the future historian or student of 1939-1945.

## "Blood on the coal"

In those days the coal miner for the first time came into his own, no longer part of a depressed class but as an individual who gave point to rhetoric about blood, sweat, toil and tears. The opinion of a boy of eighteen, who came new to mining and who is able to express himself, is particular refreshing now when unending disputes make the subject of coal ever more arid to the bewildered sympathizer. *BEVIN BOY* by Derek Agnew (*Allen & Unwin*. 7s. 6d.) is the story of one who, choosing the pits rather than the Forces, is still able to say that he would not have missed the experience. This is not to imply that he has no criticisms to offer. He makes an able case for his older colliery friends, fortified by statistics, and can be rueful about the plight of the 'Bevin boys'. He quotes in full the speech made in October 1945 in the House of Commons by the Member for Brighton, which ended on a significant note: "If these boys had been properly treated they might have become young ambassadors for the mining industry." Derek Agnew will take back with him into Fleet Street something to widen and deepen his range as a journalist. He might with advantage shed his facetious circumlocutions, for such mannerisms are no more attractive in the style of a 'Bevin boy' than they are in that of a leader-writer. And one small correction: if he turns to other pages in this issue of *THE FORTNIGHTLY* he will see that Mr. B. L.

Coombes is not an ex-miner.

## "you've had a busy day"

There is another section of the community for whom bouquets, medals and laurels are few. In *A NATION OF SHOP-KEEPERS* (*Herbert Joseph*. 5s.) Tom S. Rothwell sets out the nightmares of distribution, competition, monopolies, which beset the small private tradesman, already dogged by regulations and the necessities of rationing. As a Liberal the author does well to keep in mind the interests of the little-business man; the latter sees that Conservatives eulogise him only when they are "anti-co-op" and that Socialists, committed to nationalization, must inevitably crowd him out. The shopkeeper is not alone when he limits his interest in politics to what he thinks the candidate will do for him, but he is rather more to be excused than most. This book should hearten him; it should make him consider too if after all there is not a third way out of his difficulties, and it should be useful in rebuking his more grumpy customers.

## Warming both hands

Not only juxtaposition makes mention of the next book appropriate: it is *THE VITAL FLAME* by Compton Mackenzie (*Muller*. 12s. 6d.) and is a survey of the gas industry in Britain, a public utility long since removed from the independence of a Samuel Clegg who "single-handed provided . . . going round with a ladder himself and lighting . . . the first installation of street lamps on Westminster Bridge." The author, with the ardent curiosity manifest in all his books, must have enjoyed collecting the data for this one, and as usual he has imparted the enthusiasm to his reader. If this be propaganda would that such absorbing yet authoritative information, such human interest with biographical conciseness, such readability, might be shared by all official propagandists. The many illustrations in colour each repay individual study in their variety—from ruit pies to steel plates, from parachute

ropes to sheep dip—and the whole is on a level with the finest of the 'documentary' films. On this occasion one disregards the possibly sinister implications of competition in the appearance of the book at this crucial moment—when electricity is in disgrace and when the switcher-on of a light knows the arch-criminal's guilt—and wallows in 'escapism', 'wishful thinking' and other delightful fantasies in the psychologist's *index expurgatorius*.

## Three picture books

Another book which will interest small boys and grandfathers alike is one of three recent *King Penguins* (2s. 6d. each) by Gwen White, *A BOOK OF TOYS*. The drawings are mostly of those in the London museums and recall Saturday mornings in Kensington Palace spent by an infant Liberal with a hatred of glass cases, walking round and round Queen Victoria's toys with upstretched neck. The appeal of the book's script may be primarily to a child; nevertheless it conveys a good deal of erudition, the fruit of historical research covering some 5,000 years.—The next *King Penguin* is *ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD* by Thomas Bewick with a note on him by John Rayner. Bewick regarded woodcuts as "a department of the arts" and Ruskin sweepingly compared him to Botticelli and Paul Veronese. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries he was, as Mr. Rayner says, "an innovator who raised both the technical and artistic standards of his craft" and the numerous exact size reproductions in this book show how much he contributed to the expression of the English country scene and character. His birds, with every feather of the sea eagle or the peacock's tail scrupulously delineated, and his animals are all noble creatures.—Bewick seems not to have drawn flowers, and the third *King Penguin* supplies them for those readers who feel the lack. *FLOWERS OF THE WOODS* is by the Director of Kew, E. J. Salisbury. This is a valuable addition to the horticulture books of a Cockney with a passion

for rock gardening who fully intends to write a treatise herself on the subject. Meanwhile, here are pictures of woodland ancestors of some of the beauties in the rockery. *Scilla nutans* looking very mauve against the bright blue of the newest *campanulata* variety, *saponaria affinis* no less interesting than the cultivated *ocymoides*, gone with the snow alas, *anemone nemorosa* with less flaunting purple flowers than *pulsatilla* but with the same delicate leaves, are some of the many which, with the author's monograph, provide useful information on the habits of plants which thrive in the less sunny spots. A walk through the woods in early summer with Mr. Salisbury's book should prove equally rewarding.

#### Poems of a critic

Pine needles cover the silent ground:  
pine trees chancel the woodland ways.  
We penetrate into the dark depths  
where only garlic and hemlock grow  
Till we meet the blue stream  
cleaving the green  
twilight like a rhythmic sword.

as Herbert Read sings. His COLLECTED POEMS (Faber. 8s. 6d.) gathering together, as he says, in his introductory note, "all the poems that have previously been published in separate volumes" afford the opportunity to study his development in philosophy and emotion. His poems of two wars, the satirical verses, his lyrical poems and the eclogues indicate something of the self-discipline which moulded him into that literary and art critic who is considered to be one of the finest prose stylists now writing.

#### Translating atmosphere

GENEVIEVE by Jacques Lemarchand (John Lehmann. 7s. 6d.) may be called a prose poem by virtue of its having been translated by Rosamund Lehmann. How nearly she stays by the original is not known, though the dust-jacket states that "it is a work of extraordinary subtlety and force" by one of the most gifted of the younger generation of French novelists. Read at a sitting, it undoubtedly

gave the maximum amount of suspense, a sort of sustained shock, which takes all the subtlety and force of a Miss Lehmann to accomplish. The tale is of jealousy, the cruellest of diseases and usually the biggest bore to read about. But as Rosamund Lehmann is incapable of boring (witness a certain copy of *Dusty Answer* tattered with re-readings) the agonized love of two men for the same woman holds the betwixed interest to the end.

#### Social significance

The atmosphere of FLINT (Hammond, Hammond. 10s. 6d.), the last novel of the late Charles G. Norris, is not subtle. It has the saltiness and fogs of San Francisco's harbour and is noisy with the clashes between individualist shipowners and labour leaders. The conflicts convince because they are real; it is the stock phrases that are tiresome: "a bunch of reds" for all radicals, etc., though Byron Mackey is allowed some telling arguments for Socialism, not in this instance to be confused with Communism. The women in the book are a nuisance, cutting across the world of strikes and die-hard management which, while set in the 1930's, is still an engrossing topicality. The story tries to be a tract and a melodrama at the same time. Furthermore, it tries to put two points of view, which good little tracts never do.

When the "owners" crossed the Atlantic the prejudices went too. This reviewer, for example, was in Paris at the same time in June 1937 and interpreted Exposition manifestations differently. But their coming to England in the previous month for the coronation, listening to the "boy choir" in the Abbey and watching "England's proud nobility" stream out, is an endearing vignette, for itself and also for lightening this industrial case-book. However, as a statement of a way of life that is doomed, its theme is of more than historical interest at the present time.

GRACE BANYARD.

1947

The Fortnightly

Wandering

Account - 1941

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