

World Topics

Discussions

Foreign Countries

Subjects of General Interest

Colonies—Oct. 27, 1939.

- Colonies: Assets and/or Liabilities. Page 89.
- Colonial 'Haves' and What They Have. (Maps and charts.) Page 90.
- Colonies in A Post-War World, by Lord Lugard. Page 91.
- The Contents of Colonial Cupboards. (Maps and charts.) Page 92.

Democracy—Oct. 3, 1939.

- Democracy in Europe: The Lesser States. Page 5.
- Autonomy Versus Autocracy: The Balance Sheet. (Map and charts.) Page 6.
- Autonomy: Europe's Ever Resurging Force, by R. H. Markham. Page 7.
- Fruits of Democracy. Page 8.
- Highlights of Democracy. Page 8.
- Interesting Facts. Page 8.
- Major World Writings Have Aided Democracy. Page 8.
- Man-Made Democracy. Page 8.

Governments—Nov. 2, 1939.

- Governments: Should Only One Man Rule? Page 109.
- Three Concepts of Government. (Pictures.) Page 110.
- Democracies: A Study in Varieties, by William Y. Elliott. Page 111.
- Council of States at Our Fireside. Page 112.

Imperialism—Oct. 7, 1939.

- Imperialism: Its How, Why, and Wherefore. Page 21.
- Empires That Have Come—and Gone. (Maps.) Page 22.
- Empire: A Sober Duty and A Great Challenge, by Gilbert Murray. Page 23.
- Pioneers in Empire Building: Christopher Columbus, Vasco da Gama, Ferdinand Magellan, Robert Clive, Henry Stanley, Cecil Rhodes, Jean Marchand. Page 24.
- Imperial Notes. Page 24.
- Who Controls What? 24.
- Bibliography. Page 24.

International Law—Nov. 4, 1939.

- International Law: Thé 'Flint' Tests It. Page 117.
- The World Seeks a Law for Nations. (Pictures.) Page 118.
- International Law Needs Firmer Foundations, by Dean Woodruff. Page 119.
- Making Rules for World Order, by Neal A. Stanford. Page 120.
- Bibliography. Page 120.

Minorities—Oct. 10, 1939.

- Minorities: Why Not Exchange Them? Page 29.
- Three Major Minority Problems in Europe. (Maps.) Page 30.

- Tolerance Seen as Only Minorities Solution, by R. H. Markham. Page 31.
- Pre- and Post-Versailles Minorities. Page 32.
- Jews in the World. Page 32.
- Europe's 'Problem Children.' Page 32.
- European Powder Fuses. Page 32.
- Bibliography. Page 32.

New Frontiers—Nov. 11, 1939.

- New Frontiers—Plenty of Adventure Ahead. Page 141.
- Future As Those With Eyes See It. (Pictures.) Page 142.
- Research: Key to Pushing Back Mental Frontiers, by William B. Stout. Page 143.
- If Wishes Were Horses, Where Would We Ride! by R. H. Markham. Page 144.
- Bibliography. Page 143.

Pan Americanism—Oct. 5, 1939.

- Pan America: A Force In World Affairs. Page 13.
- North and South America Join Hands. (Map and pictures.) Page 14.
- Inter-American Federation: How Soon and How Far?, by Roland Hall Sharp. Page 15.
- Thumbnail Sketches: Peoples of the Americas. Page 16.
- Pan American Pendulum. Page 16.
- Pan . . . Isms. Page 16.

Refugees—Oct. 20, 1939.

- Refugees: The War Makes Assets of Some. Page 65.
- From History's Refugee Lists. (Pictures.) Page 66.
- Refugee Solution Stymied by War, by Joseph C. Harsch. Page 67.
- All Ages Have Had Their Refugees, by Neal A. Stanford. Page 68.
- War Refugees. Page 68.
- Bibliography. Page 68.

War Costs—Oct. 19, 1939.

- War Costs: In Terms of Men and Their Work. Page 61.
- What War Would Buy In Peace. (Charts.) Page 62.
- The Costs of War Reveal No Victories, by H. B. Elliston. Page 63.
- World War Costs. Page 64.
- Tax Comparisons. Page 64.
- Veterans' Pensions. Page 64.

War Issues—Oct. 2, 1939.

- War Issues: Focal Center of News Today. Page 1.
- On the Scales of War Rests the New Decision. (Pictures.) Page 2.
- Balance of Power: Key to Europe's War, by Argus. Page 3.
- Democracy's Roots Reach to Greece and Rome. Page 4.
- War's Ingredients. Page 4.
- Bibliography. Page 4.

Countries Discussed in First Fireside Series

Baltic Nations—Oct. 18, 1939.

The Baltic Nations: Again They Bend the Knee. Page 57.

The Baltic: Crossroads of Empires. (Map and pictures.) Page 58.

'Much With Little' Is Key to the Baltic Lands, by R. H. Markham. Page 59.

Through the Bristling Baltic Labyrinth. Page 60.

Bulgaria—Oct. 31, 1939.

Bulgaria: Key to A Balkan Scandinavia? Page 101.

In 'Good King Boris' Land. (Pictures.) Page 102.

Bulgaria—Nation of Frugal, Faithful Folk, by R. H. Markham. Page 103.

Ivan Petroff Broadcasts from Sofia, by R. H. M. Page 104.

France—Oct. 16, 1939.

France: Strength Through Balance. Page 49.

It Takes Them All to Make Up France. (Map and pictures.) Page 50.

'Il Faut en Finir,' Say the French, by André Maurois. Page 51.

The French Cock Crows. Page 52.

Francs—Dollars. Page 52.

Bibliography. Page 52.

Germany—Oct. 30, 1939.

Germany: Creative Art or Marching Minds? The Swastika's Shadow Over German Culture. (Pictures.) Page 98.

The German People and National Socialism, by J. Emlin Williams. Page 99.

The Different Kinds of Germans, by R. H. Markham. Page 100.

Bibliography. Page 100.

Great Britain—Oct. 23, 1939.

Britain: New Plans for A New World. Page 73.

London Is 'Home' to Britishers Where'er They Be. (Pictures.) Page 74.

Reconciling Determination to Caution, by Wickham Steed. Page 75.

Britain's Best Battlement, by R. H. Markham. Page 76.

Bibliography. Page 76.

Italy—Nov. 6, 1939.

Italy: It Dreams of a New Roman Empire. Page 121.

The Grandeur That Is Rome. (Pictures.) Page 122.

Fascist Italy: Expert in Fence Sitting, by Alfred Bradford. Page 123.

Tony the Tinker Tells Italy's Story, by R. H. Markham. Page 124.

Netherlands—Nov. 3, 1939.

The Low Countries: They Rank High. Page 113.

Where Land and Sea Ways Meet. (Pictures.) Page 114.

The Low Countries: An Epitome of Europe, by R. H. Markham. Page 115.

Help Yourself to Our Dutch Treat. Page 116.

Poland—Oct. 13, 1939.

Poland: Crushed, It Starts to Rise Again. Page 41.

Poland—Through the Centuries. (Maps.) Page 42.

A Hardy Poverty and Class 'Unconsciousness,' by Christopher Buckley. Page 43.

The Polish Panorama—Past and Present. Page 44.

Polish Personalities. Page 44.

Bibliography. Page 44.

Rumania—Oct. 6, 1939.

Rumania: A Case of Stalin 'and/or' Hitler? Page 17.

Bucharest's Colorful Minority Problem. (Map and pictures.) Page 18.

Roman Greetings Feature Land of King Carol, by R. H. Markham. Page 19.

Thumbnail Sketches of Rumanian Leaders. Page 20.

Word Pictures. Page 20.

Chronology. Page 20.

Russia—Oct. 17, 1939.

Russia: How Far Will It Drive to the West? Page 53.

The Slavic Bear Between Hibernations. (Maps.) Page 54.

Stalin: Master of Russia, Threat to Europe, by W. H. Chamberlin. Page 55.

The Russian Roller Rolls. Page 56.

Bibliography. Page 56.

Scandinavia—Oct. 24, 1939.

Scandinavia: Where Briton and Teuton Meet. Page 77.

Where Progressive Policies Flourish. (Pictures.) Page 78.

Model Lands and People Feature Scandinavia, by R. H. Markham. Page 79.

A Viking Comes Back. Page 80.

Scandinavia. Page 80.

Bibliography. Page 80.

Turkey—Oct. 11, 1939.

Turkey: Historic Crossroads Vital Today. Page 33.

Turkey—At the Crossroads. (Maps and pictures.) Page 34.

Atatürk: One Man's Constructive Genius, by Dr. Philip W. Ireland. Page 35.

A 'Talkie' on Turkey, by R. H. Markham. Page 36.

Bibliography. Page 36.

Yugoslavia—Nov. 7, 1939.

Yugoslavia: Its New Unity Is Hope of Balkans. Page 125.

The Melting Pot That Is Yugoslavia. (Pictures.) Page 126.

Yugoslavia: Where East Meets West, by R. H. Markham. Page 127.

The Serbian Guslar Sings His Song, by R. H. Markham. Page 128.

Fascism—When Benito Mussolini formed a nationalist organization in Milan in 1919, he termed it *Fascio di Combattimento* and took for the emblem of the body the bundle of sticks or "fasces" which was borne in Roman times on a red carried before magistrates.

Fascio means bundle or bunch. The term was used by Mussolini to indicate the close union of the 150 friends who joined his movement, and also, their obedience to the law.

Since 1919 the word fascism has taken on a wider meaning. Mussolini's fascist movement itself naturally underwent many changes during its history of development. Its philosophy, like the philosophies of so many movements, came after the movement itself. While it is today the basis for similar movements elsewhere, the fascist ideology did not act as the basis for Italian fascism.

Fascism is a strongly nationalistic, anti-socialistic doctrine which sets the state above the individual. It rejects liberal and democratic doctrines. It believes in economic progress but holds that production and distribution of goods is best managed by individual enterprise. It permits private capitalism, but holds the whip hand over all industries.

It forbids strikes and exercises firm discipline over all class conflicts. Trade unions are encouraged as a means of developing production but not to level the abilities of members that belong to them. Individuals may develop their own personalities, but the individual exists for society rather than society for the individual.

Fascism in Italy has absorbed every national activity. It is based on a rigid system of rule extending down from the leader through a directorate, a national council, and district councils and secretaries.

To most people today in the democratic countries, fascism implies a dictatorship supported by private capitalists, involving militant nationalism and suppression of individual liberties.

Communism amounts to a dictatorship of the proletariat or working classes, while fascism is a dictatorship of the upper classes. Thus the two find themselves at loggerheads, despite having many things in common.

Communism—This term applies to a social system in which goods are held in common. It is a theory involving common ownership of the agents of production and also an approach towards equality in distribution of the products of industry.

Communism is closely akin to Socialism in many respects. However, its present day supporters believe that it can only be achieved through violent revolution. They also believe that a dictatorship of the proletariat, that is of the industrial working classes, would be necessary during the earlier stages of Communist order. After a time everyone would become reconciled to the system and there would be no danger of counter-revolution. Then there would be no need for force.

Communist thought goes back to Plato, a Greek philosopher, who lived in the fourth century, B.C. In his imaginary republic, Plato pictured an ideal communal society for the ruling classes. Numerous imaginary Utopias have been produced by writers since, the best known of these being Sir Thomas More's Utopia. Several Communist settlements, of religious origin, were started in the United States in the last century.

Unlike Socialism, Communism dislikes the idea of excessive centralized control. It prefers to have the community distinct and independent up to a point, though belonging to a federation of communities.

Karl Marx, a German theorist of the last century, was the founder of international revolutionary Socialism and modern Communism. He advocated abolition of inheritance and of private land ownership, as well as the taking over by the state of capital, banking, transport and industry.

In 1864 a loosely knit international organization was formed in London, termed "the First International." In 1889 another organization, called "the Second International" was formed. After the war, "the Third International," dominated by Russians, was formed in Moscow.

Russia is today the torch-bearer of Communism.

Totalitarian—This word is derived from the Latin word *totalis*, meaning all or entire, and has the suffix *arian* which makes it into an adjective.

Its use seems to date from the coming into power in Germany of the Nazi party, which used the term to denote the wholeness and unity of the new German state under the Nazi regime. Germany today terms herself a totalitarian state.

As used in the accepted international sense, totalitarian refers to a highly centralized government under the control of one political group which refuses to recognize or even tolerate any other political parties. One of the chief duties of the Nazi party members is to instill Nazi beliefs into the heart of every German citizen. Thus all the German people—it is hoped—will become united into a single Totalitarian State.

Italy can also be said to be a totalitarian state, as can Russia and other dictatorship countries of today. The totalitarian states boast of their vigor and accomplishments as compared to the weaknesses of democracies which permit factions and parties and free thought.

Totalitarianism in Germany does not embrace the thousands of Jewish residents, who are denied the right of citizenship. One might almost say that Nazi Germany defines totalitarianism as meaning "all the Aryans." Only Aryans and perhaps certain "mixed Jews," the latter having only 25 per cent Jewish blood or 50 per cent, under certain conditions, are allowed citizenship. However "totalit-Aryan" is not the proper spelling or use of the word, according to authorities.

In reorganizing Germany Hitler swept away the old division into states, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, etc. Theoretically, Germany is one and indivisible today.

Private capitalism is permitted under state supervision. Hitler cut down unemployment figures from 6,000,000 to 1,800,000 in two years, but the cost of living rose and the standard of living did not improve. What imponderable forces the totalitarian states may eventually be able to unleash as a result of so much regimentation of energy and power, the world now pauses to see.

Democracy—This term is derived from two Greek words, *demo*, meaning the people, and *kratos*, meaning rule. Democracy literally means people's rule. It is the working out of the people's will through officials appointed by themselves. It implies government by the governed.

Greek democracy was actually limited in scope. The people who monopolized the city-state governments were only a privileged minority. The Greek democracies were slave-owning aristocracies. Roman genius attained the principle of equality before the law. British genius brought representative government to maturity.

Democracy has a pretty wide variety of interpretations. In Europe it designates a society based on political, economic and social equality. In Great Britain it means government deriving from consent of the governed. In the United States it is based, theoretically at least, on a total lack of social and economic caste with special privileges permitted to none. Actually the President of the United States has more power than the King of England or the Prime Minister. Popular control over the Imperial parliament is more quickly effective than it is over the American congress.

Some people say democracy has never been tried out, others that it is on trial. Hitler and Mussolini seem to be against it.

Colonies: Assets and/or Liabilities

An informal group weighs today's news and its meaning. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HUMB, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"Today we will attempt to work out some answer to the many questions on colonies which you have put to us in recent weeks. We have even gone further afield than usual in working up charts to graphically show what colonies really mean—with two pages instead of one for illustration. This takes time but it seems worth it in the large amount of ground we can cover graphically.

"Are colonies important? Answering from a political point of view we must say yes. Why? Because of that something in humans, whether they be individuals or nations, which demands prestige. Colonies are much like a big house for a distinguished citizen. Most big houses are really nuisances and expensive to buy and run—but they seem to give one social standing. So it seems to be with colonies among nations."

Question: "But surely colonies must bring some practical advantages?"

Answer: "Yes, a few. But nowhere near as much as the hue and cry about them would make you think. Let's consider colonies from four points of view. First, colonies do protect vital trade routes. Gibraltar is a fine example of this. A very tiny British possession, it is extremely useful in keeping the Mediterranean seaway open. Malta and Aden are similar tiny but valuable trade route protectors. But all the Gibraltars of all the empires don't constitute one hundredth part of the per cent of the sum total of colonial possessions."

Question: "What are the other three points?"

Answer: "Sources of raw material, markets, and outlets for surplus population. But before going into that let's define what we mean by colonies and where they are. Now Canada, Australia, New Zea-

land and the Union of South Africa are no longer colonies. They are dominions—completely self-governing and bound to England only by voluntary ties of mutual co-operation.

"India is between a colony and a dominion. It has many autonomous rights and is moving towards independence. All the other dependencies and possessions, including most of the 'mandates' may be considered colonies. They cover a territory four times as large as the United States and are found chiefly in Africa and Southeast Asia. Does that give a general enough idea of the colonies?"

Question: "Yes. Now how about the three additional points you spoke of?"

Answer: "First, are the colonies useful as outlets for surplus population? Put a half inch dot on this small page. Now let this page represent the white race. Let the half inch circle represent the whites in all the colonies—fewer than 3,000,000 out of 900,000,000. That hardly looks as though colonies were the answer to surplus populations.

"But let's look into this a little further. Before the war Germany had a colonial empire as large as all the United States east of the Mississippi. Yet only 20,000 Germans settled there. Now more than 6,000,000 Germans settled in the United States, and 2,000,000 in South America—compared with those 20,000 in German colonies.

"Belgium is one of the most densely populated lands on the earth. Its colonies are 80 times larger than the mother country. Yet in 50 years not 15,000 Belgians have settled there.

"Italy long possessed a good-sized colony in Eritrea, containing some promising agricultural land. Yet by 1914 exactly 13 Italian settlers had established themselves there. Since 1886 the total net Italian immigration to all of Africa has been about 7,000."

Question: "How about the Dutch?"

Answer: "There is a reversal. During the last 60 years 17,000 more Hollanders entered Holland from its colonies than left Holland for its colonies—although Holland is extremely densely settled, and with very few vital resources."

Question: "How about the question of markets?"

Answer: "The colonies are not much help that way. They haven't many inhabitants and those they have are extremely poor. Natives don't use manufactured things. You can't sell shoes to people who go barefoot nor hats to people whose heads have never been covered. Here's an interesting point. The whole of Africa buys less from the world than tiny Holland. Little Belgium offers the world 50 per cent more markets than the whole of India. All the colonies absorb only about 11 per cent of the world's foreign trade."

Question: "Which brings us to raw materials?"

Answer: "Exactly. If humanity had to exist on the raw materials of the colonies, it would be very hungry, cold and clad mostly in fig or banana leaves."

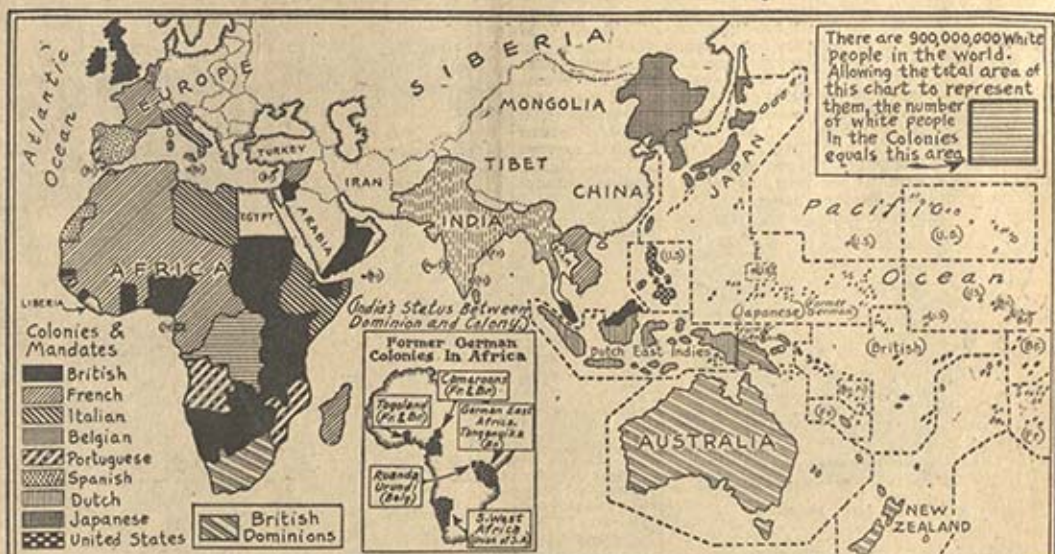
Question: "I thought colonies were the land of milk and honey, according to Hitler."

Answer: "No. There's no milk, honey nor even bread and butter. There is no petroleum, no iron or coal, almost no cereals, not much copper, very little aluminum.

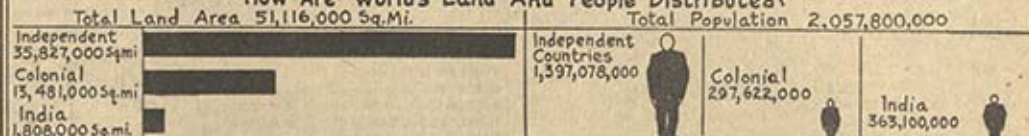
"What does come from there? All rubber, most tin, much cocoa, lots of bananas and considerable sugar; necessary items but very limited in variety measured against today's human needs. So that is the picture of raw materials."

"But, suppose we let our guest speaker for today carry on from here. He is Lord Lugard, former head of certain British Colonies in Africa, and an ex-League Mandates Commissioner. Some of you may recall past contributions of his to The Christian Science Monitor Magazine. On Fireside page 91."

Colonial 'Haves' and What They Have



How Are World's Land And People Distributed?



Who Have Colonies.



By a Staff Artist

Who Owns What? and Is It Worth the Price?

The population argument for colonies is weak as these charts show, yet it remains a very effective piece of propaganda for expansionism. It has never turned out to be the answer to surplus populations. People don't seem to be too

anxious to follow the flag overseas, although they may be more than ready to have others do the colonizing. Even totalitarian governments have not been very successful persuading their citizens to turn colonizers.

Colonies in a Post-War World

By Lord Lugard

Since the world-wide circulation of The Christian Science Monitor includes readers who may be unaware of the limitations placed in Great Britain on the word "Colonies," I may briefly explain that it no longer includes the dominions, over the policy of which Britain exercises no control whatever. They make their own commercial treaties whether with Britain—as at Ottawa—or with foreign States, appoint their own representatives alike to London and foreign capitals, and declare themselves as Allies in war or remain neutral as Eire has done.

On the other hand, I use the term "Colonies" here for brevity's sake as including Protectorates which for practical purposes differ only in that their inhabitants are not British subjects. The general policy of the British Colonies is controlled by Parliament and is based on the fundamental principle of tutelage for eventual self-government—like the Dominions. The degree of autonomy attained varies in each, from the great Dependency of India which is on the threshold of Dominion status, and the Colonies of Ceylon and Bermuda to the most primitive South Sea island or African tribe which is being taught to manage its own affairs under the system of "indirect rule" now almost universally adopted in Africa.

Today chief interest in imperial possessions turns on the question of the part which Colonies will play in the war, and in the terms of peace.

West's Supremacy

All overseas Colonies are today in the hands of the Western Powers and the neutral States—assuming that Italy intends to remain strictly neutral. Their retention depends on command of the seas. They will assist the Western Allies with the less important foodstuffs and raw materials, and perhaps the French and some British Colonies and India may contribute to their manpower. Meanwhile they afford bases for naval

vessels. These are self-evident facts and discussion therefore is focused on the part which "the Colonial question" will play in the final decisions when the war is ended.

There are two major reasons why any cession of Colonies to Germany is impossible. First, because in any future war they would afford bases for submarines and naval depots, and for airdromes with petrol stores. History records that Germany has always been an aggressive nation. The frequent expressions of good will by England and France towards the German nation show that they believe that the majority disapproves of the methods of Herr Adolf Hitler and the shameless inventions of Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels, but Germany's national songs and much of its literature proves that the nation believes in power-politics and the maintenance of its role as the dominant race. Its armies give willing obedience to dictators—even such a one as Herr Hitler. To think otherwise is to ignore the facts of history.

Trusteeship

Secondly, because the existing position is that Britain possesses many Colonies and has declared in the face of the world that we regard ourselves as trustees for the welfare of their inhabitants. To abdicate this trust in favor of a nation noted for its racial intolerance which—whatever its past record of Colonial rule—has recently given to the world samples of ruthlessness towards Jews, Czechs, and Poles, would be an act of national treachery which would merit the scorn of the world.

This is not to say that we have always acted up to our ideals, and that there are no instances where national advantage or that of local groups has been placed before the interests of the subject races. But the recent protestations of loyalty from British Colonies all over the world, and the action of Iraq, India, and Palestine, where there were

conflicting interests, goes to show that British rule is popular.

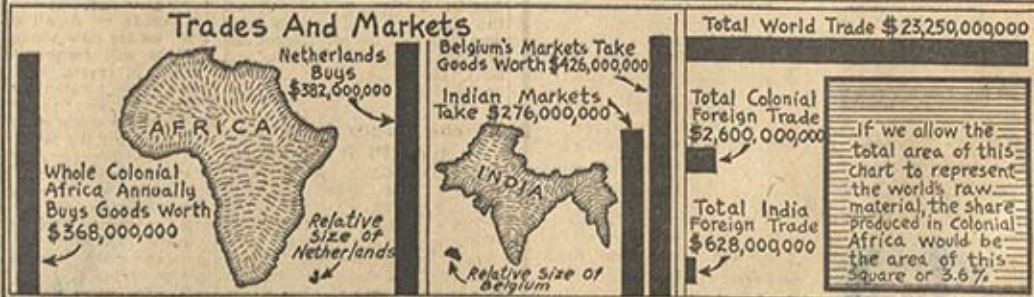
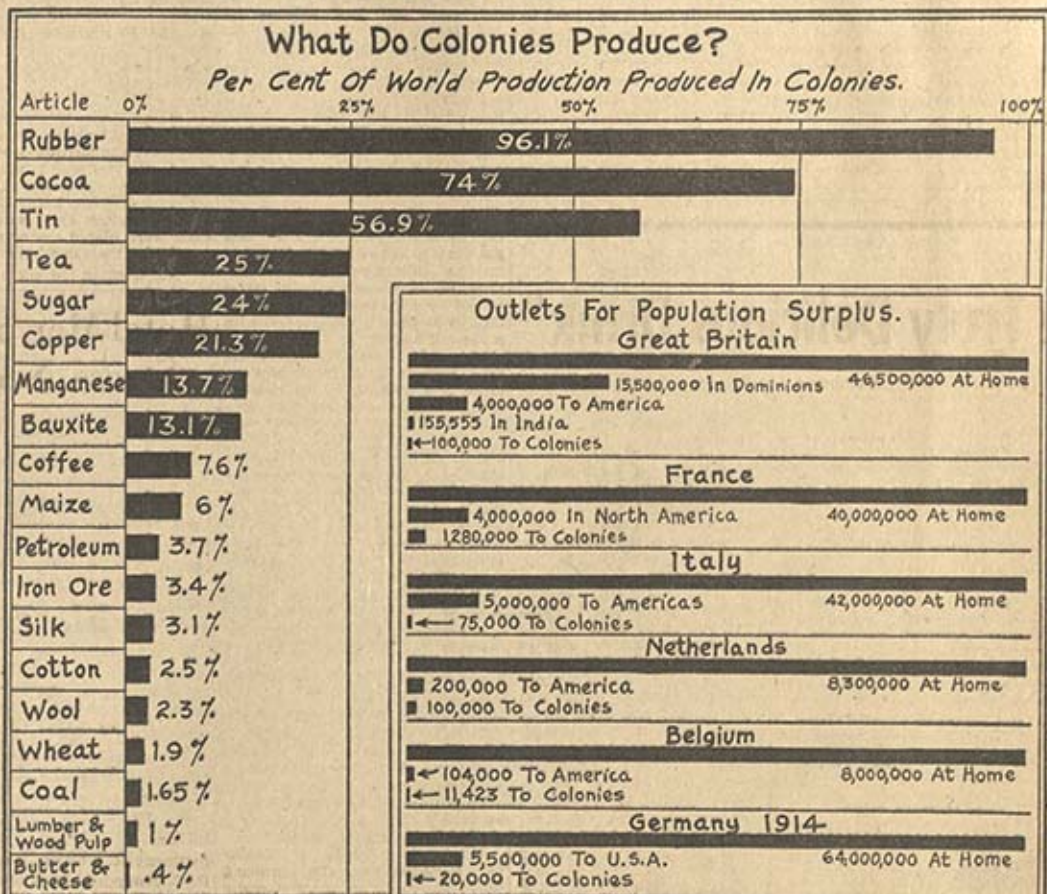
On the other hand, before, and even after, Germany invaded our ally, Poland, the British Government reiterated that they were convinced that there was nothing that could not be settled by negotiation. Whatever appeasement may then have been in their thought, will Germany still have any just claims on the grounds of its prestige, and its "place in the sun"—for in the last analysis that is the basis of its Colonial claims—after having wantonly provoked another war?

After the War

No doubt when the war is won all the countries which have been overrun by Germany—Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and Memel—will have the opportunity, unfettered by fear, of declaring whether or not they desire to remain under German rule, and the new Germany will be much smaller than the present Reich. But even so, it is the declared intention of its opponents that so far as may be possible the terms of peace shall leave no feelings of injustice in the minds of the best elements in the country. What has Britain to offer towards such a solution, consistent with the vital necessity of maintaining British export trade?

For the reasons already given, we must put aside any possibility of sovereignty—viz., control of policy—in Colonies, but I see no reason why Germany should not be accorded every economic and trade advantage in them which we enjoy ourselves, including the employment of Germans trained in the same school as the British Staff, and selected as temperamentally well qualified for dealing with subject races. We cannot here discuss proposed changes in Colonial administration. International control would be impossible in practice, and since no Colonial Power, including British dominions, would consent, it would endanger the harmonious relations of the British Commonwealth.

The Contents of Colonial Cupboards



By a Staff Artist

LENZ
DRAWING

The Raw Material Argument for Colonies—Reason or Ruse?

The colonies, it appears, furnish few of the real necessities of an industrial power. What they have is an abundance of a limited number of rawstuffs. In peacetime non-colonial nations

should not find it hard to acquire those few things needful through ordinary trade channels. In wartime the problem becomes of primary importance.

Democracy in Europe: The Lesser States

Fireside Series Key Is Informality

Current events given with the informality of fireside chats is the aim of this new Monitor series. It presents the biggest major countries and situations of the day, brought up to last-minute timeliness by cable, telephone and radio.

The setting is a cheery, wood-paneled library with a warm fire crackling in the fireplace. Around it, comfortably settled in deep easy chairs and lounges, are a group taking part in the course.

Leader of this discussion period is VOLNEY D. HUBB, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman speaks:

"Yesterday you raised the question of the other democracies in Europe besides England and France—and a timely question it is, for these tiny nations face a most difficult situation today. Let's look at the European mainland. There are 22 countries there comprising about 4,250,000 square miles. With the exception of France only seven of these states are democratic and they total some 500,000 square miles. Coming to population we find 439,000,000 people living under absolutist or semiabsolutist governments and 38,000,000 in democracies. That is roughly speaking an area ratio of 8 to 1 and a population ratio of 11 to 1.

"Now let's go further afield and take in the world. Outside the United States, the British Commonwealth and the French Empire there are a billion and a quarter people in the world. Of these 90 per cent live under authoritarian or autocratic governments. Putting it another way only 10 per cent of the human beings outside the Anglo-Saxon countries and France enjoy democracy. And remember that in this 10 per cent are grouped the Latin American countries some of which are none too democratic. To bring this down to today and the war in Europe, if England and France should go under, the ideals of the United States would face a

world of hostile ideals almost alone."

Question: "That must make the small European democracies very small indeed. Just what are the democratic countries in Europe, outside of France and how big are they?"

Answer: "Let's start with Switzerland with 4,180,000 inhabitants. Then comes Belgium with 8,320,000, Holland with 8,557,000, Denmark with 3,735,000, Norway with 2,895,000, Sweden with 6,267,000 and Finland with 3,810,000. Now the four smallest, put together, haven't many more inhabitants than New York State alone. Norway has a smaller population than Los Angeles County. Switzerland is about as populous as Chicago.

Question: "There are apparently degrees of democracies. Just how good are these small states?"

Answer: "Morally and spiritually these little states are among the most valuable in the family of nations, but politically they don't count for much. Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland are outstanding examples of a fair society and balanced prosperity. Five of the seven democracies have created exemplary governments with practically complete freedom and order and the elimination of graft. But inspiring as that may be, in this world of real politics they play a tiny role. Why, they are unable really to defend themselves. For decades Britain has been the chief defense of Holland and Belgium while France has been back of Switzerland.

"Now this question of defense is important in view of the present heavy odds being fought by Britain and France. What it comes down to is this—that without the support of the Allies there is not a single democratic state on the principal part of the continent that could defend itself a month against a major aggressor."

Question: "Isn't that a theoretical point of view? Even against the present odds could England and France actually fall?"

Answer: "No one can answer that question absolutely. But the best military and political observers feel that England and France could fall—from a material estimate of power. Back of them, however, is a moral and spiritual power which can rise above such prospects as did David against Goliath.

"Your political realists go on to point out that many empires have lost their power even in modern times. It is not so long ago that Holland was a peer of England, that Portugal was a leading power, that Spain dominated two worlds, and even Venice and Genoa were mighty factors in world affairs. Whole continents once trembled before Istanbul. Today where are they?"

Question: "If England and France win then these small nations will be protected from the scourge of war, won't they?"

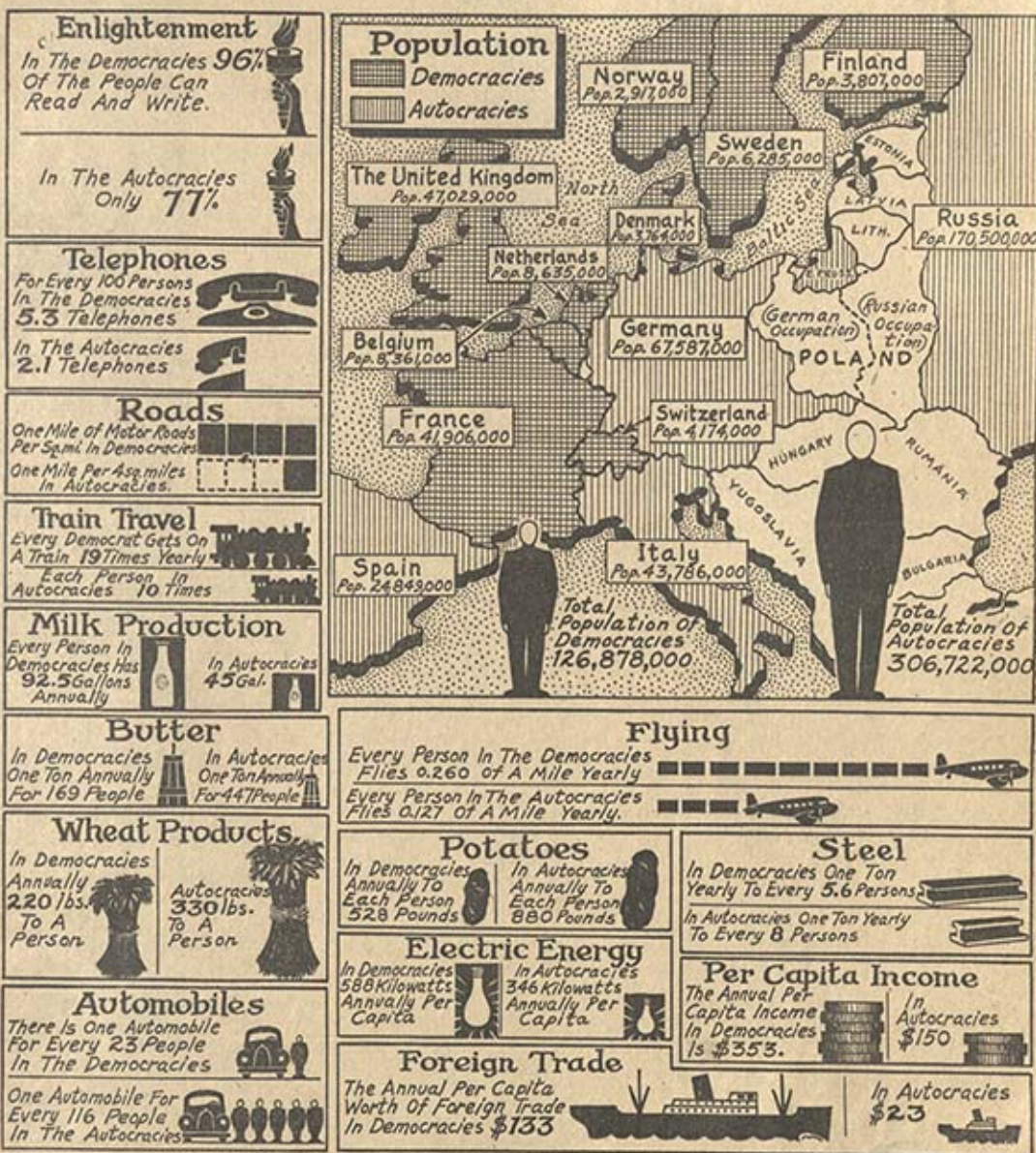
Answer: "Not necessarily. Look at your papers today and you will see numerous stories dealing with the possibility of German thrusts through Holland, Belgium and Switzerland. A restless, impatient, mighty military country like the Germany of Adolf Hitler must have action, must have results. If it finds itself tied up by the Maginot line then there are the two flanks, through the three countries named. Neutrality pledges didn't mean anything to the relatively ethical Germany of 1914 when Belgium was overrun. They would mean less today with the Hitler government which apparently weighs issues only on the one point of expediency.

"If that decision were made by Hitler, these small countries would certainly get the full impact of war—although they could be restored to sovereignty if the Allies won. If not they would cease to exist."

Question: "Could you tell us something of the history of democracy in Europe?"

Answer: "Not as well as R. H. Markham who has prepared an excellent summary of its inception, its struggles and its triumphs which you'll find on page 7, just below."

Autonomy Versus Autocracy: The Balance Sheet



By a Staff Artist

Democracies Shown to Live a Fuller Life

Much larger in areas and populations, the autocracies are overshadowed when it comes to the things of quality. The two items in which the autocracies exceed the democracies are wheat and potato, mainly due to the fact that these are the

major articles of food in those nations. The democracies offer a much greater variety in foods as well as the other items which make up human existence.

Autonomy: Europe's Ever Resurging Force

By R. H. Markham

Go east or west, go north or south, scour all the seas, traverse all the continents, walk attentively through the archives of all the centuries, peering into dingy corners or dusty attics, and nowhere before the beginning of last century will you find a single attempt at large scale democracy except in the Swiss Alps.

Now this does not mean the masses were always dormant and willing to be dominated by autocrats. Three millenniums ago Hebrew shepherds defied despotic Pharaohs, to form a state of their own. Nineteen centuries ago inspired Christian apostles declared that there are no slaves, but all men are free. Before that the slaves at Rome had led one of the most sensational revolts in history, against their masters.

Wild Bulgarian Bogomiles in the eleventh century launched a movement in defence of certain elemental liberties. In 1415 John Huss and many of his Czechs gave their lives in resisting autocracy. Luther later plunged all Europe into war to break the absolute power of Rome. The Dutch risked all to drive out absolute masters.

In none of these cases, however, was a system of democratic self-government envisaged, much less established. Practically no serious leader even entertained the theory that common men had "equal political rights." Nevertheless, humanity was emerging from the darkness that had always hovered over it. Then at last came the dawn of world democracy. It rose over French hills and sent its rays from west to east.

Darkness Before Dawn

Think of the world at that moment! America with its three million white men was still unformed, but erecting, stone on stone, a new political system. All Asia slept. The utter darkness of Africa was broken by no ray of light. Over the 175 million people of Europe still hung the clouds of night. Not 10 million

of them could read or write. In no land of the old world was there a public school for common people. Most wealth came from the soil which a few men owned and to which the men and women who tilled it were tied as serfs. Most human beings slept in common buildings with the cattle. Here and there a few artisans and merchants lived a little better but had no political rights. All privileges belonged to the nobility and clergy. The thought that little men, driving wooden plows through other people's fields, could help govern empires seemed too grotesque to discuss.

Then 150 years ago, just after the American Revolution, came the French Revolution. Light, from France, broke in Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria, the Balkans. Men rose and sang and fought. Teachers, preachers, blacksmiths, peasants spoke of freedom, equality, brotherhood, the rights of men.

But freedom cannot come at a stroke. The clouds rolled together again, the sun of self-government was covered; for 15 years reaction reigned almost unchecked—from 1815 to 1830.

Light Again From France

Then came another storm in France, in 1830. Light once more reached the furthest ends of Europe. A new regime was established in Paris, Belgium became a free, independent country, Serbia was moving toward liberation, Greece threw off the Turkish yoke, Italy struck against its foreign masters. Spain deposed foreign rulers. But these changes seemed little more than the last lightning flashes in a subsiding storm. The clouds again assembled over Europe. Hapsburgs, Romanoffs, Bourbons, Hohenzollerns, stood firm before their thrones with joined hands ready to help each other keep men quiet. That lasted approximately 18 years.

Then came another storm in France. Autocracy was chased out. All Europe rocked as though a sinking boat. Every German state launched revolutionary movements.

Italy renewed its war for freedom. A revolution broke out in Vienna. Hungary planted banners of freedom on every hill, Holland and Belgium revised their constitutions, Spain girded itself for another crusade, Poland shook the bars of its prison. The Swiss created a free federation of completely democratic cantons. That was 1848, famous, phenomenal 1848.

For years men went on fighting for liberty, but they lost. Never did democracy seem more completely crushed. But mighty forces were at work in Europe that no man, no dynasty, or state could stop.

The Turning Point

They broke out in a fury in 1870-71, when France, defeated by Prussia, definitely became a republic. This was a turning point. Humanity had gone around a corner. Forty years of peace were beginning. It was the era of democracy, new constitutions, mass voting, universal reforms, socialistic agitation, flaming hopes and self assurance for the little men. It reached its climax in 1922-23.

At that time unrestricted male suffrage existed in practically all Europe, female suffrage in many places. Every state clear to the western borders of Russia was liberal. The peasants had attained a power they never dreamed of. A League of Nations directed humanity's affairs. That was a magnificent moment . . . the furthest mankind had ever gone. It could almost see the outline of a United States of Europe.

Mountains always go in ranges. When you cross one ridge you must descend before you mount the next. So moves the trail of history. Since 1922 its course has been downward. Berlin, Moscow, and Rome today pour their scorn upon democracy and point their cannon at self-government. It is an old, old story.

For the past century and a half Europe has never descended from a height without soon mounting to a higher one. Perhaps it is now beginning another ascent.

Fruits of Democracy

Abolition of Slavery. Democracy as a political system does not work magic. However, the democracies and especially the spirit of democracy are steadily effecting great improvements.

One of these has been the abolition of slavery. It is a startling fact that from the beginning of history until 150 years ago slavery had been an established institution in most countries. Pagans, heathen, Moslems, Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox Christians, Protestants, have in the past agreed in considering slave holding a normal and proper practice. The republicans of Greece, the despots of Persia, the absolutists of Spain were of one mind in this matter.

The chief force in abolishing slavery from the world came at length from Britain—whose merchants had been most active in the slave trade. The second major force can be found in the ideals of the French Revolution. That upheaval furnished much of the necessary impetus. From that time, in country after country, almost continent after continent, slavery was eliminated.

The elimination of slavery has by no means brought prosperity and security to black people, but it did end a terrible wrong that had existed throughout time. And it was the ideals inherent in Democracy that were chiefly responsible for this achievement.

Ending of Serfdom. Serfdom has existed in most of the Old World. For centuries a majority of the people in Europe were serfs, that is, half-slaves. They were tied to the land they worked, tied economically hand and foot to their masters.

One of the first acts of the French Revolution was the abolition of serfdom in 1789. It had disappeared from England earlier. Prussia, Saxony, Austria, Hun-

gary, Russia, Rumania followed the French example.

Of course the elimination of this form of bondage was partly due to economic forces that had long been operative. Its final and complete disappearance, however, was a direct result of the democratic spirit that swept out of the West, notably Paris, and spread over Europe after 1789.

Education. Democracy has been the chief factor in bringing education to the masses of men. Prior to 1800 there were no free public schools available in Europe for all children. Primary education was given almost exclusively by the church; and higher education was theological in character. The masses were generally utterly ignorant.

The greatest emperor of the early Middle Ages, Charlemagne, could not read nor write. With emperors ignorant, what must have been the situation of the common people. A hundred years ago most Russians were 100 per cent illiterate. Most Europeans could not sign their own names. Only in Teutonic countries was the situation somewhat better.

Within the last century astounding improvements have taken place. Some are due to autocratic governments as in Germany. But most of this stupendous advance in popular education is the direct fruit of democracy. As a rule, elementary schools mark the boundary between autocracies and democracies. It is a government by the people that creates free schools for the people. The few exceptions only prove the rule.

Housing. It is no exaggeration to say that until the middle of the eighteenth century, a majority of the people of Europe lived in the same buildings with their animals; sometimes in the same rooms. Serfdom fostered such a custom since the masses were "inferior beings."

Now there is a tendency toward better housing in all lands of the western world. Wherever Democracy has gone and people have acquired self-respect they have begun to demand and build better dwellings.

Co-operatives. One of the most remarkable developments of modern Europe is the co-operative movement. This is maintained by little people. It is the outstanding characteristic of the economic system of a number of small democracies. It is chiefly an outgrowth of democratic ideals and methods.

Social Security. Never was so much done in Europe for workers, mothers, needy children, unemployed, aged, as now. This is entirely an outgrowth of mass organization or mass participation in government.

And as always happens, these improvements, inspired and applied in democratic lands, have extended even to autocratic states. The fruits of democracy grow even where the flower of democracy is suppressed.

Many Writings Aided Democracy

Ten major writings that have influenced the development of Democracy throughout the world.

1. The Bible.
2. Plutarch's "The Parallel Lives" (467-120).
3. Desiderius Erasmus' "In Praise of Folly" (1467-1536).
4. Martin Luther's "Ninety-Five Theses" (1483-1536).
5. John Locke's "Essay Concerning Human Understanding" (1632-1704).
6. Jean Jacques Rousseau's "Social Contract" (1712-1778).
7. Thomas Paine's "The Rights of Man" (1737-1809).
8. Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller's "Maid of Orleans" and "William Tell" and other dramas (1759-1805).
9. Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776).
10. Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" (1723-1790).

Man-Made Democracy

Ten men picked from the ages who stand out as promoters of Democracy.

1. Solon (636-559 B. C.) Athenian statesman and reformer.
2. William Tell (1300). Legendary Swiss patriot.
3. John Hampden (1594-1643) English patriot and defender of people's rights.
4. George Washington (1732-1799). Father of His Country.
5. Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865). Preserver of the American Union.
6. William E. Gladstone (1809-1898). English statesman, champion of reform measures.
7. Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872). Inspiring Italian revolutionist and unifier of Italy.
8. Louis Kossuth (1802-1894). Champion of Hungarian independence.
9. Thaddeus Kosciuszko (1746-1817). Leader of struggle for Polish liberty.
10. Thomas G. Masaryk (1850-1937). First President of Czechoslovakia, most democratic statesman in Central Europe.

Interesting Facts

Of the eight surviving European democracies, five are of predominantly Teutonic stock; one of Turanian; one of Latin; one mixed.

Of Europe's eight leading democracies five are Protestant; two mixed—Protestant and Roman Catholic; one predominantly non-religious. In all, complete religious tolerance prevails. There is neither official nor unofficial persecution.

Highlights of Democracy

Ten decisive events that stand out in history in the evolution of Democracy:

1. Moses leads the Children of Israel out of Egypt (1200 B. C.).
2. Greeks stop Darius at Thermopylae (480 B. C.).
3. French stop Moslems at Tours (732 A. D.).
4. Magna Charta (1215).
5. Elector Frederick helps Luther break Rome's monopoly of spiritual and temporal power (16th century).
6. Holland frees itself from Spanish absolutism (1648).
7. Cromwell and Puritans halt royal autocracy in England (1599-1658).
8. American colonists create the United States of America (1776-1789).
9. French nation revolts against Bourbon absolutism (1789).
10. Allied victory at Verdun which checked Hohenzollern militarism (1917).

Governments: Should Only One Man Rule?

An informal group weighs today's news and its meaning. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HURN, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"When we started this series, talking about the war and democracy versus dictatorships, the question was raised as to whether or not the respective governments engaged can be so simply classified. That is a fair question. Certainly Britain and France are both democracies. Yet they are different from one another. The United States is another type of democracy.

"Taking the dictatorships, we have Germany as one type, Italy as another, Russia as a third, and Japan pretty well coming in that classification."

Question: "Isn't it a fact that even the definition of democracy must change with the war, that Chamberlain and Daladier are virtual dictators and that the United States would be in the same boat in case of a war?"

Answer: "Democracy is not necessarily changed by war. It remains essentially sound but does take certain temporary departures to insure victory. This does not mean permanent dictatorships. After the World War, Britain, France and the United States quickly returned to democracy as it was before the war."

Question: "Mr. Hurd, could you tell us of the difference between the two major dictators? Is it true that Hitler and Stalin pursue the same form of government?"

Answer: "As to the form of government there may be some dispute, but without doubt the will of Hitler and the will of Stalin are both absolute and unrestrained in any way by political parties or fixed plans. This has always been the case since Hitler really took power. But in the case of Stalin his absolute power only came about relatively recently by the gradual taking over of power through purge.

"The original Russian setup called for a leader who was more or less restrained by an inner council of the Communist Party. Discussion was permitted within the group. Lenin attempted to keep this formula although he more and more was forced into a dictatorship, which permitted of some persuasion, however, by the controlling group. Stalin, on his part, seeking to force through only his own plans, had to crush every critic in his party. Today he rules without restraint. The fact that he has changed the Communist doctrine is clear from his ability to make an accord with Hitler."

Question: "You speak of discussion. This is of course the key to democracy. But might not a government succeed without discussion if it was wisely, if completely, ruled by one man?"

Answer: "Where is the wise man? In Italy you often see signs marked on walls reading 'Mussolini is always right.' But is he? No, the danger of leaving government in one man's hands, no matter how wise and benevolent, is the worst sort of gambling. Look around at the present cases. Germany is a great race, yet it took over the Austrian Hitler as its 'wise man.' Is he? The Russians find not even a Slav ruling them but a relentless Georgian, the man Stalin. Is he the 'wise man'?"

"Let's go back in history to a man who was undoubtedly brilliant, clever and tremendously successful up to a point—Napoleon. Was he the wise man we are looking for? Events prove otherwise.

"Napoleon was a shining example of the dictatorship which gradually rids itself of all freedom of discussion in order to have complete power. Pretty soon the leader is surrounded by only 'yes' men and so has no access to truth. He goes on, therefore, blindly, inevitably cracking up at the end despite great promise in his early days. That's why democracy seems certain to endure while dictatorships pursue the course of sky rockets, with only

a burned-out piece of stick to remind us of the once breathtaking, fiery rise. Such is the course of history."

Question: "You speak of the absolute power of Hitler and Stalin, which we know involves rigid suppression through great secret police forces, S. S. troops, etc. Doesn't Mussolini have the same power?"

Answer: "No. In Italy the King, the army and the Roman Catholic church are all independent, to some degree, of Mussolini's will. Thus centers of resistance exist in the country while the police methods are much milder than in Germany or Russia. Even the limited amount of discussion this makes possible has shown its value in Italy. Italy today is a country more united in its policies than the other countries with dictatorships and has steered a difficult course around war, standing to gain much from this position. The Italian people have not had to pay anywhere near the price paid by the people of Germany and Russia in the last year."

Question: "What about the economics of the so-called totalitarian system of Russia, Germany and Italy. And why the term 'totalitarian'?"

Answer: "Totalitarian comes from 'total' and means, in this instance, complete—the complete control of both economics and politics. In a totalitarian state everything is under the complete control of the state. While most of these states have a single will to run them, in the case of Japan parties still exist although the effect is much the same. There are some differences in the four economic systems, too."

Question: "How do these systems compare with the economic control in democracies which, in this time of war, seem to be much the same?"

Answer: "We are going to turn that question over to our guest speaker for today—Professor Elliott of Harvard. As head of the Department of Government he is just the one to answer that important issue—on Fireside page 111."

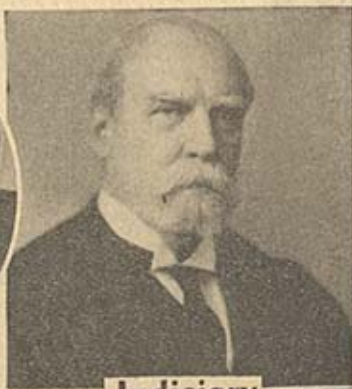
Three Concepts of Government



Executive



Legislative



Judiciary



Executive



Legislative



Judiciary



THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR



Is It Government Of, By, and For The People?

Top row (left to right): America's three branches of government. President Roosevelt. Vice-President Garner and Representative Bankhead who preside over the two houses of Congress. Chief Justice Hughes.

Middle row (left to right): Government in Great Britain.

King George and Prime Minister Chamberlain. Chamberlain, Parliamentary leader. Lord Hewart, the Lord Chief Justice.

Bottom row (left to right): Government in Germany. Three views of Reichsführer Hitler, who has collected all authority in the German State in his hands.

Democracies: A Study in Varieties

By William Y. Elliott

Even before England and France went into this war their governments were beginning to act, under the permissions of their parliaments, to control the whole economies along lines of war planning. Does this mean that Democracies have gone over to the dictator form of government?

The fear that going into a war may destroy Democracy and all the constitutional protections of our liberties has had an important effect on American opinion. The examples of controlled press and radio and the extensive regimentation of industry and agriculture by democratic governments in Europe have added to this fear. What are the facts?

It is certainly true that both in France and in England the governments have extended war-time controls over their economies, though to nothing like the degree the Fascist or Communist states have done. Factories are still operated by their own managers and war supplies are produced on a basis that allows reasonable profits in spite of the heavy taxation and the planning that is necessary. But people forget that in England a press still exists that can criticize every action of the Government, that a Parliament elected by the people acts as a constant censor of the Government's policies, and that men are not put in prison or shot for differences of opinion, even for opposing the war.

Parliamentary Government

Look back at the last war and you will see that these controls were also put on in the Democracies in order to win the war and to support the fighting forces at the front, but they were removed gradually at the end of the war, and such regimentation as business has had since has been produced far more by pressures for social security or business stability than from war-time experiments.

Parliamentary government meant

in its origins "government by talk," that is, free discussion. It became government that controlled the crown and the executive only when Parliament got the power of the purse. This Parliament still retains today in England and in France. It can refuse to support any government which it distrusts, but it can also entrust the most sweeping powers to the executive to act by decree in emergencies, and always has done so. It is not true to say that England and France have ceased to be Democracies.

But what about the differences between French and British governments? Have these not disappeared during the war? Some of them have. France during the crisis ceases to be a government with a weak executive dependent upon shifting party alignments. Parliamentary majorities are built up by the unity of national front through a process of lasting coalition, utterly different from the situation in peace when a single party group of the fifteen or so in the Chamber of Deputies or in the Senate may throw out a Minister by withdrawing its support. Today in France only the Communist Party offers any opposition to the Government's steadfast pursuit of the war, and that party has been suppressed because of its connections with Russia, a foreign state now giving aid to the enemy, Germany.

In England, too, the same unity of party front is present for the war and elections are postponed. There the independent Labor Party, a small group, is the only proponent of peace, and that more for strategic purposes than anything else.

The differences remain. In France the parliamentary Commissions still represent all parties and watch every act of the executive and administrative branches of the Government, while in England the Cabinet and the Civil Service exercise the same broad powers to operate the ordinary administration, free of detailed supervision.

Parliament in England is much more a body of outside critics of

general policy and it is kept under much stricter discipline by the right of the Prime Minister to call a general election at any time that one seems necessary to him. That fact probably serves to keep Chamberlain in control of a situation where many Englishmen feel that another national leader would be preferable.

American System

America's type of Government is a different thing altogether. It has a President who runs the whole of the executive departments of the Government and who is not dependent for his tenure of office on Congress. He is elected for four years by the people and stays in no matter what happens to change the sentiment of the country in the meanwhile. Congress can block him, but it cannot get rid of him as it could in a parliamentary system.

The result is that the President has come to be a party leader whose efficiency depends upon his hold on Congress, and this he must maintain at all costs both by playing on public opinion and by skillful use of his appointing power, even by patronage and by spending to bring Congressmen around to a point of view. But in times of crisis the President, too, is likely to rise above partisan politics and to have the support of both parties, once the national interest is clearly recognized. He is never free from criticism and the Senate is always a temperamental body whose members do not have much regard for party alignments. It has been a thorn in the flesh of many a President.

The Democracies, both parliamentary and presidential, can act with the same unity that the dictators are able always to enforce, but only in times of crisis. The real danger of Democracy is that the war may move into an era of perpetual crisis where the restraints on power disappear through long disuse.

A Council of States at Our Fireside

We had an unusually distinguished group of councillors at our fireside today. They had heard that the question of types of government was raised so came to give us their opinions.

Hammurabi

First rose Hammurabi, who 4,000 years ago made Babylon the leading empire of the world.

"My land is marked by terraced towers, each having a broad base, from which mount smaller, thinner layers, the highest being a mere peak. Such pyramids are stable and withstand the strain of time. A state must be like that. First comes the great class of toilers, held as slaves and serfs, then artisans, then merchants, above them the priests, then nobles, lastly I. Each favored group rests on a larger, less-favored one. I rule over all, draw wealth from all, keep all in place, subject all to unchanging laws!"

Samuel

As he sat down, up stood the prophet Samuel. He was tall, thin-faced, dark-eyed, with long white hair and flowing, uncombed beard.

He said (in résumé), "I am against kings, and government by kings. They will take your sons for charioteers and cavalymen. They will put policemen over you. They will make you sow their wheat, reap their harvests and toil in blacksmith shops to pound out instruments of war. They will turn your daughters into cooks and bakers. They will take your fields and vineyards for taxes. They will turn your nation into servants. Do not accept a government by kings!"

Such were the views of the nomadic patriarch and they had great weight, but seemed to be for a world that lived on cheese and dried goats' meat.

Tiglath-pileser

At any rate they made no impression on the next councillor, Tiglath-pileser III, the most elegantly dressed man in the room.

"I am an Assyrian," he said, "master of Nineveh, monarch of Asia. My power is irresistible and rests on force. For me all men are prey. I am the master hunter. I stole the very throne I hold. I rove from the Black Sea to the Nile, gathering the gold of temples, the grain of farms, the precious stones in royal palaces. States rest on force and wealth on plunder. You have read 'Behold they come swiftly, None shall be weary nor stumble; none slumber nor sleep. Their arrows are sharp; their bows bent. Their horses hoofs are as flint; their chariot wheels as a whirl wind. They roar as lions, lay hold of their prey and carry it away—none shall deliver it.' That was written of my Assyrian army. That's how we rule!"

Pericles

Pericles, the master of Athens, whose city enjoyed the admiration of the world, arose with dignity.

"I am the leader of the world's foremost city. I am chosen by a group of the people and remain under their direct control. They are masters; I am their servant. My glory is to serve them well. For my service they re-elect me every year. Due to the freedom they maintain or to their genius, or to both, they have created the finest art, literature, and architecture that adorns any city in the world and have learned more of the universe than was ever known by men before. This is self-government by the elite. Athens is an oligarchic democracy, an absolutely free, completely unrestrained regime, directed by the upper ten thousand."

Louis XIV

Then more resplendent than all who had spoken before, arose wizened old Louis, the "Grand Monarch," who had personally dominated Europe 60 years. He was the archetype and envy of all the kings and princes on the continent. He said one word with haughtiness and sat down with arrogance. It was: "I am the state."

William Tell

After him a strange, rosy-faced rustic, called William Tell arose. "You almost forgot me," he said. "I ought to have come before. Excuse me for rising out of turn. I speak for a few thousand cow herders in three Swiss counties. We are poor and humble men. But we are free. We have no masters. We are the state."

Never before in all the world had peasants acted like that. It was man's first democracy.

Machiavelli

Niccolo Machiavelli stepped forward next.

"What do I think of government? My life among unscrupulous, scheming, plotting princes has taught me a thing or two. He governs who has the power. Might makes right. The end justifies the means. There's no price too great for success."

"But why am I telling you all this? You can read it in my Discourses and The Prince. Perhaps you don't believe what I wrote. A lot of people in my time didn't too. That's one reason my program is so successful. People don't actually believe it until it's too late."

John Locke

The Englishman, John Locke, prophet of balanced government, defender of individual liberty, arose, and with great dignity, poise and assurance said:

"I'm a strong believer in man's common sense; also a firm advocate of individual liberty. You will find in my 'Two Treatises of Government' my real

thoughts on political organizations. Sovereignty as I see it resides in the people.

"Governments can be classified by the numbers concerned in making laws. When a few make the laws, it's an oligarchy. If one man makes the law, it's a monarchy. I'm a firm believer in government by the majority—a system such as England has developed in its parliamentary system."

Rousseau

Hardly had Locke seated himself, before there stepped forward a sensitive, sympathetic looking, and intellectual Frenchman. It was Jean Jacques Rousseau.

"My politics have been outlined in my 'Social Contract.' If you study that you will see what I believe to be the foundations of real democracy. There must be equality and justice. The setting up of a political body is a real contract between the people and the chiefs chosen by them. The people surrender their rights to the community. But sovereignty resides in the people. The state, is only a public person, call it a collective mind, a collective conscience, if you will."

Washington

George Washington next arose.

"America's Declaration of Independence states that 'governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed' to insure certain inalienable rights, such as 'Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' That is my political creed."

"The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all."

Lincoln

Lastly there arose Abraham Lincoln.

"I have faith in man," he said. "I also have faith that right makes might. It was that faith that empowered me to do my duty as I understood it, during those trying years in America's history."

"A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism."

"But why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?"

"Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all . . . difficulties."

International Law: The 'Flint' Tests It

An informal group weighs today's news and its meaning. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HURD, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"Today much of the world is at war. Now war means that international law—the means of regulating relations between nations, is under great stress. Warfare is the court of last resort in international affairs. It means essentially that decisions based on intelligent discussion and proper give-and-take are no longer possible, although it still plays a restricted part during war.

"The case of the American freighter, the City of Flint, has focused much attention on international law during the past week. A prize ship, the ship of a powerful neutral, rushed into another neutral's port, slipped along the coast of Norway for the trip to Germany, then released by Norway which interned the German prize crew—the City of Flint is a case to discuss."

Question: "Mr. Hurd, could you first tell us something about international law. How does it differ from ordinary law?"

Answer: "The chief difference is that within a nation there is a supreme court of one sort or another, backed by the state and its police forces to maintain the law. In international law there is no central head like this. Individual nations have to agree jointly to abide by laws, arrived at after much discussion and experience. When any nation doesn't wish to abide by those laws there is no force to make it do so unless a stronger nation goes to war over the issue and defeats the offending nation."

Question: "Does international law spring from the same source as ordinary law within a nation?"

Answer: "Broadly speaking, all law has come down from hard experience on the part of man in trying to get the most out of life. Two methods early showed them-

selves. One was completely unrestricted freedom for the individual, unrestrained in any case except by some other individual or individuals who were stronger physically. That is the principle of anarchy. The other method was order through law. In this case the individual gives up some of his freedom for the greater gains he will receive under an orderly society.

"In the early days of man, before law was established, an individual found most of his time taken up with offense or defense. Imagine two men on adjacent farmlands. One claims his land goes further than the boundary put up by his neighbor. They argue about it. Neither will give in. In our society of today, the case goes to court and is decided. If either party tries to seize the land in violation of the decision the police step in and peace is quick and immediate.

"In the old days, without any courts or law, the strongest side won any decision. Since the strength of men or families was constantly changing with time, with the number of friends or sons, and since their ambitions equally changed, with more or less demands being made on neighbors to give way to their will, life was chaotic and fighting almost continuous."

Question: "Didn't the combining of these groups into nations stop this anarchy?"

Answer: "Yes, within the nation. Then it became a question of fighting between bigger groups or nations and that is war."

Question: "How does international law justify the seizure of the City of Flint? What right have the Germans to seize an American ship, even if they did have a right to the cargo, destined for Britain?"

Answer: "The ship and crew as well as the cargo are treated as a unit in prize procedure. This rule is necessary since realistically the ship, with cargo and crew for evidence, must be brought into the port where the court sits. Germany so far has apparently not vio-

lated international law. Therefore there is no step the United States could have taken to protect the ship or crew since they took the risk of the situation by trying to run the blockade with contraband goods in the first place."

Question: "Wasn't Norway violating international law by letting a German-controlled prize ship use its territorial waters in getting the ship safely to Germany, which prevents the British from moving in and seizing the City of Flint?"

Answer: "The best thought we can raise on that says that a neutral may regulate its territorial waters more or less as it chooses, under the overall restriction that a prize cannot remain at one port or harbor for refuge but must move along without receiving more than vital supplies. When the Flint entered Haugesund on an excuse that wouldn't hold up, Norway then had the right to act."

Question: "Why doesn't that leave a loophole for German raiders? Couldn't they cruise along coastal water of neutrals whom they had 'persuaded,' à la Stalin in the Baltic, to leave them alone, literally using such waters as a flexible base for night raiding?"

Answer: "No. A commerce raider is an outlaw in international law and thus cannot get that protection. But a prize ship is in another category and its position in such a case has never been thoroughly worked out in international law. Thus anything might happen since international law at its best is strained during war and in the case of an unsettled point is about as good as non-operative. The Dutch in the World War interned British and German prizes for merely passing through Dutch waters. Yet Norway permitted free passage until a port was entered unjustifiably.

"Now for a further expansion of this discussion, I am going to turn the meeting over to our guest speaker, Dean Woodruff, a member of the Fireside research staff—on page 119."

The World Seeks a Law for Nations



© Vereenigde Foto-bureaux; De Cou from Galloway; Wide World

Landmarks on the Road Toward a World Code of Laws

(1) A scene of The World Court in session at The Hague. British counsel is pleading its case in a controversy with Belgium. (2) The Peace Palace, The Hague, where numerous conferences on international law have taken place. (3) Hugo

Grotius, Father of Modern International Law. (4) The last page of the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact, signed by M. Doumergue, then President of France, which theoretically outlawed war.

International Law Needs Firmer Foundations

By Dean Woodruff

The seizure of an American merchant ship, the "City of Flint," by the Germans and the protracted neutrality debates in Washington have once more centered interest on the intricate problems of neutrality and international law.

There is no world-government or police system to enforce the International Law of Peace, yet it plays an exceedingly important part in the every-day relation between states. Far from being an academic subject, it touches the sphere of interest of each individual: every time you write a letter to a foreign country or listen to a broadcast from Europe, and every time a ship docks in or sails from any harbor, many of its rules must be applied.

In times of peace one does not often realize that there is such a thing as a law of nations, because most of its provisions are observed as a matter of course. They are simply considered part of the law of the land.

In times of conflict, however, the International Law of War and Neutrality comes into effect. This is neither as well defined nor as rigidly observed.

A spirit of protest against repeated violations of neutral rights, such as the capture of the City of Flint, brought into being the first set of rules governing the relations between states 300 years ago.

Neutrality Problem

Since then the rules have often been revised through the influences of established custom, treaties, conventions, court decisions and the opinions of noted jurists. Old un-neutral practices such as selling soldiers or fleets to a belligerent state had been abolished by the end of the Revolutionary War. Rules for sieges and blockades, for the exchange of prisoners, and for other phases of actual warfare became firmly established.

The International Law of Neutrality, however, has been by far

the most difficult to draw up and enforce. It is a product of compromises between rival and incompatible interests. The belligerent seeks through the means of a blockade, such as England has clamped on Germany today, to starve out the blockaded power and to prevent him from importing arms and war materials. The neutral, on the other hand, insists on the right to carry on normal peacetime commerce.

Neutrals have contended further that their commerce should not be interfered with as long as it is open impartially to both sides in a war. Belligerents have had to refuse to accept this claim, however, because technical "impartiality" can be used as a means of discrimination.

But even those principles of neutrality which have been agreed upon around a conference table have often fallen down in times of war, because no nation has been consistently on one side. England, for example, as a belligerent has often sought to evade restrictions it upheld as a neutral.

"Incidents"

When only two countries have been at war, they have usually chosen to respect the rights or claims of neutrals rather than have them join forces with the enemy, or retaliate in some other way. Since the days of Napoleon, however, more wars have been fought on a large scale and it has been increasingly difficult for neutrals to assert their rights. When they have tried to they have frequently been involved in the wars, as was the United States in 1917.

Some states have therefore chosen to limit their own rights under international law in order to avoid "incidents." The present United States giving up of freedom of the seas rights is a good example of such legislation.

Neutral trade is affected most when one power dominates the sea as Great Britain did in the last World War, for then the familiar statement that "international law

is what Great Britain says it is" becomes partially true.

When wars were fought by a few thousand soldiers only arms and munitions were classed as contraband, but since whole nations have been mobilized for war, the contraband lists have been greatly extended. In the World War, for instance, Great Britain began by listing about ten kinds of war materials as contraband, but by April, 1916, the list had been extended to 150 classes, including all foodstuffs and apparently innocent raw materials. The United States and other neutrals protested vigorously, but England preferred to pay indemnities rather than let the goods pass.

Neutral Ships

Belligerents have claimed the right to stop any neutral ship on the high seas and to search it for contraband, and although America objected to this action at the beginning of the World War, the right appears to have been accepted now. Since September several American ships have already been subjected to "visit and search" by both the British and the Germans. If the neutral ship resists or attempts to escape, it may be sunk.

Vessels found to contain contraband goods are placed in charge of a prize crew, such as took the City of Flint to Russia, and taken to the nearest belligerent port to be condemned by a prize court. If the ship is found to have been captured illegally, it is released and an indemnity is paid. Captured ships may not be destroyed at sea "except where the security of a belligerent might be endangered by failure to destroy the prize."

Since the World War the principle has been set up and confirmed by two international conferences that submarines are subject to the same rules as surface ships. The use of military aircraft in patrolling the seas in the present conflict is bound to create new problems for international law.

Making Rules for World Order

What Is It?

In a few words, international law is that group of rules that is supposed to govern relations between nations. Some people prefer to call it supra-national law, for it tries to co-ordinate the various national laws. It tries to draw the boundaries of sovereignty.

Of course there are disputes and friction. Unless those disputes are to be settled by war, they must be settled by some body set up to arbitrate or conciliate disputes. The Permanent Court of Justice at The Hague is one such piece of machinery.

When Did It Start?

In the long, long ago, nations acknowledged no uniform set of rules for getting along together. In fact there was not much need for such rules. Empires dominated wide regions. Rome had its law—but not its international law. The concept of international law came in with the rise of national states. That was only a few centuries ago.

The first rude beginnings at international lawmaking grew out of maritime conflicts. It was on the sea that rights were the haziest. The lack of a rule book on international relations was proving disastrous to the many mushroom independent states that were appearing. The time was ripe for the gathering of the innumerable international practices into a formula.

Hugo Grotius—1625

The horrors of the wars of the 17th century inspired a Dutch scholar and diplomat, Hugo Grotius, to write down his decisions and observations on international law. His "Concerning the Law of War and Peace" won him the title of Father of Modern International Law.

During the 17th and 18th centuries whenever a peace was made, Grotius' formulation of international law was studied. His writings actually influenced the practice as well as theory of international law. From his time on international law has been gathering new treaties, rules, conventions unto itself in spite of frequent and discouraging setbacks.

Slow Progress

Louis XIV's half a century of conquest with the string of peace treaties it involved added to the sum total of international law rules. By them it was agreed that belligerents could visit and search neutral vessels, that free ships made free goods, that blockades had to be recognized by neutrals had to be effective.

The United States at times made its voice heard in this vitally important field. It early espoused the rights of neutrals, and helped obtain recognition of the doctrine of "the freedom of the seas." All by itself, it added the Monroe Doctrine to the shelves of international law.

The Napoleonic period was hard on

international law, since the Corsican, for a time, embodied all such law in himself. But at the Congress of Vienna law was restored as an international force and even strengthened in certain fields—particularly those concerning international rivers, the classification of diplomatic agents, the slave trade.

International Conferences

Beginning with the 1856 international conference in Paris, nations began the arduous and unending task of developing and codifying international law. The Declaration of Paris, among other things, abolished privateering, and drew up rules of contraband. Though the United States did not sign the Declaration, it recognized its validity.

There then followed a series of international conventions on a wide series of subjects. The 1864 Geneva convention provided for the humane treatment of the wounded. The 1874 Brussels convention codified the rules for land warfare. At the Congress of Berlin in 1884 rules were laid down regulating the exploitation of Africa. There were conventions on communication, on safety at sea, on the protection of migratory birds, on the opium trade.

The Hague Conferences

The high point in international law before the World War was reached in the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907. Although these failed to limit or reduce armaments or get an agreement on compulsory arbitration, they did result in the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, better known as the Hague Tribunal. Also they restated the laws of land and sea warfare including such matters as the rights of neutrals, the rights of noncombatants, the administration of occupied territory, bombardment, prisoners, mine laying. The importance of these Hague Conferences lies in the fact that they were really the first united attempt of modern nations to deal with the increasingly complicated problem of international affairs.

Perhaps the very latest pre-war attempt to strengthen international law came with the Declaration of London in 1909. It contained a statement of prize law; and, although only ratified by a few nations, has been generally accepted. Its rules pertained to blockade, contraband, unneutral service, convoys.

It should also be noted that Pan American Congresses had in the meantime been busy drawing up agreements among the western hemisphere powers on such diverse subjects as aliens, boundaries, immigration, extradition, aviation, maritime neutrality.

Post-War Period

Just as Napoleon upset the balance of power, endangering international law, so did the World War for a time threaten to

wipe out the fruits of Grotius and his successors. Peace brought with it many new problems—the questions of mandates, plebiscites, rights of minorities. The plan of the peacemakers was that all international difficulties arising from these questions should be settled through the machinery set up in the League of Nations. The Permanent Court of International Justice was to decide cases on the basis of existing international law. It has rendered over 40 decisions since the war.

There was an attempt in 1929 by the League Assembly to further codify international law. But the attempt fell flat, and the world depression successfully halted any other attempts toward internationalism.

Perhaps the main characteristic of the post war period has been the continued effort to consolidate peace. There was Locarno in 1925. There was the Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928. The latter outlawed war—a most momentous step forward in theory, even though in fact it has not worked. For prior to that time war has always been recognized as a legal process under the rules of international law.

What of the Future?

The standards of international law, historically considered, seem to depend largely on the standards of justice and morality existing in the various nations at a given time. The 19th century saw liberal and democratic ideals advance on many fronts. During that period international law reached its highest level. But the World War, the depression, and the rise of dictators rapidly undermined these standards of international conduct. International law was ignored, first in one instance, then in another.

If international law is to become a rugged thing, certain concepts of national sovereignty, it seems, must go by the boards. Whether the present war will have such an effect, no one knows. There is much talk of a new world order, now that the war is on. But when it is over, will it be as much desired?

Neal A. Stanford

Read On—

Is International Law Any Use Today?—by Professor J. L. Brierly in *Vital Speeches*, Feb. 1, 1938.

Because it attracts attention only when it is broken, such law is considered weak.

The Spirit of International Law—by Cordell Hull, in *Vital Speeches*, July 1, 1938.

Tracing the history of international law, the American Secretary of State concludes that national isolation is not a means to security.

Minorities: Why Not Exchange Them?

Our setting is a wood-paneled library. Before a crackling fire sit a group in comfortable chairs, talking informally. Chairman of the discussion is Volney D. Huns, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"What about the minorities?" is a frequent question from the Fireside circle. The issue has been used to its maximum by Hitler in his smashing of the Versailles Treaty. It is one of the ever-recurring problems of Europe, a major cause of unrest.

"Looking at a map, it has occurred to several members of the circle that a simple solution would be the exchanging of populations. Put the right people in the right place and that would be that. Basically it is not a bad idea. But it fails to take into consideration the love of human beings for their homes.

"Remember that in the countries where the minorities are a problem we have mostly peasants, deep-rooted in the soil from which they have taken their very living for generations. Fortunately for discussion we have several instances of population exchange in recent history. Unfortunately such instances have been accompanied by great violence."

Question: "But why should there be violence attending something that is good for these peasants? Is it because of these deep roots you speak of?"

Answer: "Let's look at the history. A striking point we uncover is that these exchanges were usually made in agreement only after they had actually taken place following marked violence. The method was never tested from a calm, well-prepared point of view. First was the 1913 treaty between Bulgaria and Turkey after the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913. When Bulgaria was first victorious against the Turks it showed its joy in destroying a yoke five centuries old by committing deplorable acts of terror upon Turkish villages. The

Turks naturally fled by the thousands.

"Later the Turkish army was victorious and moved towards Bulgaria. Whole Bulgarian villages fled in terror. Came peace, a new boundary and an agreement that all Bulgarians and Turks living within ten miles of that frontier should move onto the side held by their respective countries. Actually the majority of both Bulgarians and Turks had long since exchanged themselves in their headlong flights."

Question: "How many people were affected by this exchange?"

Answer: "The records say 48,570 Turks were traded for 46,764 Bulgarians. But it is generally considered the number really driven out or massacred on both sides was much greater than these figures."

Question: "How about the next attempt?"

Answer: "The Bulgarians were involved again, this time with the Greeks. The exchange came as a result of Bulgaria's 'Versailles,' the peace treaty signed at Neuilly Nov. 27, 1919. The purpose was the perpetuation of the partitioning of Macedonia. Bulgaria and Greece had been fighting over this country for 20 years and were actually at war some six years.

"Now during the 20 years of dissension thousands of Bulgaro-Macedonians had fled from territory finally occupied by Greece. Some Greeks had also fled from territory occupied by Bulgarians, or forming part of Bulgaria. The Bulgaro-Macedonians wanted to return to their farms and villages in Greece. The Greek Government wanted this land for Greek settlers. A defeated Bulgaria had to accede. After the agreement some exchanges continued, usually coercive. Only recently have good relations been established between Bulgaria and Greece. Most Greeks are now out of Bulgaria but some 120,000 Bulgaro-Macedonians remain in Greece even after this difficult population exchange effort."

Question: "Was the third case the one of the Greeks and Turks? I seem to remember something about that a number of years ago."

Answer: "You were an alert reader, for there was little newspaper space given this important event. It was agreed to in a treaty signed on Jan. 30, 1923. Again the exchange had occurred before, in 1922. Greeks had lived in Asia Minor for centuries before the Turks came. In 1918 there were some 2,000,000 in Turkey. In 1921 the Greek armies set out to conquer Turkey. The Turks, despite exhaustion from the long World War, finally drove the Greeks back and into the sea.

"Then Kemal, the great Turkish leader, decided to rid Turkey of the Greeks once and for all. Ruthlessly he drove them out. The fatalities are unknown. Since Greece had been at war with Turkey off and on from 1912 to 1922, most of the Turks had already fled. Thus the trade was rather unequal. Probably fewer than 400,000 Turks left Greece."

Question: "Isn't voluntary exchange possible despite these three cases?"

Answer: "The best students say no, that only hurricanes will uproot peasants, with their primitive instincts to cling to their native soil."

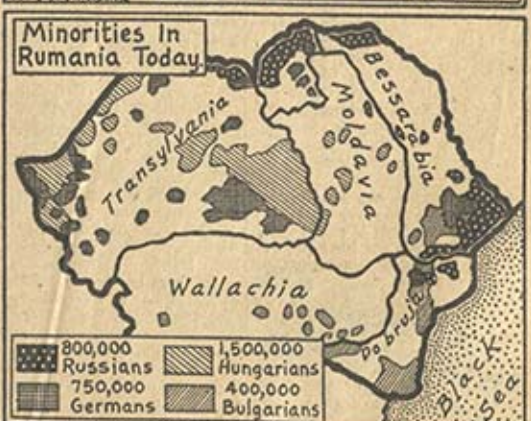
Question: "How about the recent exchange of populations between Italy and Germany in the Tirol?"

Answer: "That is obviously a case of forced exchange. The first grumblings put such a strict censorship on the entire affair that detailed information is difficult to get. Now Hitler announces further minorities exchanges, in the east, aided by Russia. Just how effective this will be remains to be proved."

Question: "Why don't minorities adapt themselves to the countries they are in?"

Answer: "That is a question for the Monitor's Balkan expert and Mr. R. H. Markham answers you on Fireside Page 31 just below."

Three Major Minority Problems in Europe



By a Staff Artist

Minority Islands Constitute Today's Riddle

Tolerance Seen As Only Minorities Solution

By R. H. Markham

In our modern world of nationalism, the way of a minority is hard. It always faces two cardinal difficulties and meets many minor handicaps. If it is docile and submissive, the mother nation accuses it of disloyalty; if it is patriotic and aggressive, the state under which it lives accuses it of treason.

It must ever be kept in mind that there is a great difference between minorities in Europe and in America. The Germans in the United States are not Germans any more, at least in theory. They came here voluntarily to become Americans. The Italians here are actually or potentially Americans. The Bulgarians here are Americans, too.

Immigrants are invited to the United States on the basis that they are to become Americans, learn the American language, acquire American ways, work for America, and in case of need, fight for America. That is a sort of unwritten agreement when they settle here.

The situation in Europe is utterly different. Here a minority remains a minority. That is a fundamental law. It is the basis of the present European order. It was embodied in the League of Nations. The Hungarians incorporated into Rumania were to remain Hungarian, the Bulgarians annexed by Rumania to be Bulgarians and the Germans in Czechoslovakia to go on being Germans.

All this creates a critical situation. It undermines the unity and stability of a state. It brings enemies into one's own home.

Swiss Example

As a graphic illustration of this fact, think what would happen to Switzerland, which is the world's model state, if the various races there were minorities. Suppose the French-speaking Swiss felt as Frenchmen and were backed by France; the Italian-speaking ones considered themselves Italians and the German-speaking ones, Germans. In that case Switzerland would collapse overnight. Its

strength and unity rest on an entirely different basis, namely, that all racial groups there are unreservedly and entirely Swiss.

The situation in Czechoslovakia was entirely different. It is different, also, in Yugoslavia and Rumania. Let us examine for a moment the case of Czechoslovakia. That country was made up of lands inhabited, to a certain extent, by non-Slav peoples, who had been torn away from "mother countries." They were forced into Czechoslovakia against their will, in violation of democratic principles. Among these annexed peoples, were almost a million Hungarians.

Is it possible to believe that this Hungarian minority could feel at home in Czechoslovakia? Their very presence was the result of a defeat. They had been subjugated. They were "torn away from their mother" after a military disaster. Those of them who had any spirit felt as though they were prisoners.

Czech Problem

Could they sincerely wish to become Czechs? Could they work to make Czechoslovakia strong against Hungary? Could they love Czech books, Czech songs, Czech culture? To do that would make them untrue to themselves, to all they had ever learned, to every tradition.

Take, the case of the Bulgarians in Rumania. Two hundred thousand of them live in a compact mass in Southern Dobruja, a little district taken from Bulgaria by Rumania in 1913. The Bulgarians consider this case of forcible annexation sheer robbery.

This comparatively small group of Bulgarians are mostly peasants, not active politically and not crusading nationalists. Furthermore, they aren't much of a factor in a land of 20,000,000 people. Nevertheless, for two decades and a half, Dobruja has been a major Balkan problem.

This little minority group has been between two fires. First, they were subjected to pressure and

abuse by the Rumanians. A part of their lands was taken away, most of their schools were closed, a policy of forcible Rumanianization was applied, political coercion of the crassest sort was practised upon them.

Bulgarian Issue

But there was, also, a barrage from the Bulgarian side. The Bulgarians in the homeland through Irredentist Societies, Dobruja Associations, revolutionary bands, songs, pamphlets, stories, and every other means, stirred up interest for Dobruja and incited the minority there to stand firm.

Macedonia is an even more notorious case of conflict among minorities—perhaps the most notorious in the world. Four full decades this land was a scene of terrible strife, of bloody conflicts, of physical warfare.

In Macedonia are Greek minorities, Bulgarian minorities, Albanian minorities, Serbian minorities, and Turkish minorities. Also a strange Rumanian minority. The area is now divided among four states, the greater part falling to Yugoslavia. It is the most unstable point in the Balkans. Most of the people here are peasants. Altogether they are only a million and a half in number, but they are under the fire of half a dozen rival states, claimed by everybody, exploited by everybody, repressed by everybody. Most of them feel as Bulgarians. But what they most desire is tranquillity, security, and a little prosperity.

The present geographical intermingling of races in this part of the world is due to struggles, continuing through more than twenty centuries. Such mosaics cannot be greatly altered without terrible perturbations. The principal change must come from an altered European spirit. The repression of minorities is more a result of power conflicts than a cause of them. Why aren't the 30,000 Swedes in Finland ill treated? Because Sweden and Finland are friends. That is the only fundamental solution.

Pre- and Post-Versailles Minorities

National minorities were one of the causes of the present war in Europe. Or better, they were both a cause and a pretext. Hitler used the presence of four or five million Germans in Czechoslovakia and Poland as a pretext for destroying two states which together had nearly 50,000,000 inhabitants.

Maps change so rapidly these days that it is hard to know who are minorities and who are majorities. But at the beginning of last year the national minorities in Europe almost equaled the total number of Americans living west of the Mississippi River. There were more minorities in Europe than there are Spaniards or Poles or Scandinavians.

But if there are that many minorities in Europe today, what must it have been like before the war? Then all the Poles, all the Czechs, all the Slovaks, all the Russians, half the Rumanians, all the Croats, all the Slovenes, half the Serbs, all the Finns, and many Italians were minorities. It is no exaggeration to say that there were at least twice as many minorities before Versailles as after it.

Hitler, within 12 months, has placed twice as many people in the position of minorities as did the Treaty of Versailles. And there is no assurance he is finished.

Jews in the World

The Jewish people in Europe are as a group being subject to fanatic attacks such as they seldom have suffered since the days of Jeremiah. Purges, concentration camps, the ghetto, typify this modern anti-semitism.

We present here approximate figures on the present world distribution of Jews:

United States	4,500,000
Canada	250,000
Latin America	500,000
Asia	250,000
Africa	500,000
Palestine	500,000
Russia	3,000,000
N. W. Europe	2,000,000
New Germany	1,000,000
Poland	3,200,000
Hungary	450,000
Rumania	800,000

There may be another 5,000,000 Jews distributed in the other countries of Europe.

Because of the recent partition of Poland, it is of great significance that Germany is thereby adding many hundreds of thousands of Jews to the already oppressed group within the Reich.

There has been some talk that Hitler would establish in his half of Poland what would be a dependent Jewish state where both Polish and German Jews could live—under Nazi rule.

Whatever were the other defects of the Treaty of Versailles one cannot doubt but that its settlement of minorities was better than the situation which preceded it or has followed it.

In all of Europe there are roughly about half a billion people. Of these only about 4,000,000 are Germans (after Poland), 3,000,000 Hungarians, and 1,000,000 Bulgarians are what might be called aggressively dissatisfied minorities. That makes about 10,000,000 out of over 500,000,000. That is less than 2 per cent.

But these minorities are like a defective rail in railroad mileage. The latter may cause serious trouble. The former have already turned the world upside down.

The present clouded situation, however, does not mean that there is no hope. Any permanent solution may be slow in coming. But there are signs that time and wisdom can do much to solve this vexing problem. France, for instance, has no burning minority problem. Neither have the northern countries. Ethnologically Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland are entirely stable. Belgium contains two ethnical elements, but the problem is not at all insoluble. Italy is incomparably nearer an ethnical equilibrium than a century ago. Balkan animosity is, after the terrible perturbations connected with the partitions of the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian empires, steadily moving towards assuagement.

Contours of a fairly stable European ethnical settlement are appearing. Practically the only unstable area now is Central Europe. The map of Europe that

Europe's 'Problem Children'

Minority figures change with every change in boundaries. They also appear to change depending upon the authority for them. We give the following figures on percentages for European countries, based on the last census or best available estimate as given in the Foreign Policy Headline Book, Number 19.

The recent division of Poland would wipe out the figure for Poland and alter those of Germany and Russia. Remember that in that division, whereas Stalin took Ukrainians and White Russians, Hitler took most of the Poles, adding greatly to the minority dynamite within the Third Reich.

	P. C.		P. C.
Belgium	.7	Hungary	16.9
Denmark	1.7	Yugoslavia	16.1
Italy	1.9	Baltics	18.9
France	8.5	Spain	21.4
Germany	9.4	Rumania	26.1
Greece	11.3	Poland	30.7
Finland	13.0	Turkey (Eur.)	40.3
Bulgaria	14.3	Russia	47.2
Albania	16.5		

will follow Hitler's day will very probably, with a minimum exchange of populations, appear with ethnical and political boundaries as nearly coinciding with minority claims as is possible.

Of course perfect boundaries are excluded. The omelets of ages cannot be unscrambled. Some over-lapping is unavoidable. But most nations will be able to live for the most part in states of their own, reducing at least one cause of strife.

Versailles was an improvement over former treaties; the next peace treaty may be—in fact must be—an improvement over Versailles.

Read On—

Human Dynamite—By Henry C. Wolfe; a Foreign Policy Association Headline Book, October, 1939.

An invaluable aid to one interested in minorities. It is small yet concise and complete, with an abundance of maps.

Calling America—A special number of the Survey Graphic for February containing the following pertinent articles:

1. Plight of a People by Marvin Lowenthal—Portrait of the persecuted Jews.
2. Minorities: Pawns of Power by Oscar Janowsky—Authoritative review of Europe's minorities.
3. Pluralism—the Swiss Solution by William E. Rappard. Story of how Switzerland has solved its minority problem.
4. "Minorities" in Our Midst by William Allan Neilson. A revelation of America's own minorities and problems.

Europe's Explosive Minorities—By Vera M. Dean in the New Republic for April 12, 1939.

The title explains the story. Europe's minorities are dynamite.

European Powder Fuses

This list of words, phrases and regions of explosive minority concern is intended to be thought-provoking and debate-stimulating. There is or has been dynamite in each one.

1. Pan Slavism.
2. Pan Germanism.
3. Anschluss.
4. Anti-semitism.
5. Plebiscite.
6. Drang nach Osten.
7. Self-determination.
8. Bleeding borders.
9. Protectorate.
10. Sudeten.
11. Vilna.
12. Memel.
13. Pomorze.
14. South Tyrol.
15. Ukraine.

Pan America: A Force in World Affairs

Fireside Series Key Is Informality

Current events given with the informality of fireside chats is the aim of this new Monitor series. It presents the biggest major countries and situations of the day, brought up to last-minute timeliness by cable, telephone, and radio.

The setting is a cheery, wood-paneled library with a warm fire crackling in the fireplace. Around it, comfortably settled in deep easy chairs and lounges, are a group talking part in the course.

Leader of this discussion period is VOLNEY D. HURN, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman speaks:

"Wide United States guarantees of security for North and South America, as mentioned in yesterday's discussion on the U. S. Foreign Policy, has brought up a number of questions on Pan Americanism. Pan America has been considered that territory from the northern United States boundary to the tip of South America. Now the insuring of that country comes under the famous Monroe doctrine, which in effect says the United States will prevent any foreign power from colonizing in its hemisphere. However, this doctrine from a practical defense point of view must include Canada. Now Canada is not part of Pan America as usually interpreted although as a free member of the British Commonwealth it is free to join up."

Question: "Why isn't Canada part of the Pan American group?"

Answer: "As largely a raw materials and agricultural country, Canada is somewhat like the South American nations. They have been brought close to the United States through trade. So has Canada. But between Canada and those nations there has been little intercourse. Remember that Canada's political and cultural relations are primarily with Britain, although she is coming closer to the Western Hemisphere."

Question: "But since Canada is

hinged to the United States on one side and the Pan American Nations hinged on the other, both being guaranteed by the United States, isn't it logical that a solid block be established made up of all three?"

Answer: "With the United States as the center, the dominant source of military power, you have all the effectiveness of such a solidity for defense purposes. But it is likely that with the attacks on democracy already making mental invasions into the Western hemisphere, these three groups may be brought into closer co-operation, which would be practically effected by Canada coming into Pan American affairs. It would be welcome."

Question: "Why has there been such distrust of the United States on the part of the South and Central American nations until recently?"

Answer: "Briefly it came from the United States trying to mind its neighbors' business instead of being a good neighbor. After the Spanish-American War the United States, in freeing Cuba, put through the Platt Amendment which made Cuba agree not to make treaties with any foreign powers which might threaten her independence, agree not to contract debts it could not pay back, consent to American intervention if order was disturbed, and other similar interferences with sovereignty. That cut into Latin American pride. Like the fears started in Europe once a dictator begins interfering with a small nation, Central and South America saw this as a first step towards domination of those countries. They knew the United States was so big it could easily overpower them. So they had the dislike which comes from fear of a potential bully."

Question: "That was pretty stiff, looking at it from 40 years later when that sort of imperialism is out of date among democratic nations. But surely a single incident was not the sole cause, was it?"

Answer: "No, probably as great

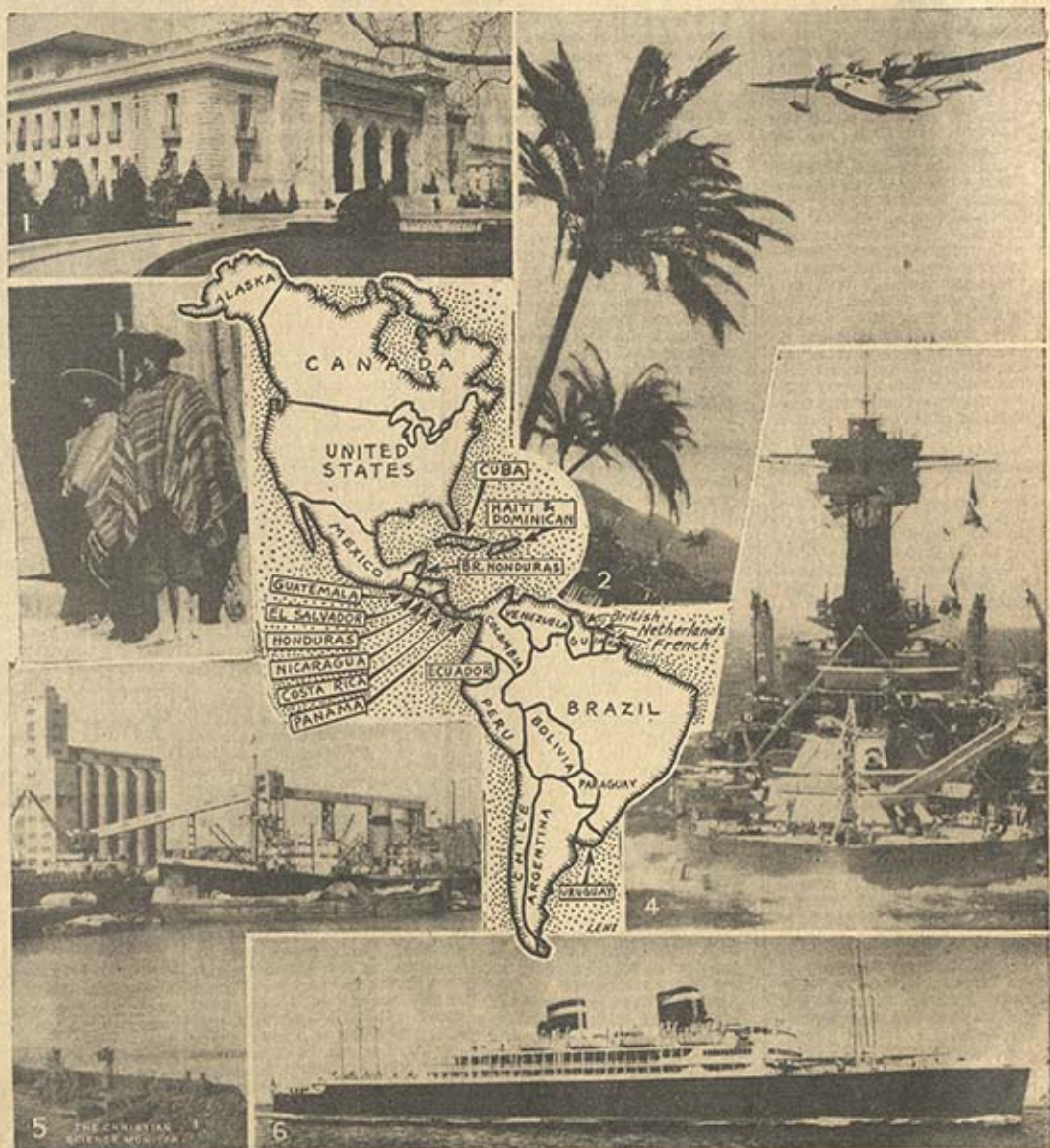
a cause of antagonism was the Panama incident. The United States had a treaty with Colombia permitting the cutting of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. In return it agreed to guarantee the sovereignty of Colombia forever. Years passed and no canal was built. The French tried to build one then and failed. Then the United States sought to buy up the French interests and start work. Colombia delayed in the negotiations. Suddenly Nov. 3, 1903, the Panamanians revolted from Colombian rule. Colombia sent troops to suppress it. When they got there they found, of all things, American warships on hand sent by President Theodore Roosevelt with instructions to prevent the Colombians from landing on their own soil! Naturally the rebels won hands down, proclaimed a new Republic and on May 6 the United States recognized it. Nov. 18 Panama and the United States signed a treaty giving rights for the building of a canal with United States control over territory or waters nearby it deemed necessary for support and protection.

"This set in motion alarm, indignation and fears which have been many years in slowing down, even though some years later a belated payment was made to Colombia. There were several other incidents of interference with sovereignty later, in the name of trade, which brought forth the phrase 'Dollar Diplomacy.' Since the World War there has been a steady effort to eliminate the causes of these fears and much progress has been made, particularly since the present Roosevelt Administration came in, in turning from minding the neighbors' business into being a good neighbor."

Question: "With the healing of this breach is there any chance of a Pan American Federation coming into being?"

Answer: "Our guest today, Roland Hall Sharp, the Monitor's specialist in Pan American affairs, will outline that situation for you on Page 15 just below."

North and South America Join Hands



Pan American Airways; Wide World; James Sawyers; Grace Linn

Six Units in the Pan-American Picture

(1) Center of friendly relations between the Americas is this Pan-American Building in Washington. (2) Symbol of the transportation ties that bind the Americas is this air clipper winging south. (3) These Peruvians pose beside a bit of South American architecture, counterparts of which are frequent in North America. (4) First-line battleships of the

United States are grim reminders of North America's protective attitude toward America de la Sud. (5) Unless the caption told you, it would be hard to tell whether this Buenos Aires waterfront scene was in South or North America. (6) Commerce between North and South America is carried by fleets of trim ships like this, the Santa Lucia.

Inter-American Federation: How Soon and How Far?

By Roland Hall Sharp

Simon Bolivar, South American Liberator, dreamed of a New World Federation more than a century ago. Ever since, his idea has caught the imagination of thinkers. Today as never before the 21 American Nations are examining their mutual interests to see how far they should go toward practical federation.

War in Europe and in Asia has had the immediate effect of driving the Americas closer together. Results of the Panama Consultations, just concluded among Foreign Ministers or their representatives, disclose a remarkable unity of thought and of action.

Whenever the independence or territorial integrity of any American Nation is threatened from outside the Western Hemisphere, all American Nations can be relied on to unite in resistance. They have their differences, much as any family does, but on one point they are agreed: It is all for one and one for all when external danger impends.

Nations so united possess already the substance of an effective federation. At least since the Montevideo Conference in 1933, the Americas have steadily subordinated internal differences to the larger ends of continental solidarity.

Unity of outlook is one thing, and the most important. Union of political organization is another thing. On the organizational side of federation the Americas proceed with great caution.

American League of Nations

Proposals for an American League of Nations have been advanced from time to time, without success. The latest effort occurred at the Eighth Pan American Conference in Lima last December.

Reasons for avoiding a political union are centered on the conviction that such a union, if it ever is to come, must be matured through all the prior stages of free co-operation. An immediate and obvious difficulty is that the United States stands alone in this hemisphere as regards power, population, re-

sources, and world influence, but might be outvoted 20 to 1 in certain forms of federation.

Mere disparity of size, however, need not hinder federation, as experiences of the United States prove. There is about the same relative difference in population between New York State and Nevada, or in area between Texas and Rhode Island, as there is between the United States and the smaller American Nations.

But there is this vital point: All members of the United States are relatively alike in cultural background, language, customs. A Texan can be spotted at once in a crowd of Down-Mainers, but they are all Americans. The Latin American is also American, and hastens to remind North Americans that they have no monopoly on use of the continental name. But in language, customs, and outlook, the Latins stand somewhat apart. However, just as the barriers between North and South, East and West, are lessened in the United States by increasingly rapid means of communication, so the three Americas are coming to know each other better.

Regional Groups Outlined

Within Latin America there are regional groups that only recently have come out of their geographical shells. Central America has tried for many years to form an operative federation without permanent success.

Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay center around the River Plate. Uruguay willingly goes along with Argentina, but Paraguay keeps its lines open toward Brazil.

Bolivia also inclines toward Brazil, but depends upon Argentina and Paraguay for its easiest outlets to the sea.

Chile stands somewhat alone beyond its Andean crests, but maintains cordial relations with all its neighbors despite some lingering disputes with Argentina, now seldom mentioned.

Peru and Ecuador on the west coast have not settled one of the few remaining boundary disputes

in the Americas. Only last year Bolivia and Paraguay settled their century-old Chaco quarrel by mediation after an exhausting war.

Colombia and Venezuela enjoy increasingly friendly relations. The trends toward co-operation in the Western Hemisphere are regional as well as continental and hemispherical. Shifts in events and pressures appear to determine the relative varying importance of these international forces.

Spanish Dominant Language

Eighteen of the 21 American Nations speak Spanish. They won independence from Spain early in the past century, and were all free about 1825. At that time Simon Bolivar, himself a Venezuelan, called the forerunner of Pan American Conferences. The Panama Congress met in 1826 with only a few countries represented.

Since Bolivar's initiative, the Pan American movement has gone up and down. Efforts of Spain to reconquer her lost colonies led to conferences at Lima in 1846 and 1864. Many other conferences were projected or held, usually with only regional attendance.

Through it all grew a structure of Inter-American law. At times, relations between the United States and the other nations were cordial; again, strained. Secretary of State Blaine in 1881 sponsored a meeting in Washington which was postponed until 1889 and then became the First Pan American Conference in the series still meeting every five years. The Eighth was in Lima. The Ninth is scheduled for 1942 in Bogotá, Colombia.

In Washington sits the Pan American Union, closest approach to a federation in the Americas. But the Union, with its Governing Board composed of one representative from each Nation, does not speak for a Super-State. The Union serves as a clearing house for information, prepares the technical details of Pan American Conferences, and publishes many useful reports. The closest approach so far to federal action comes in periodic conferences.

Thumbnail Sketches: Peoples of the Americas

Who are the human beings living and moving behind the cold statistics that add up to 250,000,000 people in the American Republics?

The largest single grouping is of course in the United States, about 130,000,000. Their doings are well known and widely publicized.

Less known are the Latin Americans, especially those who dwell remote on Andean plateaus or deep in Amazonian jungles. Even the refined cultures of Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and other splendid cities of Latin America, have not been fully appreciated by outsiders.

In swift cameo sketches, a few broad types of South and Central Americans:

The Spanish Strain

All of Latin America except Brazil and a few minor areas was colonized by the Spaniards in days of the Conquistadores. Today may still be found many families proud of their unbroken Spanish descent. These are the aristocrats who hold themselves consciously apart from the more numerous Latin Americans of mixed blood.

Yet there is no formal structure of royalty or near-royalty in Latin America. The most aristocratic shares to some extent the American view with its basic democracy.

Spanish traits of character adapted themselves easily to the New World. From Argentina to northern Mexico, excluding only the lush tropical zones—most of these in Portuguese Brazil—Latin American climate and the arid mountains and plains resemble those of Spain itself.

All of the Spanish-Latin Americans are not high aristocrats. Some are moderately prosperous business men, rancheros, and alcaldes, or mayors. They are usually genial, enjoy companionship and comfortable living, and extend a ready hospitality to the stranger who enters their country. There is also at times suspicion of foreigners' aims, growing from centuries of economic imperialism from outside. Of late years, most Latin Americans have resented and curbed efforts of alien, anti-democratic ideologies to make inroads.

The Portuguese Strain

Brazil covers half the area of the continent of South America. Strictly speaking, South America begins only at the southern end of the Isthmus of Panama. Latin America is the name for all the countries south of the United States, including South America.

Brazil's population is also next to that of the United States. Among the 47,000,000 Brazilians are found those who proudly maintain their Portuguese descent, but Brazil is perhaps the world's greatest melting pot today. All races have

been taken in and mingled to form the evolving Brazilian type.

Cultured Brazilians are delightful people. They share a milder temper than the Spaniards. More easy-going, less inclined to cruelty, shrinking from bloodshed even in their revolutions, the Brazilian can quickly be spotted in a crowd of Latin Americans.

Creoles

Everywhere in Latin America there are many creoles, or those of mixed descent. Argentina prides itself on having kept the Spanish strain largely unbroken, but your friend in Buenos Aires with the suave Spanish manner and the Oxford accent admits there is some Indian in his background.

Countries of Latin America differ sharply in the extent of their creole populations. Argentina is at one extreme. Mexico and Brazil are possibly at the other, with a large proportion of their peoples creole. Bolivia, Venezuela, and Nicaragua are others.

Creoles generally face no insuperable class distinction. Their rise is usually conditioned by economic factors rather than social. Latin America is class conscious in varying degrees, with a minimum in Brazil and a maximum in Argentina, Colombia, and other countries where the pure Spanish strain prevails.

Indians

Mexico prides itself upon being an Indian country. The Mexican Revolution of 1910, still the governmental model, is dedicated to returning Mexico to its original owners.

Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, are other countries where Indians in native costume live their daily lives much as they did before the Spaniards came. In brilliant colors they transform the Andean and Central American highlands into a world apart.

Still generally underprivileged, the Indians are not kept on reservations as in the United States, but mingle in the work

of cities and countryside. All of the women are spinners. Many are weavers and craftsmen. Most are assigned the lot of hewers of wood, drawers of water, and beasts of burden.

The jungle or river Indian is a type apart, unlike the high mountain and plateau Indian. Dressed in a simple hanging gown or loincloth, he carries a pouch, bow and arrows, or blow-gun. He is a boatman of necessity, for the jungle rivers are his easiest means of transport over long distances.

European Immigrants

It is estimated that one-third or possibly one-half of the Argentines are of Italian lineage. But they are largely assimilated. Chile and Brazil have had large immigrations. Some colonies, or Germans, Japanese, and Near Easterners, tend to resist assimilation.

Many a Chilean looks at you with his clear blue Scottish eyes and tells you how he loves Chile. For generations he has been Chilean, while keeping the European racial traits.

Pan...isms

Pan Americanism: The movement that stresses commercial, economic, social, and political co-operation among the republics of the three Americas.

Pan Hispanism: Racially and because of language Spain has an interest in her former colonies. This emphasis of a common heritage of the New and Old World Spanish nations is called Pan Hispanism.

Pan Iberianism: This movement is but an extension of Pan Hispanism to include the Brazilians who are mainly Portuguese. It would tie all of South America to Europe's Iberian peninsula culturally, economically and even politically.

Pan Latinism: Movement that would tie Latin Americans to Europe's Latin culture, particularly that of France.

Pan American Pendulum

- 1820 Henry Clay sets forth principles of Pan Americanism.
- 1823 Monroe Doctrine closes Americas to colonization and intervention by European powers.
- 1826 Simon Bolivar calls conference of American nations at Panama.
- 1846 Mexican War causes South Americans to become apprehensive of United States policy.
- 1859 U. S. takes lead in reviving Pan Americanism by calling conference at Washington.
- 1898 Spanish-American War which gave the United States Puerto Rico and protectorate over Cuba, plus the Philippines, causes wide distrust of

- the United States by the Latin Americans.
- 1903 Teddy Roosevelt "takes" Panama and arouses the indignation of all Latin America.
- 1904 Teddy Roosevelt shakes "Big Stick" in his Congressional message enunciating the "Roosevelt Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine.
- 1913 Wilson disclaims further conquest by the United States and suggests a League of American states.
- 1916 Pershing heads punitive expedition into Mexico.
- 1933 Franklin Roosevelt dedicates the U. S. to the policy of the "Good Neighbor."
- 1936 Buenos Aires peace conference.

Imperialism: Its How, Why, and Wherefore

Fireside Series Key Is Informality

Current events given with the informality of fireside chats is the aim of this new Monitor series. It presents the biggest major countries and situations of the day, brought up to last-minute timeliness by cable, telephone, and radio.

The setting is a cheery, wood-paneled library with a warm fire crackling in the fireplace. Around it, comfortably settled in deep easy chairs and lounges, are a group taking part in the course.

Leader of this discussion period is VOLNEY D. HURN, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"The British Empire, the French Empire, the Dutch Empire, the German Empire—the Empires of Rome, Persia, Charles the Fifth, Charlemagne! You have asked about Imperialism. These are some of the empires that have contributed to the meaning of that word.

"The search for empire, the expansion of empire, has been like a restless sea, when weighed in the long stretches of history. Forces pushing and pulling, powers rising and falling. It's a continuing process and each change made news in its day as it does today.

"For a basic approach let's take the earth as a whole, to start the discussion. Its total land area is estimated at about 51,000,000 square miles divided up into six continents. Europeans or Westerners dominate five of these continents and exert marked influence on the sixth. Now note this point. These 'whites,' for want of a better general term, hold 85 per cent of the earth's surface! That is largely the result of imperialism down through the centuries."

Question: "When you speak of 'whites' do you mean primarily Anglo-Saxons?"

Answer: "No, although the publicity attending the Anglo-Saxon holdings might suggest that. Actually, out of 43½ million square miles dominated by 'whites' 15,876,

000 fall to the Anglo-Saxons, 15,857,000 to the Latins, 8,515,659 to the Slavs and 1,334,837 to the Teutonic peoples. In other words, the Anglo-Saxons control nearly two fifths of all the territory in the hands of white men and a third of the whole earth. Since they are decidedly fewer than 200 million in number, that means less than a tenth of the people dominate a third of the earth."

Question: "Well, that certainly looks like proof of the sinister imperial planning that has been charged to the Empire Builders. Was there some basic rule of empire expansion used to bring this about?"

Answer: "It really is not as sinister as it looks. After a series of events it's easy to tie them all together and look for some 'mastermind' to have planned it all. Human existence is not as simple nor men as clever as that. Most of this imperial expansion came about through a series of unrelated, private ventures.

"Consider America. A variety of colonists went there. None planned a United States. Least of all did the British King plan it. But in time a union appeared. Now it in turn had no definite plan of westward expansion—but groups of individuals pressed westward, some to find gold, some to sell furs, others to acquire farms, others to raise stock and many to win freedom."

Question: "There apparently was no aggressive government in that picture. Yet imperialism is the history of aggressive governments, isn't it?"

Answer: "Again we can't oversimplify. Some states took the initiative while others merely accepted what individuals had seized."

Question: "What sort of individuals were these who seized land for their governments?"

Answer: "You may be sure they were mostly adventurous. Back of that was the driving force of desire—desire for markets, for glory, for plunder, for investments and for

power. Capitalists took a prominent part but shared the initiative with soldiers, sailors, explorers and politicians."

Question: "Tell us about some specific cases?"

Answer: "Well, take Columbus, for instance. Now he was not a Spaniard but his personal determination and genius brought about the discovery of America and enabled the empire of Spain to claim a new world.

"A little later the daring Portuguese, Vasco da Gama, found the India which Columbus missed and thereby gained for Portugal a monopoly of Oriental trade and colonization that lasted a century. That period was one of irrepressible Latin vitality. Before it was expended the people of the Iberian peninsula had left an impression on four continents that still abides."

Question: "When did the Dutch empire start?"

Answer: "After the Latins. The Dutch went east, pushed out the Portuguese, seized the South Asian trade and for more than a century remained masters. But toward the end of the 18th century they were forced to make way for the French and British who have been the world's chief colonizers ever since. Often in conflict, now they co-operate.

"France has gained more territory during the last six decades than Great Britain. Most of the British Commonwealth is older than the French Empire and it accumulated, piece by piece, in a rather unofficial way."

Question: "Haven't empires contributed to world stability and the improvement of under-privileged persons?"

Answer: "There is no doubt much good has been done—and today we have the good fortune to have Mr. Gilbert Murray with us to sharply point up the question of empire and the good it can do. Also the implied responsibility which comes with acquiring wealth and power, a responsibility which made Britain a world policeman for many years."

Empires That Have Come—And Gone



By a Staff Artist; courtesy D. Appleton Century Company

R. LEHR

The Tides of Empire Have Swept the World for Ages

These three Eastern and three Western Empires are only a few among the dozens that have shone for varying periods of times throughout the centuries. In their time they seemed indestructible. But where are they today?

Empire: A Sober Duty and a Great Challenge

By Gilbert Murray

I mistrust all these words in "ism." They never have a clear meaning and are always intended to create prejudice. If you dislike somebody or something you add an "ism" to their name and thereby suggest that the whole system of thought or policy composed of that person or things has objectionable qualities. Who understands what is meant by "Capitalism" or "Hitlerism" except that both words are intended to be abusive?

Let us for a moment forget prejudice and consider what an "imperial" attitude towards world affairs must naturally be; that is, an attitude suited to an empire. An empire is defined by a famous Yale professor in the Century Dictionary as "an aggregate of conquered colonized or confederate states each with its own government subordinate or tributary to that of the empire as a whole."

It seems clear that empires, like most other human institutions, are mixtures of good and evil. "Conquered states" and "tributary states" aren't pleasant to think of. There are cases where conquest of some very lawless or inefficient tribe or nation was in the general interest of mankind. It was a good thing that Rome put down pirates; probably a good thing that the Red Indians in America and the aborigines in Australia were made subject to the white man, though abominable crimes and cruelties were committed in process.

"Glory of Conquest" Wicked

But desire for conquest in itself, the notion that a war of conquest is "glorious" and that the way for a king or a government to acquire the admiration of the world is to carry fire and slaughter into the territories of their weaker neighbors, is on one hand a belief deeply rooted in human history and attested by innumerable statues and monuments in all capital cities of the world and on the other hand a belief now recognized not merely as inhu-

manly wicked but as destructive to all civilized society.

Of course there always has been a protest against it. Greek poets and philosophers protested that war was a crime while Alexander wept with disappointment because there was no world left to conquer. And conversely there are still moral backwaters wherein war is considered a noble pursuit and conquest a glory. One need only read Mussolini's speeches about Abyssinia and Spain and Nazi school-books on history and even on mathematics. And of course nations that are now most profoundly and perhaps self-righteously pacifist have all had their times of war-lust and predatory conquest.

The last effort of the old military imperialism in Great Britain was no doubt the Boer War of 1899 to 1902. Whatever excuses may be made for it that war and the policy which led up to it did shock opinion of Europe and a great part of Britain. It was bitterly opposed by a liberal minority. The government responsible for it was thrown out of office soon as it was over. The new government granted its conquered enemies the most liberal unimperialistic peace conceivable. Boer leaders were soon afterwards welcomed into the councils of the British Cabinet.

Britain Learns by Trials

This process of national education has been continuous. When Great Britain advocated the Covenant of the League of Nations it was not either making hypocritical professions or executing a right about turn in policy. In Britain aggressive imperialism is dead.

But there are other elements of imperialism, much larger and more interesting and at the same time much less understood. "A great aggregate of confederate nations each with its own government": That is a fair description of the British Empire or as it's now called British Commonwealth. An aggregate of nations not exactly federated but united by common sympathy, common allegiance and the

habit of taking counsel together. Never in history has there been such a free "empire." Britain has had the power to learn. She's learned by her failure in America, her failure in Ireland and by mistakes in India.

But there is another problem of empire more important than all. Great Britain has been for about a century the greatest power in the world. She has kept the law; maintained Pax Britannica. No smaller nation with remote possessions such as Holland or Portugal has ever feared that Britain would rob her of them.

Will Critics Relieve Britain?

Complaints made now against Great Britain aren't that she has been aggressive; their burden is that she didn't fulfill various dangerous duties which weren't expected from any other nation. "She failed to defend China; failed to defend Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia, Albania. Shame upon her explanation." But so did every other nation and no one thinks of blaming them. Britain alone has been expected to protect the weak throughout the world and stand up for righteousness everywhere. Had she been stronger or better supported by other nations she could have done it.

The truth is that the long experience of empire has taught Britain a sense of almost world-wide responsibility. If there is slave raiding in Africa or piracy in the Yellow Sea, or buoys in the Persian Gulf badly placed, Great Britain at once has to see to it. While Britain is the world leader such duties are a part of Pax Britannica. So is the prevention of war.

Alas! The old world leader is now weakened and wounded. There is another power stronger and richer and fitted by her moral outlook to share or even to take over the place of world leader. But she is not yet accustomed to her great position. She prefers to sit back like second class nations with no responsibilities and complain that the work is not done.

Pioneers in Empire Building

Christopher Columbus

Columbus launched the period of modern imperialism by discovering there were new worlds to conquer, and by encouraging daring men to find new roads to old worlds.

He was born at Genoa in Italy about 1450. Became a sailor at 14. Spent 13 years trying to find a ruler ready to furnish him money, ships, and sailors for a voyage to China. April 17, 1492 the Spanish sovereigns concluded an agreement with him and gave him a letter of introduction to the Emperor of China. Friday, August 3, 8 a. m., Columbus sailed away with three little ships and 88 sailors. On another Friday, Oct. 12, at two in the morning, he sighted land—not China, but a little island east of Florida.

Vasco da Gama

Da Gama, Portuguese (1469-1524), made a voyage of more immediate practical benefit than that of Columbus. He first sailed around Africa and found a waterway to the riches of the East. With four vessels and 160 men he left Lisbon on July 8, 1497 and reached Calcutta May 20, 1498. He opened the road to spices, gold, and silken garments, to fables and to dreams.

Ferdinand Magellan

Magellan, a Portuguese (1480-1521), found the sea road Columbus sought, but it proved vastly longer than he anticipated. On Sept. 20, 1519, with five vessels, this Portuguese in service of the Spanish Emperor, left Spain on the greatest voyage of all the sailors of all the seas. A year and a day later he entered the strait leading around South America. It took him 38 days to get through it; speed 10 miles a day. Nov. 28 he pointed his fleet, now only three vessels, into the unknown Pacific, and kept on sailing for 100 days.

Imperial Notes

	Square miles of land
The whole world	51,116,000
Self-governing areas	35,827,000
Colonies	14,311,000
International areas	978,000

Imperialism is not exclusively a modern development and is by no means due to capitalism. It has existed from the beginning of recorded history.

Almost every religion, every economic system, every form of government has adapted itself to imperialism. Republican Athens was once as imperialistic as Absolutist Persia; Christian England as Mohammedan Turkey; Protestant Holland as Clerical Spain; revolutionary Napoleon as reactionary Louis; Comrade Stalin may make their Majesties, the Romanoffs, seem modest.

Our Guest Speaker

Gilbert Murray, our guest today, is among the foremost scholars in England. Born in Australia, he left there aged 11 for England. He has been a professor at Oxford and Harvard Universities, is an outstanding liberal and a leader of the intellectual group which seeks collective security. An expert on empire and international government, he is a direct and vigorous commentator. Quickly responding to a cable from the Fireside Chairman, he sent his comment on Fireside page 23 by Press Wireless in time for today's discussion.

lacking two, when exhausted and almost starved, he reached Guam. The intrepid sailor was killed a little later in the Philippines, but one of his ships, *Victoria*, completed the voyage, arriving in Spain three years, lacking two weeks, after it had left. It was the first ship to circumnavigate the earth.

Robert Clive

Of the many noted Britishers, responsible for giving England control over India, the most spectacular was Baron Robert Clive of Plassey (1725-1774).

Clive was a genius, both as a soldier and organizer. Fighting both the French and the Indians, always against enormous odds, he won a vast empire for his country.

Henry Stanley

Sir Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904), a noted journalist, who might almost be said to have launched modern imperialism in Africa.

At 26 he greatly distinguished himself as war correspondent in Abyssinia. He added to his fame by discovering Livingstone in Africa. He went back and explored the Congo. He soon became representative of King Leopold of Belgium and his activity enabled Belgium to obtain control of a territory 80 times as large as the home country.

Who Controls What?

Today's empires. How large are they, and how many persons do they include? A Foreign Policy Association Headline Book provides the following table, with small variations to include Germany's recent acquisitions, which answers these questions:

	Area sq. mi.	Population	Area of Colonies sq. mi.	Population of Colonies
U. Kingdom	94,000	46,500,000	12,100,000	470,000,000
France	212,000	42,000,000	4,300,000	65,000,000
Italy	120,000	43,000,000	1,400,000	10,000,000
Japan	143,000	70,000,000	174,000	35,000,000
Netherlands	13,200	2,500,000	700,000	65,000,000
Belgium	11,800	8,300,000	948,000	12,000,000
Portugal	23,500	7,300,000	810,000	9,300,000
Germany	350,000	184,000,000	None	None
Pre-war Ger.	310,000	67,300,000	1,100,000	13,000,000
Un. States	3,600,000	130,000,000	712,000	15,700,000

Cecil Rhodes

Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902), was one of the greatest of great English adventurers, statesmen, colonizers. At 17 he went to Africa. At 19 he was a millionaire. He returned to England to study, but soon settled permanently in South Africa, to which he gave his warm devotion, rich imagination, and vast energy. Forming a colonizing company, he eventually obtained control over a territory nearly five times as large as the United Kingdom, now called Rhodesia. He did more than any one man to provide a solid Cape-to-Cairo area, joining South Africa by an inland route with the Mediterranean.

Jean Marchand

Major Jean Baptiste Marchand (1863-1934), a very bold and gallant Frenchman, who was disappointed. One of the most appealing of all imperial explorers.

As Rhodes and other Britishers worked with all their might to create a north-south road for Britain through Africa, Marchand and other Frenchmen worked to create an east-west road. Naturally, the rival groups had to clash some place. It was in the center, at the tiny town of Fashoda. Marchand, after traveling at remarkable speed through unexplored jungles, got there first, 1898, and hoisted the French flag. He showed a red light to the English explorers. France had its corridor.

But Kitchener was not far away and he had a big army. Behind him, also, was England. London peremptorily told Paris to withdraw the doughty major. A world war seemed imminent. But Paris appeared. And Marchand sadly marched home. In spite of that, France holds more of Africa than Great Britain.

Read On—

Readers of this course will find the following list of books useful as sources of detailed information on this current topic.

Books

Imperialism and World Politics—By Parket T. Moon, 1926.

A valuable work on the effect of imperial policies on world politics and international relations.

The Balance Sheet of Imperialism—By Gover Clark, 1936.

An indispensable work of reference, filled with valuable data on colonies.

The Diplomacy of Imperialism—William L. Langer, 1935.

An authoritative and scholarly work on the subject in two volumes.

Atlas of Empire—J. F. Horrabin, 1939.

A basic primer for students of imperialism, containing maps showing the colonial possessions of the great powers.

How a famous phrase—"the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'"—was given to the language of diplomacy

READING TIME • 9 MINUTES 5 SECONDS

TWO years ago Colonel House, writing in *Liberty*, divided the nations of the world into "haves" and "have-nots." Today it is hardly possible to open a newspaper without finding some reference to that trenchant phrase. Editors, statesmen, heads of nations adopt it because it succinctly describes the menace to world peace arising from the unequal possession of the world's raw materials and territorial possessions. England controls one fourth of the globe; Russia one seventh. The French colonies far exceed the area of France. Portugal, Belgium, and Holland—three small countries—control enormous colonial territories. Is it surprising that great countries with insufficient sources of raw materials—the "have-nots" among nations—covet their neighbors' possessions? Is it possible to adjust this problem without the sword? Colonel House not merely posed the question; he also proposed a remedy.

If Woodrow Wilson had heeded the advice of Colonel House in 1918, America—for better or for worse—would be a member of the League of Nations, and the League would not be the impotent thing that it is today. If the rulers of the world had heeded the advice of Colonel House given them in *Liberty* in the issue of September 14, 1935, there would be no miniature World War in Spain, and no threat of another world-wide conflagration in China.

What was the message of Colonel



House entrusted to *Liberty*, which may well be known as the "House Doctrine" to history? "Just as social peace cannot prevail without some adjustment of the capitalistic system, so," Woodrow Wilson's other self averred, "international peace cannot be preserved without drastic territorial readjustments. Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States must receive Italy, Germany, and Japan on terms adjusted to present world conditions and recognize their insistence upon being given their proper part of the colonial resources of the world. Chaos

and catastrophe will be upon us unless those that have among the Powers are willing to share in some way with those that have not."

"Germany," the Colonel went on to explain, "will be dissatisfied until she regains what the exile in Doorn has called her 'place in the sun.' The tension in Europe will lead to new disasters unless the imperial urge of Mussolini has the opportunity to spend itself on African soil. Japan will see red until her crying needs are acknowledged. The four Powers possessing the world—Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States

New Frontiers: Plenty of Adventure Ahead

An informal group weighs today's news and its meaning. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HURD, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"Many of you have spoken about frontiers in the past few weeks—as answers to pressing world problems. So we are taking that subject for today. The present depression in the United States has been blamed by many as due to the fact that there are no more frontiers—that the United States prospered and grew only so long as there were new lands to take over and develop.

"In Europe the cry for colonies has been one of frontiers, in a sense. The action of aggressor nations—of industrialized 'have-not' nations—taking over more primitive countries, or seeking to, is an expression of the frontier idea, the development of undeveloped areas. In this way is seen a solution of expanding populations and the need for bigger markets."

Question: "You admit of expanding populations and the need for expanding markets. Obviously the frontiers are nearly at an end. Then isn't the United States and the rest of mankind nearing its potential end of expansion?"

Answer: "No. So far I have dealt only with land frontiers, the simple frontiers of the soil. They can come to an end. But there are frontiers which will never end because their measurement is infinity. Let's look beyond the merely material conception of land. Let's think of area as not only horizontal but vertical. In other words let's explore mentally."

Question: "Just what do you mean by 'mental frontiers'?"

Answer: "All the luxury of living you know today came from invention and research—from men who looked beyond what they had at hand. They developed new mental points of view and these in turn

evolved new industries, taking care of expanding populations and providing new markets. That is how our complex civilization of today came into being, giving far richer living than people could conceive of 50 to 100 years ago.

"These men were as surely pushing back frontiers as their forefathers who pushed on physically into the woods and plains, hewing out new homes, farms and communities. These research workers took care of the expanding populations and markets you mentioned in a way mere land-seekers could never have foreseen."

Question: "Mr. Hurd, weren't these mental frontiers the result of the industrial revolution of the past 100 years? Then if so, judging from the depression, isn't this about played out and this new period of mental frontier discovering drawing to a close?"

Answer: "The research workers of the world feel that we have only touched the surface of possibilities up to now. They speak in tones of authority, not speculation. They show that in all history people have tended to think that what they had at the moment was the end of progress."

"Today there are hundreds of natural scientists working on pure research without seeking any special objective except to satisfy their curiosity. Some people call this useless knowledge. Yet from just such useless work by Maxwell and Hertz grew radio, put into use by Marconi years after these men had worked out their findings."

Question: "How about the research for actually applying this sort of knowledge?"

Answer: "That is going ahead by leaps and bounds. In the United States Fortune estimated that in 1927 industrial research was costing American concerns \$72,000,000 while today they are spending \$180,000,000 or better. That's a lot of money. In every variety of busi-

ness the manufacturers realize that their new frontiers, their new markets, are to be the fruits of invention. The result of these developments will be actual labor shortages in many instances in skilled help, yet at the same time giving us luxury consumer goods at much lower than present prices. Thus a standard of living far beyond what we have now is foreseen in the future."

Question: "What are some of the new ideas being worked out?"

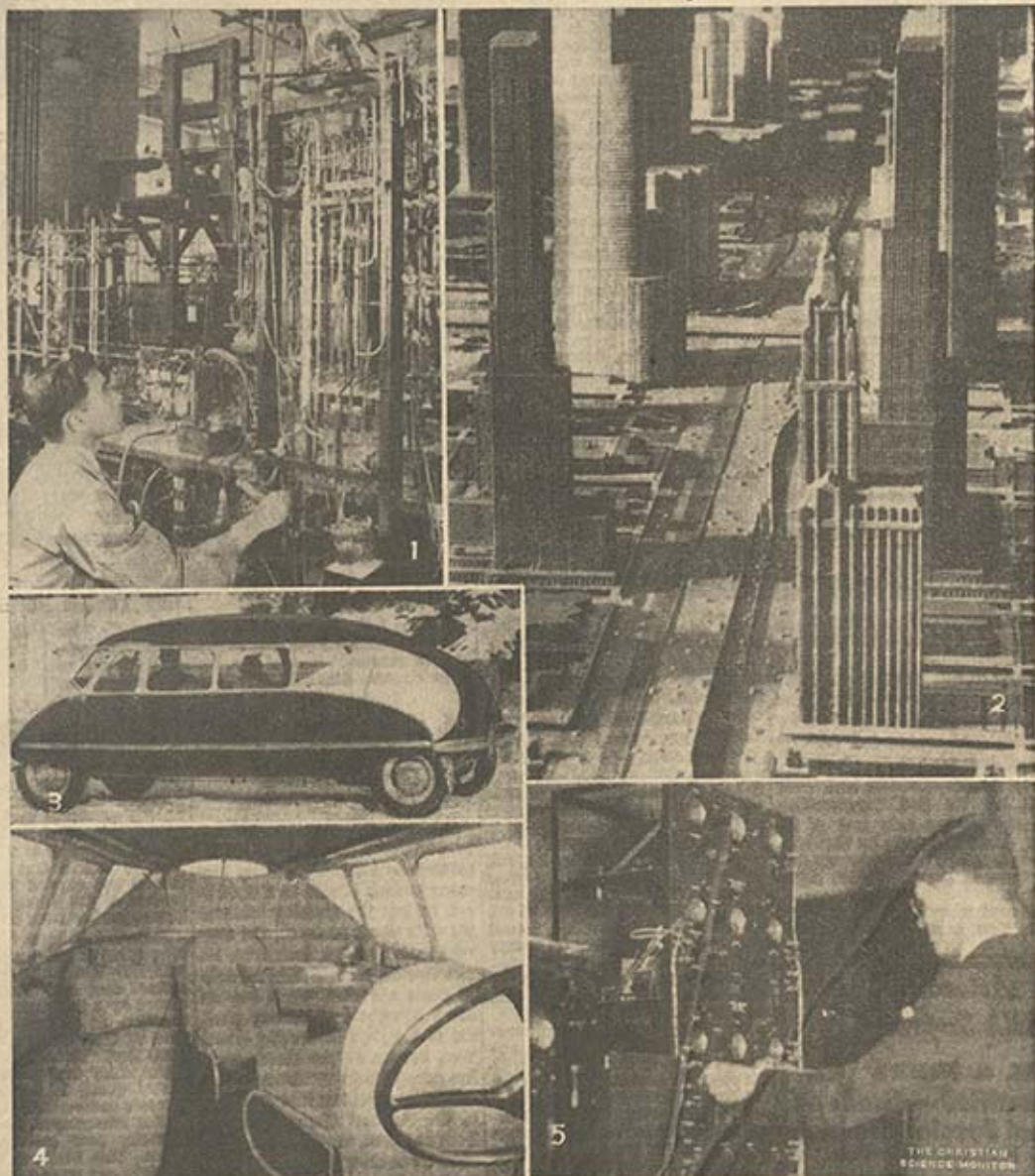
Answer: "'Silk' stockings from coal, cloth from glass, the cleaning of air in the home electrically, and fluorescent lighting—tubes of cool light giving much more illumination for the same power than our present bulbs. These are all actually on the market today, just beginning their careers. Then there is radiant heating—heating such as you get from a fireplace. By sending out beams of heat people can be perfectly warm in a room in which the thermometer reads 40. The air doesn't dry up and the 'fireplace' heat is of course much more comfortable. This is just one of dozens of interesting developments underway."

Question: "Then Germany and the other nations must have new frontiers like this available, too?"

Answer: "Yes, indeed. Germany particularly has a wonderful research setup. Once it is directed into finding new frontiers instead of being turned to war purposes for the breaking down of old frontiers, it should go far and bring Germany that better life she is so capable of enjoying."

"And for our guest speaker today we have one of the most interesting men in research today, a pioneer all-metal airplane designer and air line operator, designer among other things of streamline Pullman cars, motor-in-rear cabin type automobiles, three-room folding trailers and small low cost homes—William B. Stout, on Fireside Page 143."

The Future as Those With Eyes See It



Courtesy Bell Telephone Laboratories; Wide World

Tomorrow Originates in the Research Laboratory

(1) A researcher in the Bell Telephone Laboratories analyzing gas from specimen of evacuated graphite. (2) Today's skyscraper in tomorrow's city—or, the Woolworth Building as it would look plumped down in Norman Bel Geddes' City of Tomorrow. (3) The Stout car, called the Scarab, because of

its odd exterior. (4) Looking aft in the interior of the Scarab, showing the provisions for comfort of the passengers. (5) Research activity inside the Cruik Laboratory, Harvard University. Multiply by thousands the thoughts that produced the subjects of these pictures for an idea of what is coming.

Research: Key to Pushing Back Mental Frontiers

By William B. Stout

The future of the world is being determined by research.

The days of mere opinions and beliefs without the backing of actualities are fast receding. This, I say, in spite of the fact that today emotionalism and manufactured laws are attempting to take over the world's future. Nevertheless, in every country today, the future of that civilization, without exception, depends upon research, or lack of it.

If the world be, for the present, based on war, then that war will be won, eventually, by those countries whose research and study to discover laws brings them new mechanical, scientific or industrial achievements in the matter of machines for making war.

These nations, when the war is over, will use this research in the development of the next stage, which will be, we hope, a friendly industrial war for trade and in this contest that nation whose research has enabled it to build the best airplanes and engines, the best radios, the best motor vehicles, roads, houses and myriads of other human details will be the nation which will win.

German Research

The World War found the United States with very little research going on and all scientific products coming from abroad. Germany had a practical monopoly in the chemical and dye industries, in instrumentation, cameras, optics, etc. France had the styles and the so-called elite productions. England was the money center and the banking focus in the World War. Rayon and cellulose fibers had not yet been discovered, nor a thousand other things which have since become a part of everyday living.

When the war came, however, we were forced into this research. The chemical foundations took over foreign patents. Millions were spent in order to enable us to make things which we otherwise could not have, until, through the du Ponts and other sources, America, today, leads the world in chemical research,

coal tar research, the chemistry of gasoline and oils, and on through every item of production—both mechanical and synthetic—which puts this country in the forefront of the world's commercial and human progress.

Paris, as a style center, has moved to Hollywood; and Fort Knox, as a stymied impotent gold mine, has brought the money center from London to this country where all aggressor nations may look at its unprotected wealth, a veritable temptation for "have-not" countries.

Government Activity

The United States has not laid down the keel of a capital ship since the first World War and cannot, in time, build the Navy that might be required to protect itself from what could come. Its research, however, in government centers at Langley Field, the Bureau of Standards, and related laboratories throughout the country is outstanding and has put this country in the forefront of all airplane and aerodynamic development. Its engines are unsurpassed by any country in the world, all publicity to the contrary. Now this is all due to research and the study of the laws which were here long before man began to try to make his own.

This airplane production and volume and accuracy, together with the adventurous spirit of the American people, is the great defense of this continent in keeping any other nation from interfering with our

peace and prosperity on these shores.

But the United States must be streamlined, brought up-to-date and arranged so that everything is used to forward the better situation of every man. And the greatest incentive toward the brotherhood of man and the bringing of all comforts to everyone is the American development of quantity production of goods at low costs, with high wages obtained through volume production, which is only possible when everybody is able to buy the product at that quantity price. This means also the distribution of the wealth which industry makes, which is not a question of man-made law, but of actual necessity, if the firm manufacturing the product is to exist.

Need for Research

Thus, through industry, we are coming in research to solve many of the human problems which Communism, Nazism, and ignorant reformers are all aiming at and attempting to solve by their man-made ideas, instead of following these ideas which research has already uncovered.

The next step toward a new type of Government in the world will be the establishment of research centers for the actual study of different types of Government and set-ups, so that actualities may be put to use—for the future of the world's civilization is still safe—in the hands of the engineer and research worker.

Read On—

The U. S. Frontier—Articles in September and October issues of *Fortune*, 1939.

The solving of economic problems pictured as resting on new technologies, research, invention, experimentation.

The Usefulness of Useless Knowledge—by Abraham Flexner in *Harpers*, October, 1939.

Examples of apparently unimportant discoveries that have later revolutionized various fields of activity.

Take a Look at the Future—by G. Edward Pendray, in the *Reader's Digest*, July, 1939, condensed from *The North American Review*.

The real revolution in the affairs of mankind is being born in the laboratories, not at the dictators' council tables.

The Challenge of Our New Frontiers—Editorial note in *The Reader's Digest* for September, 1939, to article by Arthur Bartless.

America's social frontiers and story of a few of the pioneers.

Refugees: The War Makes Assets of Some

Our setting is a wood-paneled library. Before a crackling fire sit a group in comfortable chairs, talking informally. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HURD, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"Probably no subject has touched people more deeply in the past few years than that of refugees. The Hitler anti-Semitic drives spotlighted the subject—yet there are many other refugees, too, springing from a world that has been in chaos since the World War started in 1914.

"The start of the present war alters the refugee picture. Several of you have asked how—so let's discuss it today. First we find that war's great demand for manpower is having an immediate easing effect. For instance, the German Government has been advertising rewards, restoration of property and immunity from persecution to certain Jews now refugees in border countries. The men sought are primarily technicians and medical doctors—for Germany, in the midst of war, finds she needs every person of this sort she can get. This is really a reversal of the tide on a small scale. The closing of frontiers on all sides has automatically stopped further emigration of Jews from Germany. Finally, and a most interesting fact, refugee experts tell us that a high percentage of refugees from Germany would prefer to remain and live there, despite discrimination against them, rather than seeking new homes in the outside world."

Question: "What about the German refugees in those temporary camps in England and other places? What effect will the war have on them?"

Answer: "They are a problem on which the best thought is working. Some 30,000 are camped in Belgium, the Netherlands, France and England—expecting to move on to

countries of permanent settlement."

Question: "What refugees are aided by the war in countries other than Germany?"

Answer: "Take the case of thousands of Spanish refugees in France. Most of them are experienced soldiers. They fill a great need for manpower on the part of the French and have been taken into the famous Foreign Legion in quantities. France and her army are further gainers in the case of thousands of Czech soldiers who escaped when Germany marched. Reaching France by devious routes they will be eventually incorporated in the French Army. The same might be said of the Poles who escaped into Rumania. Thousands of these troops should eventually reach France one way or another to be taken into the French Army. Now these are striking cases of where refugees are assets rather than liabilities."

Question: "But what about these men after the war if they can't go home? Isn't their problem just being set aside for the moment?"

Answer: "For an answer let's consider one of France's biggest problems—that is the falling birth-rate. France's population is showing a decrease instead of an increase. Now the right kind of immigration can offset this. Take the Spanish, Czech and Polish men who have come into France as strong individuals who have survived warfare and flight. They could stay in France after the war and become Frenchmen."

Question: "What may happen after the war, other than this French situation, if there is an Allied victory?"

Answer: "Well, what with the terrific problem minorities have turned out to be we may assume a new and greater effort to avoid as many minorities as possible. This may call for the strenuous method of minority transfers. You will recall in our Fireside discussion of minorities that this is not always

so easy, especially where deeply-rooted peasants are concerned."

Question: "And what, then, about the German Jewish refugee problem?"

Answer: "With an Allied victory Germany would not be permitted to force a racial group against its will onto an unwilling outside world. That does not mean that the exodus of Jews will not continue to such regular places as Palestine. Remember that one of the large problems in absorbing the Jews has been that they had no capital. Germany preventing them from taking their money with them. With capital they would have been welcomed in many places where their talents and money could have been used."

"Take South America for instance. German anti-Semitic propaganda has contributed to the resistance of these countries to letting in Jewish refugees. But lack of capital has really been the chief reason for barring them. Let them bring money and most of the underpopulated South American countries, now in need of the investment of new capital, would probably welcome them, since there are few of these nations where 'racial purity' is a serious element in the social structure."

Question: "How about population decreases, such as in France, as refugee solutions?"

Answer: "Generally speaking western Europe faces a declining birth rate, while the Slavic countries of the east are growing rapidly. Some think this is a basic cause of the present war—that Germany, in seeking to erect a barrier against this pressure, gave Nazism a tool to use. If intelligent immigration should be allowed, as in France, this natural eastern surplus could well be absorbed in the West. And now I am going to have Joseph Harsch, now in Berlin for the Monitor, who has been making a first hand study abroad of the refugee situation, tell us more about this refugee problem, on page 67 of the Fireside series."

From History's Refugee Lists



Blackstone Studios; Vandyk, London; Wide World; O. Bragi

Men, Races, and Nations "Without a Country"

1. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, 1746-1817, Polish national hero who passed many years in exile. 2. Eduard Benes, present exiled Czechoslovak leader. 3. Nikola Pashitch (1846-1926), Serbian statesman, refugee, later Premier of Yugoslavia. 4. Jewish

refugees from Germany. 5. Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-72), Italian revolutionist who suffered frequent exile in his effort to unify Italy. These are a few of many refugees who have lived to see their political dreams realized.

Refugee Solution Stymied by War

By Joseph C. Harsch

The outbreak of war in Europe came at a time when the Evian Committee was first able to see some tangible prospect of success ahead.

It had been working against every conceivable kind of opposition for a year. It had faced jealousy, cynicism in highest quarters, determined underground opposition from many most responsible for aid to refugees, the most vicious exploitation of human misery, widespread apathy, and the obvious difficulty of opening negotiations with the German Government.

George Rublee, Sir Herbert Emerson and Robert Pell, with the constant support of Lord Winterton and Myron Taylor in the diplomatic background, had kept driving at the job regardless. And just on the verge of war they were able to congratulate themselves on having at long last put machinery in motion which gave every promise of being able to solve over a period of three to five years the particular refugee problem caused by German anti-semitic policy.

That German policy had marked approximately eight million residents of the Old Reich, Austria and the Sudetenland for export to other parts of the world, quite regardless of whether the rest of the world was either willing or desirous of receiving them. The forced migration proceeded slowly during the early years of the Nazi régime. Those who left Germany were being accepted in other countries. The problem became increasingly acute during 1938 as forced migration increased, reaching its peak with the pogrom of Nov. 10.

Evian Meeting

By midsummer the rate of migration had exceeded the rate of normal absorption in outside countries. On President Roosevelt's initiative the receiving nations met at Evian to consider the problem and then set up the Intergovernmental

Committee as a continuing organization to provide a point of contact for the Governments and to attempt to develop and co-ordinate private initiative into feasible machinery for handling the problem.

From 1934 to 1938 about 150,000 refugees had been received outside Germany. During 1938 about 150,000 more left Germany. But this rate was too high and they began piling up in countries of temporary refuge where the numbers awaiting permanent settlement soon became so great that a total of about 30,000 were being accommodated in camps which differed from concentration camps only in the character of treatment accorded the inmates. During 1939 the rate of migration continued at monthly figures which would have produced a total for the year of about another 150,000.

While estimates varied widely it was generally accepted that by midsummer of 1939 there still remained in Greater Germany between 400,000 and 500,000 persons who came under the Nuremberg laws and therefore under pressure to migrate. By that time also pressure tactics which had been particularly severe in Austria had begun to be applied in the protectorate of Czechoslovakia, threatening another increase in the total number of exportable refugees.

New Areas

Hope for large scale and swift migration rested inevitably therefore on finding new areas of the world able to receive frontier colonists in new settlements where subsistence for Europeans was practicable.

But these settlement projects required time and money. Time was to be gained through an arrangement with the German Government whereby migration would be steadied down to a feasible rate. Money was to be provided by private sources. To this end long negotiations were carried on with the leading individuals interested in refugee migration both in America

and in Europe. These efforts had succeeded by August in the establishment of a corporation under the name of The International Foundation which was to take over the long-time planning, research and supervision of migration and also the negotiations with the German Government. Paul Van Zeeland, former Prime Minister of Belgium and a young statesman of high repute throughout Europe, where he enjoyed equal prestige on both sides of the Rhine, had accepted the executive position.

War Intervenes

But the war intervened. The machinery is at least temporarily to be kept alive. The present Washington meeting for officials of the Committee taking place at the White House is being held regardless of the war.

There remains the immediate problem of some 30,000 refugees in camps in the small neutral countries of Europe and about 20,000 in all who are in England on temporary visas. As the English war machine gets under way work may be available for many. But no belligerent, nor any small neutral, desires large numbers of aliens from Germany within its borders at such a time.

So far as Germany is concerned the problem of Jewish migration might have been solved over a period of about five years if the war had not broken out.

One hopeful thought in the minds of many is of course that the war will liquidate the problem. A fall of the Nazi régime in Germany would presumably mean abandonment of the anti-semitic policy which produced forced migration. This obviously is what most of the Jews themselves appear to desire, a fact which incidentally explains many of the difficulties the Intergovernmental Committee had in obtaining the support of influential Jewish leaders for its program of action.

All Ages Have Had Their Refugees

Refugees are not only present or post-war phenomena. No, refugees as a problem are as old as time. The problem has sometimes been religious, sometimes political, sometimes economic, sometimes racial. But there has always been the problem. And it seems there will always be the problem until man's brotherhood to man is practiced as well as preached on earth.

For a moment, however, let us journey back into time and see some of these refugee hordes, study what caused them and what happened to them, and why no permanent solution was ever found.

Ancient Refugees

Every ancient imperial foray caused its own refugee problem. In those early days of time when life was primarily nomadic it was not unusual for entire national communities to become refugees—refugees from thundering Assyrian horsemen, from Persia's mighty monarchs, from the Egyptians charging chariots. It was a choice of fleeing or remaining to become slaves. When fleeing was so easy, the choice was not difficult. Still these peoples were often overtaken and became slaves after all.

Rome's Experience

Rome had a habit of swallowing these refugee communities. Some were drafted into the army. Others were given frontier lands to develop and defend.

With land plentiful and living simple, this worked. Yet these refugee communities were always a danger. They often threatened to become powerful enough to defy their former protectors, particularly when the latter's society softened. The Visigoths, for example, tired of the screws their Roman overlords had been putting on them, turned on them. The result: the battle of Adrianople (378), one of the decisive battles of the world.

The Middle Ages

All during the Middle Ages various tribes were taking refuge from local despots under the wings of neighboring kings and princes whose controls were lighter. In return for such protection these refugees agreed to fight for their new masters. Russia's famous Cossack bands were originally refugees from their more powerful neighbors of the steppes. The dangerous life of a refugee was more to their liking than serfdom under a Russian or Polish lord.

Islam's Push

As the Turkish typhoon swept out of Asia and into Europe right to the gates of Vienna, a wave of refugees preceded it. Hungary and Austria opened their doors to these fugitives. It was not a mere humanitarian gesture. No. Soldiers were needed, needed badly if Islam was not to engulf Europe completely. These refugees were quickly transformed into such soldiers.

But their presence was not entirely beneficial. They plundered the local peas-

ants, upset existing economies. Their presence in the ranks of their new masters' armies in fact, often was used as an excuse for invasion by their old masters.

These refugee tides, though they often brought the sword in their wake, must be given their just credit. If they disrupted continents they also aided in educating continents. As they fled old homes they carried their learning with them, kindling it in new homes, spreading knowledge, wisdom, understanding.

The Renaissance

That intellectual revival known as the Renaissance is indebted to a wave of refugees. When Constantinople fell before the Ottoman Turks, hundreds of Greek monks fled to Western Europe. Tucked in their tunics they carried their precious manuscripts, and with those rescued embers of human knowledge started the intellectual blaze in the West that burst forth as the Renaissance. To these religious refugees and those of later years must be given history's accolade.

The United States

Refugees from religious and political persecution have another crown to their credit. The United States was settled to a large degree by refugees. The Pilgrims fled from England to Holland and then to America to be able to worship God as they wished. They were religious refugees. America thereafter embraced French

Huguenots, English Puritans, German Protestants, Irish Roman Catholics, Dutch Walloons—all exiles. Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker, Anne Hutchinson, Mary Fisher—all were exiles. It welcomed refugees from the French Revolution, from the Napoleonic regime, from the various Republics and Empires following. It took German refugees in 1820, 1830, 1846, 1880; Polish refugees, resulting from the ill-starred revolutions of 1830, 1846, 1848, 1861; Irish refugees after the revolutions of 1798, 1800, 1848. Always America took waves of refugees: Pierre du Pont de Nemours, Carl Schurz, Charles Steinmetz, John Sobieski; today: Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, Max Reinhardt, Otto Klemperer, Heinrich Bruening, Walter Gropius.

And Tomorrow?

Time's yesterday had its refugees. So has today. And so will tomorrow, it seems. For there will always be refugees until men learn to live and let live, to share the fruits of each others' labor rather than destroy them or monopolize them; until the brotherhood of man becomes the moral beacon of the world.

Neal A. Stanford

War Refugees

The World War started a wave of emigrations. Here is a rough estimate of the various immediate post-war refugees.

Russians: Between 1917 and 1920, 1,500,000 political refugees. Germany took 300,000, Poland 400,000, France 400,000, Constantinople 100,000, Yugoslavia 50,000, Bulgaria 30,000, Czechoslovakia 26,000, Rumania and Greece 50,000, Baltic States 100,000, China at least 100,000.

Greeks: Between 1915 and 1922, 1,250,000 Greek refugees fled into Greece from Asia Minor and eastern Thrace, 50,000 from Bulgaria. Exchange of populations with Bulgaria added 50,000; with Turkey 100,000.

Armenians: Between 1915 and 1921 hundreds of thousands expelled from Asia Minor. Many perished. Some reached Mesopotamia; others entered Russia. Armenian republic of Erivan of 800,000 joined U. S. S. R. It later absorbed 400,000 refugees from Turkish Armenia. About 300,000 spread over Russia and the Balkans.

Bulgars: Bulgarian Government figures that 500,000 fled after 1918 from Dobrudja and Thrace. In Greco-Bulgarian exchange of populations 75,000 emigrated to Bulgaria.

Turks: In 1919 about 50,000 fled on arrival in Eastern Thrace and Smyrna of Greeks. They returned in 1922. Also about 400,000 moved from Greece to Asia Minor under Exchange of Populations Agreement, 1923.

Read On— Magazines

Escape in a Frozen World—By Dorothy Thompson in Survey Graphic for February, 1939.

Only a world approach to this issue can bring results, believes Miss Thompson, in suggesting practical moves.

People in Search of a Homeland—By Staff Correspondents of The Christian Science Monitor in the Magazine of June 3, 1939.

Refugees—A collection of articles in The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science for May, 1939, showing the causes, facts, administrative and economic difficulties, the human adjustments and the efforts at solution, of forced migration.

Books

Refugees: Anarchy or Organization—By Dorothy Thompson, Macmillan, 1938. A highly praised outline of today's refugee problem.

The Refugee Problem—By Sir John H. Simpson, Oxford University, 1939. Work of an expert.

The Refugee in the United States—By Harold Fields, Oxford University, 1938. An impartial examination of the results of the United States' policy of asylum to World War refugees and others.

War Costs: In Terms of Men and Their Work

Our setting is a wood-paneled library. Before a crackling fire sit a group in comfortable chairs, talking informally. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HURD, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"Our discussion of war economy last week led to some after-period discussions of war costs—the costs which war economies are planned to meet. There was so much interest that we decided to take up the issue today—for in estimating war costs the entire stress is usually laid on the money involved.

"Now the money is important—inasmuch as heavy debts upset the recovery of a nation from the stresses of war—but the other losses which cannot be carried in ledgers should be fully considered. So let's explore some of these."

Question: "First shouldn't we consider population losses?"

Answer: "As good a point as any for a beginning. Now the world seems pretty full today, what with all the unemployed—but without the World War it would have been fuller. Losses from battle, starvation, etc., during the World War are estimated at 18½ millions. That was a direct loss. But we must add to that the potential children lost to the world of today through the demise of these millions."

Question: "You mentioned unemployment. Hard as it may seem, isn't it a fact that wars, through their losses, keep populations down to necessary levels in order that those left may exist?"

Answer: "That's an old argument. Its weakness lies with the acceptance that there is barely enough in the world for people to live on. Now that is not true. Let's go back a hundred years. The world had the same amount of land as now yet the world was many millions smaller in population. Today's additional millions are actually better fed and taken care of in many places, and as well taken care of in others, than

were the smaller number of people a century ago."

Question: "According to that theory, there will be plenty for many more millions to follow us—with the possibility that even higher standards of living will be experienced in many lands?"

Answer: "Everything points that way. Today it is certainly not a lack of farm materials, raw materials or manufacturing resources that is the trouble. We have farm surpluses, unemployed miners and idle factories, all capable of turning out goods to make everyone richer in their living. Most economists concede that faulty distribution is the difficulty. Although they have various solutions, certainly none of them speak of a reduction of people by war as the way out."

Question: "You have spoken of numbers lost. Doesn't the question of quality come up as well?"

Answer: "One of the greatest protests about war is that it takes the pick of the young men and destroys them, leaving less capable ones to carry on the world's affairs. And then we have that question of how many potential artists and geniuses are lost in war. In the World War there was consternation when Fritz Kreisler went with the Austrian armies and Chaliapin with the Russians—great artists on the common platform of creative music reduced to cogs in machines aiming to destroy one another. There were many other equal cases.

"Those are the known artists. One writer has pointed out that we will never know about the unknowns, that if similar wars had been fought when such men as Dickens, Thackeray, Gladstone, Browning, Spencer, Huxley, Hugo, Musset, Flaubert and others were very young men the world would be much poorer in its treasures than it is today—which raises the question, 'Did the world lose similar geniuses in the last war and does it face the same potential losses today?'"

Question: "You speak of a richer

life in the future even for larger populations. That would be due largely to inventions, wouldn't it? And isn't a war likely to destroy potential inventors as well?"

Answer: "That brings up an interesting point. Patent offices often note that identical inventions come to light from various corners of the globe almost simultaneously, as though a certain thought, due to be expressed, insists on coming through the most responsive channels in the form of inventors.

"Assuming this, then, it appears a needed invention has a good chance of coming through despite the hazards of war."

Question: "That's an interesting point, Mr. Hurd. But if that is true about inventors, who are creative people, isn't it likely to be true about other creative ideas? In other words, if painting, sculpture, architecture and literature must bring forth new forms and ideas, aren't they likely to come through, too, despite the hazards of war and the apparent destruction of their destined channels?"

Answer: "That sounds logical—and it certainly is a bright note in the not too pleasant picture which comes with attempting to add up war costs in the term of men and art."

Question: "But certain permanent specimens of the art of previous centuries are likely to be lost in war today, aren't they?"

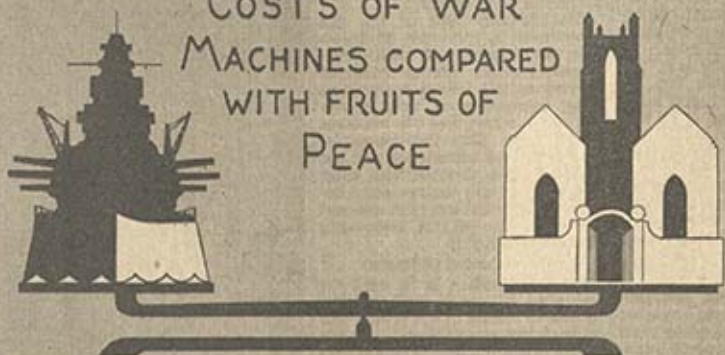
Answer: "Yes. The modern bombing squadron could make as big a shambles out of Rome, Venice or Florence as it did out of Warsaw and apparently irreplaceable works of art would be lost for all time.

Question: "How about the war costs in money? I should like that discussed because of its political implications."

Answer: Our guest speaker today, Mr. H. B. Elliston, Financial Editor and columnist of the Monitor, takes care of that on Fireside page 63 below.

What War Would Buy in Peace

COSTS OF WAR MACHINES COMPARED WITH FRUITS OF PEACE



COST OF A BATTLESHIP = \$60,000,000, OR A GOOD UNIVERSITY PLANT.



COST OF A FLEET OF 20 TANKS = \$600,000, OR A GOOD SIZED CHURCH.

THE WORLD WAR COST THE UNITED STATES \$50,000,000,000

THIS AMOUNT WOULD BUY FOR
EVERY FAMILY IN
THE U.S.



CLOTHES FOR A FAMILY



AN OIL
BURNER



A CAR AND A
YEARS SUPPLY
OF GASOLINE



A RADIO



MOVIE
TICKETS
FOR A FAMILY
FOR A YEAR.

K. PARSONS

By a Staff Artist

Civilizations Are Shaped by the Choice They Make

The Costs of War Reveal No Victors

By H. B. Elliston

The last war had still to be paid for when European countries embarked upon the present conflict. Debts are still owed the United States; the Allies still owe Britain; reparations from Germany to cover Allied war costs are still unpaid; and those countries which didn't wipe out their domestic war debt by depreciating their currency are still overweighted with that incubus.

When the costs of war are mentioned, most people, unfortunately, think of account books. Men are spent, but leave no trace. Goods, on the contrary, though wasted or blown away, are "carried" somewhere, and as likely as not are left to plague future generations in the form of war debts.

In the world war one economist tried to assess the money value of casualties. He is Prof. E. L. Bogart. Quite rightly he said that the expenditure of lives and the deterioration of the race were among the most formidable and lasting elements in war costs. His estimate, of course, was quite arbitrary. Other economists followed the usual pattern, and figured out the cost of war in terms of the difference between peace-time and war-time expenditures by the central governments.

Britain's Burden

Such tabulations show that Great Britain bore by far the heaviest burden in terms of per capita cost. The expenditure amounted to \$525 per head. Germany came next, with \$292. The United States amount was \$176, or an aggregate sum of \$35,000,000,000. These figures were compiled in terms of 1913 dollars by Harvey E. Fisk. But even Fisk's figures, which are generally accepted as the most authoritative, are arbitrary. There are too many immeasurables even in the money costs of war. For instance, in the figure for France the loss of potential profits in the devastated areas would have to be reckoned. Localities incurred war costs as well as governments, too. And so on. But the Fisk figure is the best we have,

and at least it gives some idea of the relative burdens incurred by the world war belligerents.

Of most interest at this time, when government budgets are again on a war basis, is the manner in which war finance was raised.

There are several ways of obtaining the wherewithal for the prosecution of war—taxation, currency printing or inflation, internal loans, and external borrowing. Confiscation is sometimes tried, but inflation, being an indirect form of confiscation, in that it sucks the buying power out of your money, is preferred as less unpalatable to the victim.

Taxation is the most honest method of paying for war. In the World War Britain of all the belligerents was the heaviest tax gatherer. A German study by Dr. Knauss calculates that Britain raised 20 per cent of its war expenditure by taxation, Germany 6 per cent, and France none at all. British figures put the proportion higher, at 23.5 per cent. At any rate, the burden was immense, though nothing like the almost confiscatory taxation with which the British are embarking upon the present conflict.

French Record

A people who are too heavily taxed for war purposes are, of course, most likely to become war weary. Hence the hesitation of war ministers in imposing new levies. It will be seen that no other belligerent approached anywhere near Britain's tax record. The French record is one of unalloyed inflation. Money was printed, loans were raised, and the taxpayer simply paid indirectly by finding that his franc bought less and less. The franc was eventually devalued at about a fifth of its prewar value. It ought to be said, however, that France in 1914 was the most heavily taxed country in Europe.

Under M. Reynaud, France's present Finance Minister, there's bound to be more attention paid to taxation. M. Reynaud brought the country back on its financial feet after the disastrous New Deal in-

terlude put through by Leon Blum. When the present war broke out, production and trade were increasing, capital was coming back to employment, and gold reserves had been restored. M. Reynaud is a conservative financier, and without doubt he will tax where he can, though he's not likely to emulate the British Spartans across the Channel.

Who Pays?

Most of the belligerents, naturally, expected the vanquished to pay their war costs. The Germans said so. In the Reichstag in 1915 Dr. Helfferich defined German financial policy as consisting of war taxation and loans, the issuance of paper money, and the reduction of civil expenditures. He added that the spoils of victory would recoup the German exchequer. They never did, and after the war the German mark simply disappeared, and with it all debts reckoned in those marks were wiped out—which meant, by the same token, the resources of the middle class who depend upon rents and other forms of debt.

The Allies counted chickens from the vanquished, too. And, being the victors, they tried to collect them. How much they got from the Germans is still a conjecture. However, the whole system of reparations broke down when the Great Depression hit the world.

There are those who suggest that the effort to collect war costs which had been shot away was one of the causes of the world depression. At any rate, Germany wiped the slate clean, and the Allies in turn defaulted on their war debts, some of them to Britain, and all of them to the United States.

In the United States one-third of the war expenses was raised by taxation and two-thirds by Liberty Loans. The loans were gradually paid off, partly out of bumper revenues, partly out of receipts from the war debtors. No other country except those who liquidated their debts by the simple expedient of depreciating the currency has had this record.

World War Costs

The cost of the World War in men, money, and materials is appalling. There are dozens of estimates as to this cost. We offer you what seems to be as nearly correct a figure as any figure can be.

Human Cost

1. 8,500,000 soldier fatalities
2. 21,000,000 wounded
3. 10,000,000 civilian fatalities

Money Cost

1. Direct war expenditures \$200,000,000,000
2. Property, production losses \$150,000,000,000

Equivalent Values

1. 5 acres of land and a \$3,500 house for every family in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Australia,—also
2. a \$10,000,000 university for all cities of 200,000 or more in these countries,—also
3. a \$5,000,000 library for these same cities,—also
4. a life-long salary of \$2,500 for 100,000 teachers and social workers,—also
5. enough to buy up everything in France and Belgium.

War Costs Per Country

1. Allied and Associated Powers	
British Empire	\$50,000,000,000
France	28,000,000,000
Russia	16,000,000,000
Italy	15,000,000,000
United States	32,000,000,000
	\$141,000,000,000
2. Central Powers	
Germany	\$47,000,000,000
Austria-Hungary	12,000,000,000
	\$59,000,000,000
Grand total	\$200,000,000,000

War Costs in Peace

1. Cost of maintaining armies of occupation for 10 years.
2. Monetary and social costs of changing from war-time to peace-time economy.
3. Reconstruction costs in devastated areas, which in France amounted to over \$5,000,000,000.
4. Reparations payments by defeated countries. Germany was billed for \$33,000,000,000 and paid about \$8,000,000,000.
5. War pensions of participating countries averaged \$1,500,000,000 yearly as late as 1933.

Other Facts

1. The United States loaned \$12,036,376,000 and of the yearly payments of \$148,605,000, only \$11,360,000 have been repaid on a yearly average.
2. Britain and France paid the J. P. Morgan Company \$30,536,000 in commissions alone for purchasing arms in the United States.

How Three Nations Pay Their War Bills

United States

The United States is the one belligerent which may be said to have liquidated its war cost by actually paying it off. This was due to the economic benefits which the war brought to America, and the recuperative power of the American economy.

Britain

Britain, on the contrary, went into this war with the debts arising out of the last war still hanging around its neck. Unlike other countries, both among the Allies and the central powers, Britain kept its currency intact, but the price has been terrific in the form of a vast domestic debt. Domestic debt is twelve times times higher than it was in 1914.

Soon after the World War there was serious talk in England of a capital levy as the honest way of discharging some of the debt. But the proposal never got past the talking stage. Britain, instead, stepped up its tax schedules, which were the highest in the world when the present war broke out. Now they are so much higher as to be equivalent to capital levies. The new Simon income tax starts out with a normal rate of 37½ per cent, compared with 12½ per cent the first world war budget.

Germany

The Germans also have jacked up their income tax by 50 per cent. This will mean substantial privation; for Germany had already reached the limit of taxation before war broke out. This was shown early this year by the announcement of a scheme of issuing "Tax anticipation warrants" stretching years into the future.

Uncle Sam's Bill

America's World War costs have been variously figured. Thomas J. Watson has figured them rather extensively in an article, "The Cost of War," appearing in the October 1933 International Conciliation.

We have rounded out his figures for easier reading:

Cost During War 1917-21

1. War Department cost	\$14,900,000,000
2. Navy Department cost	3,400,000,000
3. Cost of transport control	1,600,000,000
4. War risk insurance	500,000,000
5. Interest on war debt	2,700,000,000
6. Emergency corporations	2,600,000,000
7. Pre-armistice loans	6,300,000,000
	32,000,000,000

Cost After War 1921-37

1. Interest on war debt	8,800,000,000
2. Care of disabled	8,100,000,000
3. Veterans' compensation	1,800,000,000
4. Settlement of war claims	90,000,000
	18,790,000,000
Grand Total	\$50,790,000,000

Tax Comparisons

It is difficult to appreciate how determined Britain is to finance this war by taxation. The recent announcement of the increase in income tax rates, appearing in the first British war budget, reveals that the British will pay the staggering "normal" tax, first of 35 and later of 37½ per cent. It was 27½ per cent before.

To help Americans realize what such a tax rate means, suppose we compare what Britons will pay under the new levy and what Americans pay. We will take for comparison bachelors, childless couples and couples with two children—and provide them with incomes of \$2,000, \$4,000, and \$20,000 a year. The pound is figured as equivalent to \$4.00; and only central government income taxes are considered.

The Bachelor

Income	Britain	United States
\$2,000	\$350.40	\$40.00
4,000	976.26	120.00
20,000	8,326.26	1,450.00

Childless Couple

Income	Britain	United States
\$2,000	\$246.26	none
4,000	871.26	\$60.00
20,000	8,202.06	1,260.00

Family of Four

Income	Britain	United States
\$2,000	\$70.08	none
4,000	721.26	\$28.00
20,000	8,047.26	1,164.00

Veterans' Pensions

Uncle Sam pays for his wars while fighting them—but also for a long time afterward. One of the most expensive of these left-over war costs is that of payments and bonuses to war veterans.

Here are the costs, in rough figures, of pensions and bonuses paid by the Federal Government for America's seven major wars:

1. The Revolution	\$70,000,000
2. War of 1812	46,200,000
3. Indian wars	76,600,000
4. Mexican War	61,200,000
5. Civil War	7,973,400,000
6. Spanish War	1,286,900,000
7. World War	7,572,600,000

These costs are still mounting. That is, they are still rising for all but the first—the Revolution. Only the books on that hoary holocaust have been closed, and that only in 1906 on the passing of the last widow of a Revolutionary soldier.

One pension is still being paid to the beneficiary of an 1812 soldier. One hundred and ninety-five persons are still getting pensions because of the Mexican War. What the grand total will be for the World War, now only 20 years old and already passing seven billion dollars, is anybody's guess.

War Issues: Focal Center of News Today

Fireside Series Key Is Informality

Current events given with the informality of fireside chats is the aim of this new Monitor series. It presents the biggest major countries and situations of the day, brought up to last-minute timeliness by cable, telephone and radio.

The setting is a cheery, wood-paneled library with a warm fire crackling in the fireplace. Around it, comfortably settled in deep easy chairs and lounges, are a group taking part in the course.

Leader of this discussion period is VOLNEY D. HUNT, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman speaks:

"We start this course today in the midst of a world situation unequalled since 1914. We find Europe locked in the embraces of another bitter conflict. Again England and France are fighting a militarily strong and aggressive Germany. This time a war-recreated Poland has taken the sweeping attack which Belgium and France felt last time. The dangers of the war spreading to the world are considered as great.

"Problems of empire, of economic desires, mark the conflict. But above it all has risen an issue so much greater that it dwarfs other considerations. This is the issue of Democracy versus Dictatorship. Growing for years, it has now been taken to the scales of war for a decision.

"In this course we will discuss many of the issues which contribute to this crisis. For today a general discussion seems the best way to approach this war which is likely to dominate the news for many months to come. That calls for concentrating primarily on the major issue—Democracy versus Totalitarianism.

"Perhaps the best way to handle this discussion is by the question and answer method. So let's have your questions."

Question: "Mr. Hurd, why should England and France try to prevent Germany having the kind of government it wants? It's none of their business, is it?"

Answer: "You're right. And if it were only a question of Germany's internal government, Britain and France wouldn't care. They have shown this clearly in their backing down time after time to let the Hitler government take what it claimed was necessary to correct Versailles 'injustices.' They sought to let Hitler have every facility possible to establish contentment in Germany and therefore peace in Europe. But this failed."

Question: "Why did it fail? Didn't Britain and France give Germany enough?"

Answer: "You've got the key to that in the word 'enough.' Unfortunately a dictatorial government has to be based on force. Now force has an insatiable appetite. No matter how much it gets, it demands more. So what was originally an application of force to obtain power internally, grew into the application of threats based on force to obtain power externally. Soon it was a question of how much 'enough' would ever be.

"Britain and France finally saw Hitlerism as a field of white hot lava, flowing ever outward from an apparently inexhaustible source, endangering everything before it."

Question: "When did the Allies begin to realize the dangers of this?"

Answer: "At first each Hitler seizure was considered the last. Thus the remilitarization of Germany, the occupation of the Rhineland, and even the seizure of Austria were accepted. But doubts began to creep in when the ruthlessness of the Austrian coup was realized. They increased with the Sudetenland and Munich deal. The seizure of Prague completed them.

"Finally came the attack on Poland, the trigger which released the Allies' tardy realization that Hitler did not want merely original German land or German people but

that he wanted European and eventually world domination! They knew that there would be no end to Nazi appetite. If Democracy was to survive they knew they had to stop Hitler. So they declared war."

Question: "Why such an ardent defense of Democracy? It hasn't done so well in most of the countries which practice it, has it? They have as many problems as the dictatorships, it seems."

Answer: "Of course Democracy as practiced in various countries is an imperfect political system. But weigh Democracy with its freedom of speech, of individual action, of decision—against the regimented thinking, action, and decision of dictatorships. Then consider under which type of government you'd like to live.

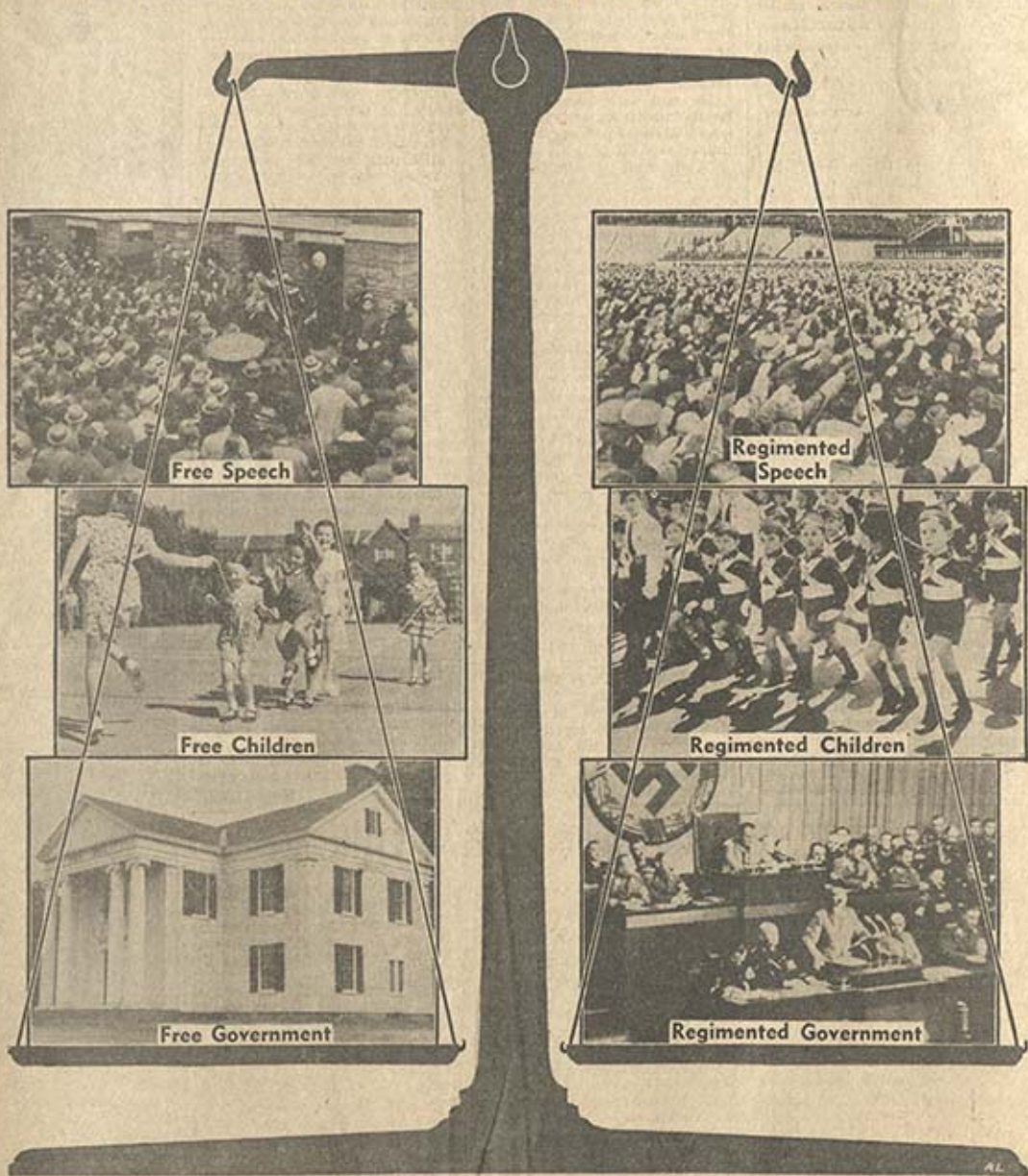
"Place Egypt of the Pharaoh beside Switzerland today and you'll find no comparison. Egypt degraded common men. Switzerland exalts them. A comparison between Persia of Darius and modern Denmark shows two utterly different worlds. In Persia the people who worked were oppressed, crushed slaves. Today in Denmark the people who work are masters of their country.

"After all, this effort to liberate men's lives, called Democracy, is relatively new and thus unperfected. If you should measure the history of mankind by a clock dial and divide it into twelve equal hours you would find Democracy existing only during the last fifteen minutes!

Question: "What about the question of the balance of power in the new war? And isn't racialism a dominant factor despite the Democracy-versus-Dictatorship issue? I think you ought to tell us about the present European democracies."

Answer: "That's a large order. However, Argus, the Monitor's keen interpreter of European affairs has provided just the answer to your question on balance of power and racialism in his article on page three. Tomorrow we'll take up European democracies."

On the Scales of War Rests the New Decision



Two Major Issues Rise Far Above the Other Causes

It is this spotlighted point of the present European conflict which brings the issue so close to the United States. As the leading Western democracy, the United States would find itself almost alone against hostile world systems if England and

France should fail to stop Hitlerism. Thus even though 3,000 miles of ocean separate America from Europe, the sharp tilting of these scales toward dictatorship will be bound to have a profound effect on the United States.

Balance of Power: Key to Europe's War

By Argus

What is all the trouble in Europe about? Is it a struggle between Democracy and Fascism, between the British and German empires—or is it the fulfillment of a pledge to protect Poland or a fight for the sanctity of treaties?

In some measure it is obviously all of these. To give a positive categorical answer to such complex questions is impossible. But there is one element underlying this great struggle which cannot be ignored. We shall endeavor to show what that element is and how it has contributed to bring European affairs to the point of combustion.

You will remember how in his Danzig speech of Sept. 19, Herr Hitler repeatedly spoke of the great "injustices" of Versailles which had compelled Germany, "a great power, to look on while a far inferior people of a far inferior state maltreated these Germans." In these words the German leader points to one of the ever-present causes of trouble in Europe—the conflict of races.

All manner of races have poured into North America, but the great continental plains of the interior have allowed British, Germans, Italians and the rest to mingle freely under a single federated government. It has been possible to subordinate race differences and accentuate the points of agreement.

Europe's Uneasy Equilibrium

But Europe, chopped up into innumerable compartments by its irregular pattern of mountain ranges, has almost inevitably split up into numerous small distinct nations, the more powerful of them constantly seeking to lord it over their weaker neighbors. Since the flood gates from the east opened upon the Roman empire in the fourth century and broke it up, the story of Europe has been that of the big nations swallowing up the smaller and then struggling among themselves for supremacy, or else effecting a sort of uneasy equilibrium by dividing into two groups equally

balanced in economic and military power.

One of the causes of the war of 1914 was that someone had tilted this balance. At that time there were in the scales on one side the Teuton race of Germany, enjoying immense access of strength through the founding of the empire under Bismarck in 1871, and Austria-Hungary; on the other side were Britain, France and Russia.

When the scales are nicely balanced, a slight up-tilt will spoil the equilibrium. The tilt in 1914 came in the Balkans, the gateway to the East, home of a sturdy mixture of races that Britain had kept under Turkey's wing to discourage Germany and Russia, both of whom coveted the peninsula.

But Turkey, the so-called "sick man of Europe," proved an ineffective overlord and in 1913 was unceremoniously pushed out by a coalition of its subject races.

Race Struggle Set Up

The race struggle in Europe set up by that act has continued ever since and today can be seen in Europe in its most dangerous form.

Within a few months of Turkey's exit came the first thrust by the covetous powers into the Balkans. Germany, using Austria as cat's-paw, made a bid for Serbia. Slavic Russia said it could not afford to have the Slavic Serbs attacked, and prepared for a struggle. Britain and France saw the balance in danger and joined Russia. When Russia collapsed and turned Red, Britain and France found in America a means to "redress the balance."

Then arose the question, which still has to be settled today. Must the race struggle be allowed to continue indefinitely, or can some means be devised to bring it to an end? President Wilson saw perhaps more clearly than any other statesman at Versailles that it must be one alternative or the other. He went to Versailles with a self-determination program, giving autonomy to small nations, particularly those under the disintegrating Austro-Hungarian and Russian em-

pires, and guaranteeing their security by a League of Nations pledged to stop an aggressor. It was this Versailles treaty that Herr Hitler has so scathingly denounced.

Why was he so anxious that the free struggle of races in Europe should be resumed? Evidently because it would now be resumed under extraordinarily favorable terms for Germany. Most of those small nations in south-central Europe and the Baltic that had been granted independence under the sponsorship of the League would lie helplessly at Germany's mercy once the Versailles treaty and the League authority were scrapped.

League Support Fails

Fortunately for Herr Hitler, the League, while at first supported by a majority in all the democratic countries, did not commend itself to the more influential political circles. America refused to adhere, Britain and France refused to honor its engagements in major political issues. Germany, therefore, without too much risk swallowed up in turn the nearest weaker states—Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel and Poland—with a speed and determination that the allies were in no position to match. Its moves have made it clear to the world that the only prospect of stability on the old lines would have been to restore the Austrian empire as protector of the small nations. Otherwise the only alternatives would be League or other international control or an invitation to an ambitious Germany to take the small independent states that fell into its lap.

Since the League won no adequate support from the great powers, the conflict of races seems destined to continue until those who believe in an international guarantee become strong enough to impose their will on the nations.

Agitators to stress racial differences there will always be so long as no restraint is placed upon them. That those differences, under proper conditions, can be minimized and the elements of unity brought out has been demonstrated by America's federal system.

Democracy's Roots Reach to Greece and Rome

The roots of today's democratic philosophy lie buried under two and one-half millenniums. In that ancient world of Greek city states of 2,400 years ago a partial self-government was practiced which has inspired the world ever since. Today it is well nigh impossible to adequately appreciate its significance. And for that achievement the Greeks deserve everlasting gratitude and esteem.

But ancient Greek democracy (or should we say Athenian democracy?)—for the institutions of liberty bloomed more fully there than anywhere else in ancient Greece—had its shortcomings, viewed from today's perspective.

To begin with, those Greek city democracies were exceedingly small. Most of the people did not vote. Prominent men were continually being banished or ostracized. There was not a single city in which a majority of the inhabitants were not slaves. The number of self-governing people in any Greek community never exceeded a few thousand.

How inconsistent! we are tempted to say. We may even smile a bit at such amateurishness. But, remember, those Greek democracies created the highest type of citizens the world had known. They lit the lamp which America, Britain, France, Switzerland, are keeping burning today.

Democracy then is the glory of ancient Greece—but it is hardly the grandeur of old Rome. True, Rome made short attempts at democratic government; but it did not improve on the Greek original. While nowhere in the ancient Orient was there ever a glimmer of democracy.

During the Middle Ages for short

periods a number of mercantile cities practiced a sort of self-government. Yet it is still true to say that from the beginning of history down to 1800 there was no case of general self-government on a large scale anywhere in the Old World. And only in Greece, Rome, and a few business centers was even a restricted democracy practiced.

Practically all the philosophy, all the religion, all governmental theory of those centuries were based on the belief that the masses of men were both incapable and unworthy of self-government. They were not meant to be equal. They were designed to serve the elite. The priest taught that; the professor taught that; the

politician taught that. The whole of society for millenniums rested on that teaching. Any other belief was frequently treated as heresy and treason.

To Greece then must go the everlasting honor of laying the foundations of democratic government. If the structure it reared in self-government had its rough corners, it is hardly politic for the 20th century to point them out. There are too many rough edges on our own democracies that need smoothing. Democracy, one can say, perhaps, is really a political temple for mankind, the foundation stones of which were laid by the Greeks, while the centuries are ever building and remodeling the superstructure.

Read On—

Readers of this course will find the following list of books and magazine articles, useful as sources of detailed information on this current topic.

Magazines

Why Freedom Will Survive—by Charles E. Gratzke in *The Christian Science Monitor Weekly Magazine Section*, Sept. 16, 1939.

War, holds the Monitor's Foreign Editor, need not defeat the purpose for which it is being waged. Concepts of liberty, freedom, humanity pictured as mental and indestructible rather than material.

For the Right—Leading article in *The Economist*, Sept. 16, 1939.

In this British liberal weekly the war is plainly pictured as not a fight to make the world safe for democracy, but rather to safeguard democracy in Western Europe and overseas where it has taken root.

The Fundamental Issue—by Harold Candler in *The New York Times Magazine*, Sept. 24, 1939.

The British war aim is to end Hitlerism, says this Times correspondent, quoting Mr. Chamberlain. To the Nazis, however, it is British power politics aiming at German encirclement.

Hitler Could Not Stop—by Hermann Rauschning in *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1939.

Hitler's policy pictured by the author of "The Revolution of Nihilism" as one of permanent conspiracy, of world revolution.

Over Here—by Raymond Gram Swing in *Survey Graphic's* special number, "Calling America," February, 1939.

This popular radio commentator, writing before the actual outbreak of war, declares that the future of the free human mind and spirit is at stake in the European conflict.

The Road Toward War—by Carlyle W. Morgan in *The Christian Science Monitor Magazine*, July 15, 1939.

The basic values of civilization seen as being undermined by events in Europe.

Books

Peace With the Dictators?—by Norman Angell, Harper & Brothers, 1933.

Chapter five, "Can We Give the Totalitarians What They Want?" is particularly good statement of political chasm separating the totalitarians from the democracies. To satisfy the former's supreme grievance, says the author of "The Great Illusion," would be to create equally severe grievances elsewhere.

The Revolution of Nihilism—by Hermann Rauschning, Alliance Book Corporation, 1939.

Subtitled "Warning to the West," this book is a former Nazi official's warning to the world that Hitlerism is a destructive revolutionary movement threatening civilization. The last two chapters, "The March to Revolution" and "Toward Maximum Power and Dominion," are particularly pertinent to today's topic.

Step by Step—by Winston Churchill, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1939.

Britain's brilliant elder statesman traces step by step, from Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland to the consummation of the Anglo-Turkish Alliance this summer, the Nazi dynamism that has disrupted Europe's balance of power. Thinking far ahead of his colleagues in the World War, he is the new First Lord of the Admiralty, which gives new weight to this book.

Let the Record Speak—by Dorothy Thompson, Houghton Mifflin, 1939.

In this record of her columns for the past three years Miss Thompson reveals the startling number of her prophecies on European events that came to pass. Long before responsible British and French statesmen recognized Hitlerism for what it was—world revolution—this political prophetess discerned its dangerous significance.

War's Ingredients

The following is a partial list of issues involved in varying degrees in the present war in Europe. They are offered as racks on which firesiders can hang impromptu debates as they watch tonight's fireside embers burn on in mellow glow.

1. Democracy versus Dictatorship.
2. European hegemony versus Balance of Power.
3. Right versus Might.
4. Reason versus Force.
5. Ideas versus Guns.
6. The State versus the Individual.
7. Imperial ambitions.
8. Colonial aspirations.
9. Access to raw materials.
10. Living space.
11. Racism.
12. Autarchy.
13. Pride and prestige.
14. Population density.
15. Freedom of speech, press, religion.
16. Collective security.
17. Encirclement.
18. International co-operation.
19. Aggression.
20. Justice or justification.

The Baltic Nations: Again They Bend the Knee

Our setting is a wood-paneled library. Before a crackling fire sit a group in comfortable chairs, talking informally. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HURD, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"Russia has taken care of providing us with today's topic—by its rapid domination of the Baltic States. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have signed up and Finland is on its way to giving up something, although its sturdy determination to fight, backed up by Sweden, undoubtedly means only a modest bargain will be demanded.

"Perhaps the best way to start this discussion is with the people—for after all people make up a country. First as to numbers, we have 3,843,000 Finns, 1,126,000 Estonians, 1,950,000 Letts and 2,540,000 Lithuanians.

Question: "Having lived along these shores for ages, I suppose these people are racially much the same?"

Answer: "You'd naturally think so. But actually these four nations divided up into two very different groups. The Finns and the Estonians belong to the same racial family, which may be called the Ugrian and is kindred to the Hungarians. These people are also distantly related to the Turks and are originally of Mongolian origin.

"The other group, the Letts of Latvia and the Lithuanians, are of an entirely different family, which may be called Indo-European. Now these two groups are really complete islands in Europe, racially isolated from the three main European families, the Slavs, Germans and Latins."

Question: "Has this racial difference made a language difference, too?"

Answer: "Indeed it has. The Finnish and Estonian languages are completely different from those of the Letts and Lithuanians. The Finns and Estonians understand

each other's tongue. So do the Letts and Lithuanians. But the two groups don't understand one another. This applies to neighborliness, too for they have often been bitter enemies."

Question: "That's all very discouraging, Mr. Hurd. If little nations, with common opponents, can't get together, what hope have larger nations with their bigger differences?"

Answer: "There is hope. A careful study of these countries, especially Finland, Estonia and Latvia, strengthens your faith in human progress. In spite of the many hardships they have undergone they have made astonishing progress and have eliminated much of the friction there used to be."

Question: "Weren't the famous 'Baltic barons' up in that country? Were they oppressors and how did they come into power?"

Answer: "You're right. This was a stronghold of the Baltic barons. To see their place we have to go back to other oppressors. Probably the most lenient were the Swedes—who have been so peaceful for the last 100 years it is hard to believe they were once one of the most aggressive people in Europe. They began their domination of the Finns in 1157, completed it in 1293 and maintained it through five centuries to 1809 when Russia seized Finland.

"There were four other masters, the Poles, the Danes, the Germans and the Russians—of which the most onerous were the Germans. Crusading German knights, the Teutonic Order of St. Mary, fighting with no success in Palestine, came up to the Baltic hoping to find something less difficult than the Saracens. They were known as the Knights of the Cross. They found another set of Teutonic Knights, the Knights of the Sword, in the field."

Question: "But there were no infidels in the Baltic, were there?"

Answer: "No. But there were

plenty of heathen. The heathen drove out missionaries with spears—then the knights would come back with swords and shields to crush the heathen. The Knights of the Sword's headquarters building, dating back to 1201, still stands in Riga, Latvia. When they exterminated the heathen they took over their land. In fact it may be land that brought the second group, the Knights of the Cross, from Palestine—for the infidels had no good farmland. This second order headquartered at Marienburg, on the Vistula. These Teutonic knights acquired great property, wealth, authority and fame, mastered the whole southern Baltic and dominated East Prussia until 1919."

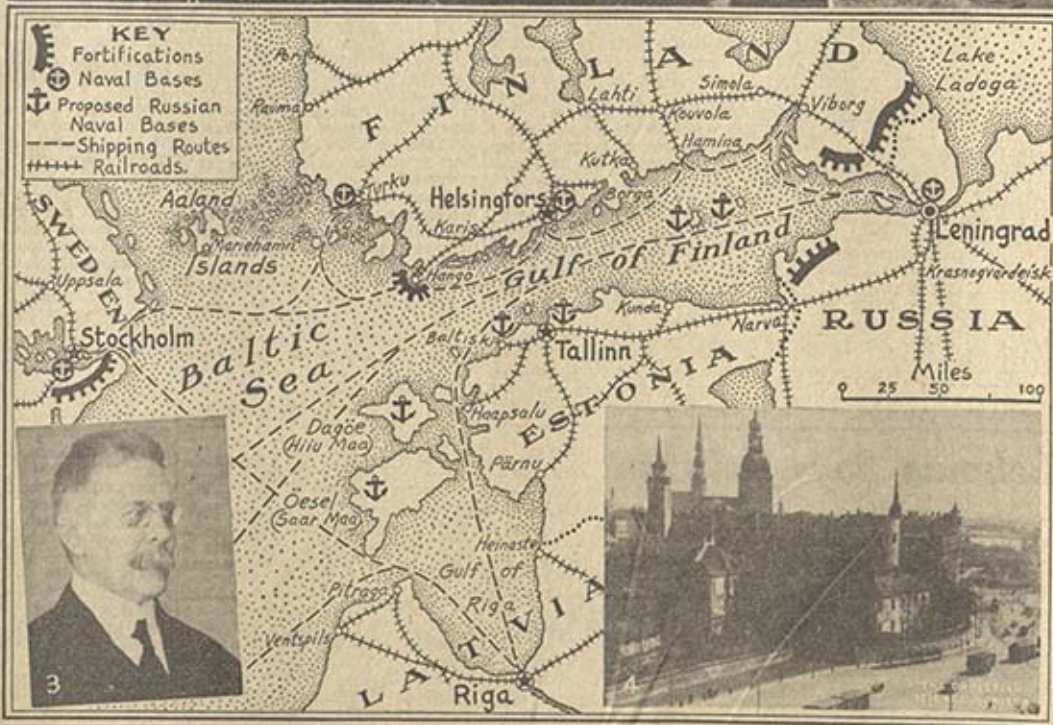
Question: "Did this so-called Christianization continue?"

Answer: "'So-called' is right. No. The orders were dissolved and these men and their descendants became feudal lords of the cruelest sort. They became the Baltic barons you mentioned. They were Germanizers rather than Christianizers. These German barons owned the best land, had extreme privileges and oppressed the non-German serfs. Even after Russia took over these lands Peter the Great made an agreement to let the Baltic barons continue, which they did with greater oppression than before."

Question: "Have the Baltic barons any influence today?"

Answer: "No. Interestingly enough, you know these Germans being sent back to Germany by the thousands from the Baltic States? Well, they are what is left of the old Baltic Barons. They have had little power since the war when, becoming free, these nations divided up the land among the people, breaking the power of the landholding barons.—And now I am going to have Mr. Markham, our guest again today, tell you more of these interesting but little known people—on page 59 of the Fireside just below."

The Baltic: Crossroads of Empires



K. Axel, Tallinn; James Sawyers; By a Staff Artist; Wide World

Land of Teutonic Knight and Baltic Baron

1. "Domberg" in Tallinn, Estonia. 2. A Finnish ferryman. 3. Prime Minister Almo Kaarlo Cajander, Finland. 4. Riga, Latvia.

'Much With Little' Is Key to the Baltic Lands

By R. H. Markham

When the Letts, Estonians, and Finns emerged from the swamps and jungles of Time, along with the other wild tribes of men, and wandered over Europe, seeking places in which to tend their goats and graze their cows, they chose uninviting districts near one of the least cordial seas. The Finns settled on its northern shore, the Estonians and Letts on its southern, and all tried to live in peace. They didn't covet warm or fruitful valleys, didn't try to monopolize ports, didn't set up toll stations on vital roads or water-ways, and were always ready to co-operate with neighbors.

They suffered constantly from other aggressive nations but still survive, cultivate their rather unpromising lands in an admirable way, care for their families with devotion, and strive to keep up with an advancing world. They are of much vigor, of large stature, frugal, religious, as a rule blond, usually blue-eyed. In spite of long humiliation they are by no means servile, are free from vindictiveness, and yearn for culture. During periods of even partial freedom these little peoples have reduced their illiteracy lower than that of the U. S. A.

In time all three of these peoples passed under the domination of the Swedes. Shortly after 1700 Peter, the Great, drove the Swedes out of Europe, taking the Letts and Estonians into the Russian Empire. A hundred years later another Russian Czar did the same with Finland. The Russian regime at times has been fairly light, much of the time terribly oppressive. In 1904-05 these little people tried to lighten the oppression by violent methods. All won their independence after the collapse of Imperial Russia.

The Letts

The Letts are the most southern group of the three. Their land is the size of West Virginia. They are known to be hardy, determined, stubborn. Most of them are engaged in farming, stock raising, or forestry. They have created a fairly

good school system, taken their land out of the hands of the old Teutonic owners, improved agriculture and done something to increase their industry. By separating from Russia they dealt a very serious blow to their commerce. They possess the best Baltic harbor and need Russia's trade in order to prosper.

The Estonians, lying between the Letts and the Gulf of Finland, are an even smaller nation. They occupy a little rectangle between Russia and the deep, blue sea. They also are farmers and mostly live in the country. They have only one city with as much as 100,000 inhabitants. Of their 18 towns, 10 have fewer than 10,000 inhabitants each. Their very low, flat land contains 1,500 lakes and much of it is covered with woods. Stock-raising is a leading occupation.

The land of both Latvia and Estonia has been re-distributed on a very equitable basis, and now most people who work land own it.

It goes without saying that the Letts and Estonians must co-operate with their gigantic Russian neighbor. What they want from that neighbor is autonomy—a very modest demand.

The Finns

Most remarkable of these three nations are the Finns, fewer than 4,000,000 in number, living across a narrow gulf from the Estonians. They occupy a dreary, amphibious land whose very name *Suomi* means swamp. It contains 40,000 lakes. Sixty-five per cent is watery. Some of it is covered with snow all the time; all, much of the time. It has only one ice-free harbor. It has practically no mineral wealth and is very poorly adapted to agriculture. Its chief natural resource is wood. The Finns pushed themselves into swamps, jungles and snows to be beyond the realm of invaders. They actually went where they thought no one else would wish to go. And as late as 100 years ago there were only 1,000,000 Finns in the world.

From 1154 to 1809 they were un-

der the Swedes; from 1809 to 1917 under the Russians; only since then have they been free.

All these things constitute extremely formidable handicaps. Yet, in spite of them, the Finns are among the most advanced peoples in Europe. Their forests are excellently preserved and efficiently utilized; they have placed their agriculture on a very high level; their industry is steadily growing, their shipping is expanding, their land is fairly distributed, co-operatives are the basis of natural economy, illiteracy is almost unknown; in literature, art, science, and sport, the Finns have achieved noteworthy results; they have created beautiful cities, and they pay their debts. A cursory knowledge of the Finns excites astonishment; a more profound knowledge only increases that astonishment.

The Finns have a supremely great problem, namely, their relations with Russia. It is now very acute. Only mutual concessions can bring a satisfactory solution.

Russian Bear

The southeastern border of Finland is within 15 miles of Leningrad, Russia's only western outlet. The Finns have strongly fortified that border. They are pointing cannon at Russia's only door. No great power could be indifferent to such a situation. America would not passively tolerate it, nor would Great Britain. Germany's treatment of Czechoslovakia shows how it deals with such a menace. Russia has one long narrow outlet to the sea, namely, the Gulf of Finland. In that, Finland maintains fortifications at four points—four bolts to Russia's lock. 170,000,000 people will not willingly permit 4,000,000 people to hold control over such a vital road. So, there must be an agreement.

Russians need not subjugate Finns; Finland need not defy Russia. In a balanced Europe co-operation would be quite possible. But in today's unbalanced Europe no one dare predict future developments.

Through the Bristling Baltic Labyrinth

Finland

Now we're off—in a little boat—making a Baltic tour.

Aaland Islands

We begin at the Aaland Islands. They're called an archipelago, which has a fine dynamic sound. It starts like a sneeze, ends like a horse race. It ought to mean big sea, but has come to mean big bunch of islands. This bunch has 300.

We're starting from the big one, containing the harbor of Mariehamn. Maybe you hear it called Mariahamina. Every city on our trip will have more than one name. That's because they've belonged to many masters.

Now we'll visit these lands of many masters. Button up your coat, for it's snowing already. Hold your hat on, for there will be lots of wind. We are going into the long entrance of a cave of winds, containing a big, black bear at the end. The bear wants to hold the exit from his cave. It's the only sure one he's got, and even it's frozen shut much of the time.

Hango Head

We're off, steering through the islands to Hango Head, 100 miles away.

Swish, swish. We're there. Not much of a place. But the beginning of a marvelous country. This is Finland's "Land's End"; it contains a fort and a little city, and the only ice-free harbor. You see excellent wharfs, sturdy freight boats, a railroad station, well-kept streets, well-stocked stores, substantial houses.

Our little port is 250 miles from Leningrad and 40 from the opposite side of the Gulf of Finland. That is the size of the long thin entrance to Russia: 250 by 40 miles. From here to Helsinki (Helsingfors) is 70 miles.

We are on the way to Helsinki.

Helsinki

Swish, swish. A little more swish, swish. We're there.

And what a place! You'd never guess it was the capital of a poor lake-covered, tree-covered, snow-covered land, with fewer than 4,000,000 inhabitants. There's not a country in Europe that wouldn't be proud to have built it.

We enter a splendid harbor, see a magnificent railroad station, wide boulevards lined with large new stores, extensive parks, impressive schools, a museum that need feel embarrassed before no other on the continent.

Helsinki, a Finnish city on a Finnish Gulf, cries, "Small people, too, have a right to live and grow and be happy, even in the Baltics." As a sign of that determination, the Finns have fortified a lofty cluster of granite hills lying at the south of the harbor.

Vilpuri

We leave—we go 150 miles east—we arrive at Vilpuri (Viborg). A play city, a

business city, a fighting city. A Finnish Venice, a Finnish Verdun. A place for soft moonlight and for wild thunderbolts. It has fortresses, dungeons, battlements; bathing beaches, gentle canals to lace-like lakes, shaded paths in silent forests. Here is where the Russian spear first entered Finland. The throwers of that spear hold another one ready.

Leningrad

We leave Vilpuri and shall go right into the spear-holder's camp. We skirt a wooded shoulder and coast to Leningrad, through which Czar Peter opened the first door for Russia. Before us is a city of nearly 3,000,000 people, marking the frontiers of an almost illimitable land. Behind its quays and battlements, the only ones in all Russia whose stones are lapped by the free waters of unconfined seas, are uncounted numbers of men, unmeasured power, irrepressible force. All that might, gathered from a hundred valleys and a thousand steppes, must emerge here. That may be why you often hear rumbling in Russia, why the Baltics sometimes quake.

Perhaps you feel it now. Let us get out. "Blow, winds, blow. Take us on our way."

Narva

They do, and bring us 110 miles back to Narva, a little town sitting on a little river, the Narova. We're in a new land, amid a new people. Here Estonia begins. Our port is a drab settlement, where peasant women assemble to sell eggs and cheese. Level plains stretch toward the West; level plains stretch toward the East. The western plains run seven score miles to the sea; the eastern plains run 10,000 miles to Japan. On one side of the Narova are 1,000,000 Estonians; on the other, eight score million Russians. Could this midget people keep those Russians from the sea?

They never have. Russia has often been blocked at the Narova River, but not by the Estonians. Danes came; Teutons came; Swedes came; it was they who kept the Russians back. The Estonians were peasants serving them all.

Tallinn

We go on to Tallinn, 120 miles away. It's the capital of Estonia. Towers bristle in it, fortresses glower over it. Battlements encircle it. All for foreigners. Danes founded it. Germans captured it. Poles threatened it. Lithuanians took it. A Danish king got it back and sold it to the Knights of the Cross, as though the capital of Estonia were a peck of oats. Swedes conquered it and held it more than a century. Russians took it from them and kept it two centuries. Now Russians are here again. The Estonians' 20 years of freedom during the 20 centuries of humiliation have ended.

We leave Tallinn, sail west to the end

of the Finnish Gulf, then coast due south. On 2 large islands, lying low in the water you see activity. It is the Russians establishing themselves that they may command the Baltic. The dusk, the sea, the low dark shores mingle together, time vanishes and you imagine you see Danes, Teutons, Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, chasing each other over other people's fields.

Latvia

Riga

We come into a large gulf. We lose sight of land. We come to land again—at Riga, the largest city in the Baltics. We are in a new country, in the capital of the Letts, a tiny nation entirely different from the Estonians, unrelated to the Russians, alien to the Teutons.

This is a flat, thin-soled land, none too productive, largely covered with woods, pasture, patches of flax. How can it support a capital of nearly 400,000 people? It can't. Riga used to be a chief port of Russia. It served the world's largest land empire. It was the greatest timber export center on the globe. It was the end of a water route coming from New York, which met a land route coming from Vladivostok.

Riga is very old and is divided into two parts, straddling the River Dwina. A strange bridge joins them, which is taken into the house every winter as a potted flower, to protect it from the ice. One hundred thirty days each year the ice serves as bridge. In the old town are castles, fortresses, towers; old houses line crooked little streets which run into market places where blue-eyed women sell chickens and potatoes.

Most striking among the ancient buildings is the castle of the Knights of the Sword, who long ruled this land. It has stood there half a millennium, and the Knights were here long before it was built. The mothers and fathers of those ruddy-cheeked women for twice thirty generations served foreigners. Now, foreigners, after an absence of twenty years, have come back. The Russians are regaining mastery of the towers. Riga will again serve the Russian empire. Let's hope it will be a profitable service.

Lithuania

Fifty miles to the South lies Lithuania, the fourth little Baltic land; but unfortunately we can't go there, because the Germans have taken their only port—Memel.

Our little excursion for today, then, is over.

"Au revoir, little Baltic States, tenaciously clinging to the continent's coast—even as the rumbling Russian roller moves to push you into the Baltic Sea."

"Fare ye well, Baltic brothers!"

Bulgaria: Key to a Balkan Scandinavia?

An informal group weighs today's news and its meaning. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HUNT, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"News that Germany is favoring Balkan unity, to offset Russian threats and provide a stable source of foods to offset the Allied blockade, brings Bulgaria right into our discussion today—for Bulgaria is the one element in the Balkans that is least united to its fellow countries. And it's fitting that we should study this country, for it is one of the most interesting in all Europe, yet one of the least known.

"In the Balkan war, preceding the World War, Bulgaria sustained territorial losses. Then she picked the wrong side in the World War, the Central Powers, and lost further territory. All this estranged her from her neighbors although she is of similar race, has fine soldiers and really much in common with the other Balkan countries."

Question: "With Russia moving into the Balkan picture, isn't Bulgaria caught in a jam between Russia and Turkey?"

Answer: "I should say, No. In fact, Russia is apparently a stabilizing force in the Balkans at present, although moving down there in the apparent role of an aggressor. What Russia has done is to strike a balance with Germany, which means neither one is likely to move. Now such a stalemate, to all intents and purposes, is sheer protection for the Balkans. Although both Germany and Russia would like to dominate the Balkans, neither can possibly let the other one get such an advantage—so neither moves. The result—the Balkans are freed for the moment from any threat and can tend to their peaceful pursuits with possible closer co-operation under the potential threats of any change in Russo-German balance-in-opposition."

Question: "Well, how about Turkey, then?"

Answer: "Your original question inferred a Bulgaria caught between the pincers of Russia and Turkey. With Russia neutralized for the moment, one half the pincers is out. The other half therefore lacks the co-operation necessary for a major move. But actually there is no inherent reason for Turkey to move on Bulgaria. Bulgar-Turkish relations are pretty good, right now. You will remember in our article on Turkey we showed Turkey content in making its present country strong, with expansion to the south if in any direction. That certainly is no threat to the Bulgarians. The past relations between the two seems to be pretty much forgotten, with some 600,000 Turks living happily in Bulgaria, quite unmolested and evidently willing to remain there."

Question: "Does that mean that no trouble is likely to originate in Bulgaria?"

Answer: "You can hardly say that. The Bulgarians are a very fiery little nation, noted for their radicalism and bold revolutionary spirit. Not passive by nature, they often start things, and at the moment they have deep-seated wants that need to be satisfied. One of the most important is the restoration of Dobruja, now under Rumanian rule, but predominantly Bulgarian by population. Rumania took it when the Bulgarians were helpless, during a series of quarrels with Turkey, Greece and Serbia. Naturally, they resent that act terribly and want the country back."

Question: "But will Bulgaria go to war for Dobruja?"

Answer: "That is a question. King Boris is moderate and pacific. He is popular. For the moment he appears able to hold back the nationalism of the fanatical patriots such as are found in all lands. Now if Russia came in and gave a push, that would be something different. With Russian aid promised there probably would be no holding back the great tide of

nationalist feeling about Dobruja, and Bulgaria would likely march."

Question: "Aren't the Bulgarians afraid of the Russians? And if so why do they trust them?"

Answer: "It is the same old story we've told you before of national motives persisting despite what regimes come in. Russia originally freed Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke. Bulgaria is eternally grateful. Russia is Slav. So are the Bulgarians. Russia is 'Dedo Ivan' or 'Grandpa John' to the peasants.

Question: "How about Bulgaria and Greece?"

Answer: "Now you have touched upon another important point. Bulgaria has major claims against Greece, including an outlet or port on the Aegean Sea and a corridor running between Turkey and Greece. There is justice in this attitude. Bulgaria once held that territory. It was also promised it in the peace treaties. It needs the port."

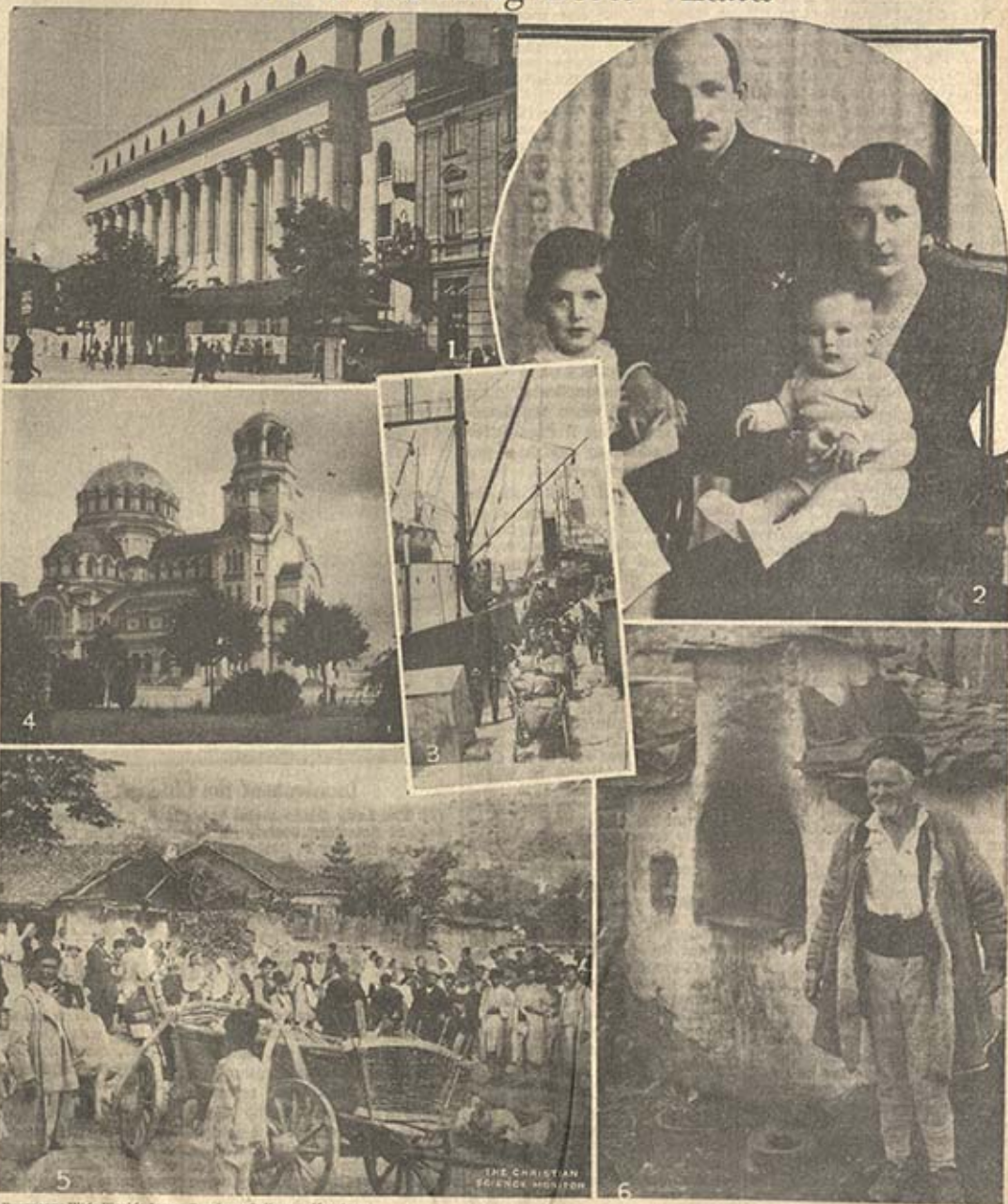
"In addition, Bulgaria claims that Greece has taken large territories in Western Thrace and Macedonia that should be restored. Bulgaria even claims Salonika. Finally, it claims that 120,000 Bulgarians, living in Greece, are badly treated. Yet despite these inherent problems the Sofia government is not inclined to press them now."

Question: "Then the unity needed in the Balkans should include adjustments such as Bulgaria wants?"

Answer: "Certainly, to quite a degree. If all the nations would come together and be willing to make what are really mostly small sacrifices, the Balkans could become as united as Scandinavia, as capable of working together and supplying markets the way Scandinavia does today, and strongly joined for defense. The very threats of today may bring that about when peace would not."

And now for our guest speaker, our friend, R. H. Markham, the Monitor's Balkan expert, who lived many years in Bulgaria—on Fireside Page 103.

In 'Good King Boris' Land



European; Wide World; James Sawyers; Galloway; Keystone

Bulgarian Society, Outside of Sofia, Is Distinctly Rural

(1) The new Court House in Sofia. (2) Bulgaria's Royal Family. (3) Burgas, Black Sea port. (4) Alexander Nevsk Cathedral in Sofia. (5) Primitive market in Berkowitza, Bulgaria. (6) Bulgarian peasant.

Bulgaria—Nation of Frugal, Faithful Folk

By R. H. Markham

Bulgaria is a nation, consisting of almost nothing but people, which means that the Bulgarians haven't a ponderous history to burden them, nor a rigid tradition to cramp them, nor "classes" to make them snobbish. The Bulgarians are all folks and show what kind of a society folks create.

Naturally, it is rural. Bulgaria has only two cities with 100,000 inhabitants each. One is Sofia, the capital, with 320,000. It abounds in well kept parks, has a magnificent cathedral, several imposing school buildings, many attractive streets and a few admirable monuments.

The Bulgarian people are very frugal. They are not inclined to show off or make a splurge. You couldn't tell a rich Bulgarian from a poor one. Both would sit together at a plain little table, noisily sipping black coffee made of barley, from tiny cups, and exclaiming, "Hard times, hard times!" And probably they'd both own houses and apartments. You'd hardly find an adult Bulgarian so poor that he hadn't owned a dwelling at least once in his life.

"Texan" Slavs

The Bulgarian is a Slav, but is a special kind of Slav. Part of him is Turanian or Asiatic and that seems to have made him hard. Twelve hundred years ago a group of thin, tall, savage horsemen with long moustaches and high cheekbones rode out of Asia across the Danube into Bulgaria, which was inhabited by very primitive Slav peasants. The predatory invaders conquered the natives, but were soon swallowed up by them. However, they seem to have left some iron or energy or grit in the people's character. You might say the Bulgarians are the Texans of the Balkans. They carry guns, shoot straight, and do not go out of their way to avoid fights. They're always defending Alamos.

They work even better than they

fight. They are among the best small farmers in the world. They aren't so experienced at co-operating on a large scale, as the Danes, but at intensive farming on a small scale, they have few peers. They have turned their country into a garden, literally into the world's principal rose garden. Bulgaria produces most of the world's attar of roses.

The people work hard and live simply. They dwell for the most part in compact villages surrounded by small fields, grazing grounds, and sometimes woodlands. Until recently the houses were of adobe plastered over wicker frames. The better families white-washed them outside and in, every Easter. Now hundred of villages consist of brick houses. Many villages are built about springs, along streams, or on hillsides—and as a rule, they are picturesque. Inside, the dwellings are clean; the yards are not. In every village there is a good school and church; often there is a reading room and co-operative.

Family Life

Religious holidays give verve and ardor to drab village life; gay hand-made costumes give color to gray streets and squares. The social center is a village spring or well. Grandmas and grandpas exercise great authority, but youth has always been spirited and every village has grandmas who could tell how they in their youth had eloped or were stolen. Now, as a rule, girls can marry the boys of their hearts' desire, without resorting to the rather dangerous excitement of being kidnaped on dashing steeds.

Families are large. During the busy part of the year they all go to the rather distant fields together, with neither grandma nor baby lacking. When the field is reached baby is hung in his tiny hammock from a wild pear tree and little sister is left to tend him. Little brother watches the sheep or goats on the hillsides, blowing a home-made flute. Big brother watches

the herd of buffalo or cows on the grazing grounds, while he squeezes music from a home-made bagpipe. The shepherds eat bread. The family in the field add vinegar, sour milk, or garlic to their bread, and in season, grapes, onions, soup, apples, white cheese. On the great holidays they all eat meat.

Over a millennium ago, the Bulgarians had a short golden era. Their great King Simeon was wise and mighty. He dominated the whole Balkans and gave rise to a praiseworthy culture. That created a glow for the Bulgarians and left them something to live up to. The new little Crown Prince is named Simeon. Before the great Simeon was King Boris, who gave Bulgaria Christianity; the present King is Boris III.

Faith in Man

After the golden era, Bulgaria, as the rest of the Balkans, spent half a century under Turkish domination. It was freed by Russia in 1878. During the 60 years since its liberation it has passed through very stormy times, but has not ceased to make progress. At heart very radical, in governmental practices it alternates between extreme reforms and extreme reaction. For five years it has been kept in a middle way by its excellent King Boris. It has a very advanced constitution and liberal laws. Property is equitably divided. A very good system of education exists and illiteracy has largely disappeared. Sofia University is a good school. Bulgaria's new literature, art, music compare very favorably with any in Southeast Europe.

Life in Sofia, where there is a National Theater, a National Opera, a Symphony Orchestra, well developed sports, and dynamic, universal intellectual interests, is very agreeable.

Bulgaria was freed under the impulse of Byronic, Whitmanesque ideals—that man believed in man. Bulgaria, in spite of all frustration, still lives by this faith.

Ivan Petroff Broadcasts From Sofia

Hello, everybody! Sofia calling; Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria.

Ivan Petroff speaking; Ivan Petroff, the son of Peter Ivanoff.

They call me Vancho, for short. I am a shepherd boy from the village of Shiroki Dol, at the foot of Mt. Vitosha, 15 miles from here. The name of my village means "wide valley." Vitosha is a big cluster of high, beautiful mountains, towering above Sofia. It culminates in "Cherni Vruk," or Black Peak, and contains rapids, crags, precipices, deep gullies, forests, and several piles of huge, "golden boulders" that look as though they had run through the holes of a sack that some giant was carrying over the land.

Musicians All

On all holidays and week ends everybody in Sofia puts on tourist clothes, places bread, cheese, black olives, white garlic in his knapsack and climbs Vitosha. All the valleys echo with song.

Every Bulgarian shepherd is musical. All the rest of the Bulgarians, too. We sing our way through life, using folk songs and folk melodies. Every piece is anonymous, a creation of the people themselves. We have cradle songs and lullabies, songs for meeting and parting, for the road and the inn, for guest and host, for sowing and reaping, for mountain and plain, for spring and autumn, for betrothal and weddings, for rose gathering and wheat harvest.

We sing on the way to our fields, at the field, on the way home, to flowers and brooks and mountain peaks. We sing in choruses, responsively, solo. At harvest time as we sickle and shock our wheat, one group often sings to another; one girl sometimes sings the verses and her companions the choruses. Our liveliest songs are those which set the rhythm for our folk dances; the finest ones are our Christmas and Easter hymns.

Bandit Songs

The most alluring are our "Haiduk" or bandit songs. You see we Bulgarians were 500 years under Turkish domination. We were completely suppressed. All Bulgarian leaders were exterminated, only shepherds and peasants were left.

In spite of that, practically all Bulgarians refused to become Moslems. The pious built little churches half sunk in the ground, where they worshipped, while some of the bold, rebellious youth went into the mountains to become bandits and terrify Turkish tyrants. They robbed the rich and distributed the money among the poor, freed stolen maidens, drove out rapacious tax collectors, slept in caves, roasted stolen sheep over camp fires. Every boy wanted to be a "haiduk." Now when we tramp in wild, lonely mountains we love to sing Haiduk songs.

Our most beloved poet was a real haiduk. His name was Botieff. True to form he had wavy hair and a long black beard. He left Bulgaria, lived in great destitution in Rumania, organized a band of refugee Bulgarian rebels and led them back into Bulgaria to free it from the Turks. He and his band were killed. Every year thousands of Bulgarian youths go on a pilgrimage to the distant peak where Botieff made his last stand.

Literacy

Our greatest writer, Ivan Vazoff, won world fame with his poems about Botieff and his novel called "Under the Yoke," in which he describes Bulgaria's struggle for liberation.

Even though a shepherd, I know some of his poems by heart. Among Bulgarians of my age 95 per cent can read and write. We are quite proud of that and perhaps we have reason to be, for the first book to be written in modern Bulgarian appeared only a century ago. It recently celebrated its hundredth birthday. When it appeared, there wasn't a school in all the land. Ninety-nine per cent of us were illiterate. Even our church services were in Greek. No educated man anywhere humiliated himself by speaking the crude language of Bulgarian shepherds. At that time most Bulgarian peasants actually lived in the same buildings with their animals.

Politics

We have had a notable peasant awakening and liberation. Half of us villagers have beds now. Most have stoves. Practically all have moved up from dugouts into decent houses. Many even have brick houses. Half have replaced their wooden plows with iron ones. There are already 1,000 peasant reading rooms in our villages.

We have a very strong peasant movement or party, known as the Agrarian League. Twenty years ago it was the chief political party in Bulgaria. Now all political organizations are outlawed, but our party still exists in our hearts, and is still the greatest force in the country.

Its most noted leader was Alexander Stanboliski, a big, bold, burly peasant from a village near the town of Tatar Pazardjik. He was against the World War and opposed it with such fire that our King, Ferdinand, put him in jail. At the end of the war Stanboliski was released, the King fled, and the peasants came to power. Stanboliski was made Prime Minister and we clodhoppers were masters of our land.

Peasants' "Day"

Farmers filled Parliament; the professors said it smelt of cow stables. Well, why shouldn't it? We make up 80 per cent of the Bulgarian people, produce its wealth, fight its wars, compose its songs, create its art. We are Bulgaria. So why

shouldn't men with pigskin moccasins and sheepskin caps fill Parliament?

But the white-collared people don't agree. They formed a conspiracy, threw out the peasants and massacred Stanboliski along with hundreds of other peasant leaders.

He is our second national hero—after Botieff.

Russian Tie

Our third, you may say, is the Russian Czar Liberator, Alexander II. It was he and his Russian army that freed us from the Turks. Our big cathedral, the best in the Balkans, is built in honor of Russia. Our finest monument is to him.

We, as the Russians, are Slavs; we, as they, are tense, artistic, musical, rabid, yearning. Many of us are Communists, Anarchists, Tolstoists, vegetarians, teetotalers. We are crusaders. No one disputes our title to be considered the world's best revolutionists. Nobody is so fanatical as a Bulgarian in defending an idea—even a bad one.

Sunday "Best"

Our peasants look clumsy and rough but are very able. Not many people can get more out of an acre of ground than we can. We love the land and treat it lovingly. We don't try to compete with America, Canada, and Australia in providing wheat—for our valleys are small, and our fields tiny. We raise special things, delicious articles that require masters. European markets recognize our mastery.

Well, it's about time to say goodbye. I'm sorry I can't see you all. You ought to see me, too, I've got on my Sunday clothes. They are: pigskin moccasins my dad "Uncle Peter" made; red, gray, orange socks, which my mother "Grandma Rada" knit. She spins the yarn from wool taken from our own sheep. The socks are pulled up over my thick brown wool breeches which my big sister wove. They will wear 20 years.

Do Vizhdony

I have a very nice white jacket of sheepskin and a beautifully hand-embroidered shirt. It has figures of goats, dogs, horses, birds on its collar, sleeves and bosom. My cap is of sheepskin, too. I've taken it off for this special occasion, though I usually wear it in the house. It's a habit we got from the Turks. They take their shoes off and keep their hats on. That's not so bad. Shoes are dirty, hats aren't.

Well, I can't go on any longer, though there's lots more to say. I hope you like Bulgaria and will come to see it. You certainly won't go hungry. If you don't like our fiery peppers and sour milk we'll give you what you do like,—along with magnificent mountains, exquisite valleys, and an interesting people.

I hope we'll be seeing you. Till then, Do vizhdony (so long). R. H. M.

France: Strength Through Balance

Your Chairman Speaks:

"A Country whose language has dominated European courts and literary circles for centuries, which has produced original thinking influencing all the world, yet a country of not great area, of only 40,000,000 population, which still dominates in Europe, is a country to consider. You have asked often about France and what makes it what it is. Now to really answer that would take a five foot shelf of books. The issues are many, their ramifications great. Any one is worthy of special treatment. But we can get a few fundamentals and touch upon them in the time we have today.

"Perhaps the best summary of the power and influence of France is that it is a matured and balanced country—and this applies to the people despite cartoons showing the Frenchman as a volatile and often unstable character. Let's start geographically. Here is a country of vast fruitful plains, superb mountains, an ocean, a sea, great rivers and excellent harbors. Note that this is a balanced distribution of good points."

Question: "How about the results of this distribution in economics?"

Answer: "France gains its greatest strength from its balanced economics. Consider the percentages of the following: Agriculture 41 per cent, industry 30 per cent and commerce 10 per cent."

Question: "I have heard of a few great families dominating French wealth. Is that true?"

Answer: "That report is because the Bank of France has long been controlled by a number of wealthy families. But taking the country as a vast whole you find a marked balance in the wealth distribution, with nearly all the land owned by peasants and the capital by small people."

Question: "I should think that France, as the arbiter of court elegance, fashion and language, would

have developed a marked class consciousness which you could hardly call balanced?"

Answer: "No, even here France is balanced. Grand chateaux mark the country as symbols of class domination—but there is no aristocracy in the ordinary sense of the word and very little snobbishness. From the revolution on, France has steadily broken down such barriers. France is marked by superb cathedrals and there is much piety—yet at the same time there is practically no Clericalism or anti-Clericalism—another indication of balance."

Question: "Does France strike a balance in the distribution of its population, too?"

Answer: "Yes, it does. The cities have 52 per cent and the country 48 per cent. There are no waste places in France."

Question: "How about racialism in France?"

Answer: "The French very definitely are brotherly. In what country are so many refugees of all kinds and classes? France welcomes all races and creeds impartially."

"Actually France itself is made up of a number of races. Most people think of the French as just French. But take your Norman and he is distinct from his neighbors to the west in Brittany. Both of these are very different from the Gascons and Basques in southern France. Yet through maturity they have become strongly welded. Different as they are, they are all Frenchmen, ready to stand shoulder to shoulder against any invasion of their country—or their rights!"

Question: "France has been called decadent. How can that be if its army is so good?"

Answer: "France is only mature, not decadent. The brash, younger countries, full of youthful zeal, a sense of physical strength, and impatient, see France that way even as a strong young man thinks any man of 40 is out of the running. He often finds to his sorrow that this is

not so, that in addition to physical ability the older man brings such wisdom and skill to his defense that the younger man is quite out-classed. It is the same way with countries.

"Note that the present method of warfare on the western front is based on the mature defense idea, rather than the youthful exuberance of throwing away men against machine guns that characterized the Allies in the World War. As to the question of balance, the Frenchman, which means the French soldier, hates war—yet the French army is the best in Europe today. The French citizen-soldier brings a high intelligence to his point of view, yet he is ready to apply that intelligence to this thing he hates if he has to."

Question: "But France's politics are unstable. Look at the way the parties split up and fight. Look at the many changes of government."

Answer: "Those are surface indications. The Frenchman insists on being an individual. In politics that makes for dynamic changes, for dramatic charges and counter charges, for changes of government. That is fun for the Frenchman, a pattern he enjoys and a way to let off steam. But just touch him below that surface, as at present and those things go out the window in a split second. France stands steady, united and unafraid. The French calmly look at a chronically disturbed Europe and say—"Il faut en finir"—"it must be ended."

Question: "Could you tell us how this balance, how these French qualities have reacted in this present crisis?"

Answer: "We cabled that French writer who understands not only the English language but the Anglo-Saxon mind, André Maurois, for an answer to that question. Despite his present heavy duties in the Ministry of Information, he took time off to answer you by cable and you'll find that answer just below on Fireside page 51."

It Takes Them All to Make Up France



NORMANDY



FLANDERS



BASQUE



DAUPHINE

KEY
Industrial Centers.

French Economy

Agriculture 41%	Industry 30%
Commerce 10%	Civil Service 6%
Transport 5%	Misc. 8%



BRITTANY



ALSACE

© Screen Traveler from Gendreau; Roberts, Wide World; Osloway

The Regions of France Preserve Their Rugged Individuality

From the Alps to the Pyrenées, from the Mediterranean to the English Channel—where before there were a dozen or more Provinces—there is now only France.

'Il Faut en Finir' Say the French

By André Maurois

The first trait which strikes one is that the France of 1939, beginning the war, is calm. In August, 1914, orchestras in the cafés played the hymns of the Allied nations and singing crowds escorted the departing regiments. Enthusiasm in some, anxiety among others, were visible. September, 1939, the giant mechanism of mobilization went into effect silently. I haven't seen a procession, heard a song, cry or insult. The resolution of all is firm, perhaps firmer than 1914. All French people think life in Europe these last three years had become unbearable, but all feel horror of the idea of war and see it only as a necessary police operation.

The second striking characteristic is the perfection of the military machine. Summoning men in groups at regular intervals, timing their arrival at barracks, and equipping departing regiments for the front, placing troops under arms—all this is being done with the precision of a well-organized review.

French Army

It is difficult to convey to Americans the precise idea of confidence the French people have in their Army. One is so sure of its value that one scarcely speaks of it. General Gamelin is a secretive man whose silence may become legendary. He maintains around his plans the atmosphere of mystery which may frustrate journalists in the exercise of their profession—but the French people approve. They know that Gamelin formerly made the plan for the victory of the Marne and that he will obtain maximum results with minimum losses.

Contrary to what occurred in 1914 one hears in Paris few rumors regarding military plans. The best informed know nothing. If spies overhear our conversations they learn nothing important. Especially regarding the arrival of British troops the silence has been so long and well maintained that the Ger-

mans have continually declared in their radio propaganda broadcasts, "The British will never come," to French towns and villages actually filled with British soldiers, tanks and airplanes. Dr. Goebbels doesn't know the comic effects which he sometimes obtains against his own will.

In 1914, life behind the lines long remained very animated. In 1939, threats of air bombardment place the rear itself in the war. Cities are black when night falls. It is almost impossible to drive automobiles after sunset. One goes out very little evenings. A small number of moving picture theaters, possessing good shelters, remain open until 10. Men and women move about only with gas masks.

Business Carries On

However, there is an effort to keep industries working. Clothing shops make collections models. One created a special dress for air alarms, an impenetrable costume of double lambskin, provided with boots whereto the gas mask may be attached. A part of the population in the frontier districts and in Paris has been evacuated. There is unanimous movement of generosity in the provinces receiving refugees. Even the poorest give up covers, mattresses and warm clothes so that the children don't suffer.

Organization is naturally difficult in the beginning, but the French people are resourceful. From the day of arrival one begins to find order. After two months one will find refugees at work. Workshops will have been established and directors will have come forward. Schools will be reorganized.

One woman of a Parisian household, obliged to send to the country her two children, aged seven and nine, said to me gravely, "This worries me because of their studies." This is a very French attitude and shows the importance which even the simplest people attach to education. However, the great unity of the French educa-

tional system makes it easy for a child from Strasbourg or Paris, now a refugee in the west or south of France, to resume studies in another school at precisely the same point.

I am glad to think that despite the war, despite this immense migration of the masses, the students at all French high schools were able to reassemble at the customary hour and undertake the same Latin translations, French compositions and geometrical problems as during the time of peace. The famous College de France has its refuge where it commenced its courses and researches at the customary date. As for L'Académie Française, for three centuries it has met in Paris every Thursday to compose the dictionary of the language. Neither the War of 1870 nor that of 1914 has interrupted these sessions. This time again L'Académie will remain in its post. Here in France we simply continue to the best of our ability to carry on our customary activity. This is true for the whole country. French consider this war a frightful catastrophe, but they think "This cannot go on thus. To live as one has lived since Hitler came into power is not to live. As Chamberlain said the other day, one must finish it. Let us work."

Reading Habits

I asked a Paris librarian, "Do men departing for the front take books?" He replied, "Yes, and especially the great classical authors. They buy Montaigne, Stendhal, Beaudelaire and Pascal." I think it's admirable that those who are ready to give their lives to defend the civilization which they love intend during their free moments to refresh their minds at the purest sources of this civilization.

France

President: Albert Lebrun
Premier: Edouard Daladier
Area: 212,681 square miles
Population: 42,000,000
Colonies: 4,275,000 square miles
102,000,000 inhabitants

The French Cock Crows

Government

France was long the teacher, guide, inspirer of Europe. In the realm of government her contribution is beyond measure. It was the first continental state to create a nation. That happened under the domination of two mighty despots, the resplendent Louis XIV and the Corsican plebeian, Napoleon.

The French also showed the way to freedom. Voltaire (1694-1778) was the matchless teacher of the whole continent. He created an epoch, for he elevated common men above kings. First among Europeans of that age, Voltaire refused to fawn before emperors.

It is quite certain that no group of intellectuals ever exerted so rapid, extensive, and profound a political influence on so many people as the French Encyclopedists. They prepared the French Revolution (1789), which was a turning point in history.

Enlightenment

In the realm of enlightenment France's pre-eminence is not so matchless, but her contribution is very great. France helped create the spirit essential to good education, and provided splendid teachers.

One mark of modern education is that it is for the masses. During all the ages there have been schools for the elite. Now there are schools for all.

Nazi, Fascist, Communist culture is exactly the opposite. They do not educate, but train. They do not open minds, but close them.

Of course France, alone, did not create the higher ideal. It developed in America; also, as well as in England, Switzerland, and among the Czechs. But the chief impetus for democratic education in Europe came from France. Its first great apostle was Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose influence it is difficult to overestimate. He was illogical, irrational, frequently inconsistent. But he had boundless enthusiasm, and a flaming faith. He believed in people. He was not afraid to open the whole world and all paths of knowledge to them.

Literature

Almost nowhere are comparisons more invidious than in literature. A drama or poem or song only suffers from extravagant praise. Many European nations have produced supremely great books. One dares say nothing more of any literature than that it deserves a place among the best. French literatures does.

It is marked by clarity, eloquence, wit, balance. It is bright, sharp, subtle, human. It is often ennobling, frequently enriching, always entertaining, usually enlightening.

One of its first great names is John Calvin (1509-64), whose "Institution of the Christian Religion" is perhaps the first classic book written in vernacular French.

During the 17th century no fewer than a hundred dramatists were writing in France. The genius of three of them, Corneille, Moliere, Racine, still delights all Europe. Victor Hugo (1802-1885) by his novels and poems inspires every new generation. There is hardly an educated man on the continent who does not enjoy Anatole France (1844-1924). Almost every idealist in every land goes to Romain Rolland for wisdom, guidance, and inspiration. These are just a handful of kernels taken from a granary that during many centuries has provided bread for Europe's hungry, and delicacies for its connoisseurs.

Military Science

War is not a genial subject. Aggression has brought France inestimable harm. But her lines of bayonets have also saved her. Now again her whole future depends on her army. It is not necessary to recall that in the science of war France has no superior.

Foch showed this two decades ago. Turenne repeatedly showed this at the time of Louis XIV. Even the simple French girl, Jean d'Arc showed it. Napoleon showed it supremely.

In the end he completely failed. He was much more than a soldier; he had marvelous plans for reorganizing Europe. Some of them he realized. Most he frustrated because of his inordinate ambitions.

Art

The highest beauty in form and color is a co-operative creation, achieved by many generations and peoples. No nation has a monopoly of artistic genius. All it dare hope is to make its contribution. France has done that abundantly.

Three things illustrate this. One is Gothic architecture. Many people feel that stones have never assumed more im-

posing and inspiring form than in Gothic edifices.

A supreme French creation was Versailles, constructed by Louis XIV. It was a vast undertaking, harmonious in every detail. It reveals order, precision, delicacy, balance.

It does not appeal to modern lovers of beauty very much. But it had a stupendous influence on Europe. Throughout the whole continent there was no emperor so mighty, no baron so humble, and no banker so modest that he didn't build a Versailles of his own. They are as common as Hotel Bristol.

In any modern European museum or art gallery a visitor immediately detects French influence. It is usually as plain as a rock stratum in a canyon. Modern painting almost classifies itself into epochs of before and after certain French creations or tendencies. Modern French art is bold, versatile, and dynamic, but balanced. It dominates continental art almost as the Revolution dominated European politics.

Read On—

Magazines

First Soldier of France—By W. H. Chamberlain in *The Christian Science Monitor Magazine*, Sept. 2, 1939.

General Gamelin pictured as carrying on a family tradition of military service, Why France Trusts England—By André Maurois in *Harpers* for June, 1939.

Both nations, our guest speaker for today points out, have identical interests.

The French Democratic Tradition—By André Siegfried in *Foreign Affairs* for July, 1939.

France found striving to rescue principles of democracy, not from an absolutist past as in 1789, but from a collectivist future.

Books

France and the French—By Sisley Huddleston, 1925.

An attempt to construct a French encyclopedia with facts and figures on French life. Easy reading.

France, a Study in Nationality—By André Siegfried, 1930.

An interesting and readable little volume by the author of "America Comes of Age."

Spirit of France—By Cohen-Portheim, 1933.

A brilliant book, as might have been expected from the author of "England, the Unknown Isle."

In Defense of France—Edouard Daladier, 1939.

The French Premier's speeches from April, 1938, through May, 1939, revealing French policy through Munich and after.

Francs—Dollars

To Americans who since the war have lived or traveled in France—even to those who may be considering it in the future—the big issue is: What is the franc worth? For its dollar value determines the style in which Americans can live in Paris. Since the war the following changes have occurred in the dollar value of the franc:

January, 1919: The "old" franc—5.4 to the dollar.

July, 1926: Franc hit post-war low of 40.6 to the dollar.

December, 1926: "Poincaré" franc stabilizes at 25.3 to the dollar.

February, 1934: Only 15.5 francs in dollar due to U. S. devaluation.

October, 1936: France goes off gold, making 21.5 francs to dollar.

May, 1938: "Daladier" franc pegged at 270 cents or 35.6 to the dollar.

Germany: Creative Art or Marching Minds?

An informal group weighs today's news and its meaning. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HURD, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"At last we get to your many questions on Germany. As with our other major countries there are so many angles, that we can only hope to touch on a few pertinent things. We know from our Scandinavian discussions the splendid characteristics of the German people. We all know Germany's great contribution in art, literature and music. The world gives the fullest praise to the excellence of German technicians.

"As I see it, what we must be sure to do is not let the single issue of the super-imposing of Nazism on Germany make us forget the great and real Germany which has been slowly building all these years. We must evaluate this governmental movement as just that, knowing that all the good that is really Germany is bound to be expressed, that no bonds can restrict the freedom of true ideas."

Question: "Mr. Hurd, on what promises did National Socialism come to power in 1933?"

Answer: "The National Socialists proclaimed the Third Reich in which 'freedom, democracy, nationalism, socialism and equality' were to have a new meaning for all. Under the cloak of these words they enforced their own ideas which have developed into sheer power politics.

"Not but what Hitler satisfied many of the German nation's demands politically and economically. He established a Reich on centralized lines, destroyed the Versailles treaty as far as Germany was concerned, relieved the unemployment problem, satisfied the German desire for a military setting to daily living and by annexing Austria, Bohemia-Moravia and Memelland restored to Germans that feeling of racial superiority which existed long before Hitlerism.

"There was a price, however. It was the giving up by the Germans of their own individual liberty, letting loose a species of tyranny which frankly violated the great essential basis of any state—justice. There were plenty of Germans who realized this price was too high—but the realization came too late! The National Socialists were well entrenched in positions from which only a well-organized counter-revolution could oust them. They knew that and inaugurated their huge Gestapo, took over all press, radio and other means of expression so that no opposition could even start."

Question: "Were not the Versailles Treaty and Germany's treatment by the Allies after the last war largely responsible for the success of National Socialism?"

Answer: "These two factors played a very important part but they are not the entire reason. It was not the Peace Treaty which depleted Germany of its great economic wealth, but four years of World War."

Question: "But how could a nation so famous for its songs and poems about freedom so lose its freedom?"

Answer: "Because there has always been a gulf between the real and the ideal for the German. Only practical students of freedom could have been alert enough to have prevented Nazi enslavement from happenings. The German found his freedom too far gone when he did come down to earth. In surrendering his initiative to Hitler in 1933, apparently for a good purpose, he laid the highway which was to lead him into the one thing he didn't want—war—in 1939.

"Germans, thus having given up their will in 1933, to put it aptly in the words of a well-known German authority, have ever since been 'chained by auto-suggestion, not by the power of their new rulers or the vast army of terrorist means in their power.' German receptivity to intimidation has allowed this auto suggestion the fullest play."

Question: "What do you think is the National Socialists' ideas of the future Reich?"

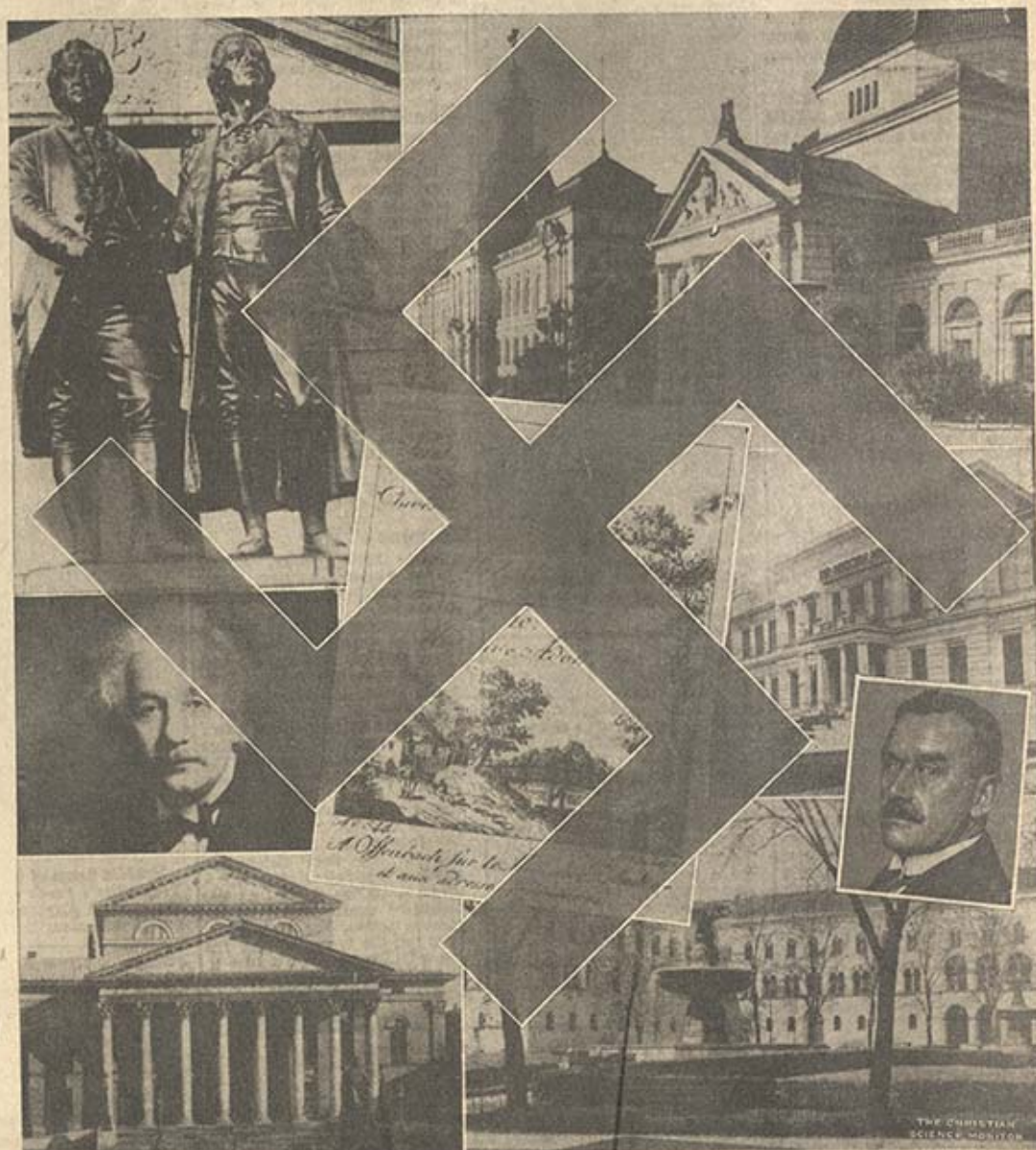
Answer: "A common mentality throughout the nation has been the primary aim. After that? Well, perhaps Alfred Rosenberg, ideologist of the party, puts it best in his statement, 'The German nation is simply out to discover at last its own style of living. It is the style of a marching column, no matter where or to what end this marching column is directed.'"

"Thus the continuous suggestion by marching and drilling leads to a rigid uniformity for all the nation in its thinking. This is noticed in all training of the young. Once a totalitarian nation has been achieved on such strong, rigid lines, like the marching column it can be headed anywhere, including the imposition of Hitler's will on Europe and the world. Such imperialism would not be the imperialism of giving colonies democratic self-government as quickly as possible. Instead it would be rigidly ruled from the center, with racial superiors, the Nordic Germans, dominating the picture as best fitted for the task by 'blood' and training."

Question: "It is obvious that art, music and literature cannot develop under such rigidity, concentrating national energy in marching columns and world imperialism. Presuming these creative urges must come through, as you say, how can it be brought about?"

Answer: "That's very hard to say. An ordinary revolution is impossible, we agree. There apparently is only one group who could turn the tables—the Army. They are essentially conservative and patriotic and might be the source through which Germany could regain its old equilibrium. Again, another defeat in war would open the way. Your guess is as good as mine. And now the Monitor's expert on German affairs, who has just left Berlin after years at his post there, will tell us more about the Germany of today, on Page 99—Mr. J. Emlyn Williams."

The Swastika's Shadow Over German Culture



© Bachrach; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Underwood

Absolutism Can Overshadow, Never Destroy, the Rights of Man

At the top left is the monument of Goethe and Schiller in front of the Court Theater in Weimar. Below it, Professor Albert Einstein. And below his picture, the National Theater at Munich.

At the top right are the Berlin schools of music and art.

Below that is Germany's National Press Association Clubhouse. And below that the façade of the University of Munich, with Thomas Mann's picture between.

In the center is the title page of Mozart's "Suite d'airs connus."

The German People and National Socialism

By J. Emlyn Williams

The German people's real attitude towards National Socialism has long been one of the most discussed problems of European politics, and even though war is already upon us it is still important since an understanding of the reasons for that attitude is essential to a proper assessment of the chances of a lasting peace later.

To the question, why did the German people "accept" a National Socialistic regime the simple answer is that they did not "accept" it. The system was imposed upon them. If you recall the developments of 1933 you will remember that the Gleichschaltung (co-ordination) then started, succeeded because of a terrorism which cut down all opponents, liberals, Social Democrats, Jews, etc. On Jan. 30 of that year the National Socialists formed a coalition government with the German Nationalists (Hugenberg Party) and from the very first day set out to oust their allies and to rule Germany according to their own ideas.

From the very first, their aim was the establishment of a highly centralized, totalitarian Reich in which absolute control should be in the hands of a select few—in fact, of one Führer.

Rise in Power

Why did Adolf Hitler and a small band of National Socialist politicians succeed so quickly and so well? To a large extent because they offered the people much of what they wanted. The Party, undoubtedly, reaped the benefit of the national agitation against the Versailles Treaty, of the ideas then prevalent among the military and civil population. Today we can see that what the National Socialists called the new order was "nothing but a vast miscue of the human aspiration for ordered conditions." But six years ago, to Germans who had been living through some years of internal dissolution and political

chaos, it seemed the dawn of a new era.

The National Socialists accomplished much. They removed unemployment, so that Germany's problem became one of a shortage of workers rather than of work; they introduced compulsory labor service and military service, built up a strong military machine and in foreign policy not only restored Germany to the status of a first-class power but annexed Austria and Bohemia, Moravia, Memmeland, and most recently, have overrun Poland. While it is true to say that many Germans were opposed to the methods by which these conquests were made, it is equally true that what they feared most was possible unfavorable reaction from Britain and France, and that once that was removed, little else seemed to matter.

Hitler's Appeal

Adolf Hitler undoubtedly re-inspired the German nation to regain self-respect and hope; he appealed to the heroic in the people, to love of Fatherland and posed as the defender of peace. He understood the German people far better than they understood themselves and applied his own statement in *Mein Kampf* viz: "a clever conqueror, will always, if possible, impose his demands on the conquered by installments."

Gradually he attained complete control in every sphere and left any opposition which remained leaderless and impotent. The German masses demanded above all work. Hitler replied, "I know what you want and can satisfy you. Don't ask questions but give me four years and you shall have it!" He kept his promise. They got work, but in getting it they surrendered all sense of responsibility, and were glad to do it!

When the National Socialists achieved power, the greater part of the German nation assumed that they would either abandon their program or at least make it conform to prevailing conditions. Most

Germans laughed at many of their party ideas. They could not, for example, imagine that the racial and leadership theories would be applied. They expected a few months persecution of the Jews but then all would return to normal.

Nation Regimented

They did not at first realize that the National Socialists were aiming at a definite revolution and when they did it was too late, for by that time power politics lead the field. This was the case in foreign as well as home politics. The ideas of "self-determination" "Lebensraum" or living space, and "blood and soil" were left behind immediately they did not suit the purposes of the new imperialism. The nation had been too slow to learn the significance of Hitler's own remark (in *Mein Kampf*) that "the German has not the faintest notion of the way the nation has to be swindled if one wants mass support."

The totalitarian centralization did not start with the National Socialists. It is rooted in the German conception of the supremacy of the State even over human rights and privileges.

The National Socialist policy of regimenting the whole nation had succeeded so far that immediately before the outbreak of the recent war it was ignorant of what was happening. Not only did it not know, but also it was incapable of interpreting properly and applying practically the little it did know.

Yet despite all their efforts, the National Socialists had not succeeded in their purpose. Disillusionment and despair were on the increase in all spheres. The economic hardships which the people were called upon to endure in the cause of rearmament and possible war, and the increasing fear that Hitler had abandoned his role of defender of the peace greatly disturbed them.

The issue for many Germans has narrowed down to the question, how can we be rid of this present régime and what is to replace it?

The Different Kinds of Germans

Teutonic Peoples

A large part of Europe west of the Vistula is inhabited by people of Germanic origin. We may say the continent is predominantly Germanic or Teutonic. Indeed, the very name of France is taken from a Teutonic people, the Franks. Teutons at one time or another settled in every part of Europe.

And the Teutons are not only numerous; they are also able. Their achievements are of the highest order. All humanity is their debtor. Are not the Norsemen or Nordics of Scandinavia, the Dutch of Holland, and the Swiss among the most advanced nations? Have not Anglo-Saxons (Teutons) created the greatest and best organized empire in history? Were not Queen Victoria, Tsarina Catherine, the House of Orange (all Germanic) among Europe's most creative rulers?

Teutonic Leaders

At the beginning of Europe's Renaissance and Reformation, of Humanism and a new life, Germanic heroes were among the greatest leaders. Erasmus was a Dutchman, Gustavus Adolphus a Swede, Zwingli a Swiss, Luther and Melancthon Germans—all Germanic. No nation in history ever made a grander fight against tyranny than Holland. The nucleus of Europe's first real democracy, Switzerland, was pure German.

The great law-giver, Grotius, was a Dutchman; the great teacher, Froebel, a German. One of the most outstanding humanists in world literature is the German, Lessing. Humanity has seldom had a nobler, more gifted and more appealing champion of freedom than the German poet, Schiller. One of the very greatest of all Socialists was Engels, the Prussian. Nowhere in the world has Socialism on a large scale been so successful as in Vienna, a Germanic city.

Germanic Assets

Probably no groups in the world have made greater sacrifice for pacifism over so long a period of time as certain Germanic communities. Germany is a home of pietism. Some Germans have been inclined to exalt conscience more than most other people. "Gerechtigkeit" or right has often been the most highly prized of German ideals. For centuries the conception of a German Reich was a noble spiritual ideal of a united humanity and a serving Germany.

Most German music is either beautifully gay or nobly inspiring. The Christians of all lands sing German hymns; all humanity in moments of mirth or exhilaration is set a-quiver by German songs.

In the United States the list of notable Americans of Germanic origin is very

long. Here a few names: Wanamaker, Chrysler, Pulitzer, Cardinal Mundelein, General Custer, Barbara Frietchie, Ringling Brothers, John Philip Sousa.

Germanic Liabilities

Unfortunately, there are also destructive German elements. Of course, disintegrating forces aren't confined to Germany or the Germans. Most nations have at times harbored them. But others have outgrown them, have found balance. Some Germans are retarded in their development and lack balance. When this type of German obtains dominion, all Germany and all Europe suffers.

The chief German defect may be called megalomania or delusion of grandeur. All peoples feel it at times; most individuals are touched by it. What youth hasn't dreamed of being a hero!

An example of this weakness was Nietzsche. In most lands some youth played at Nietzscheism, but outside of Germany it never became a formidable movement. There it seized whole multitudes and acted as a devastating force. Nietzscheism represents that stage of human development when boys play at being pirates. Most boys get beyond that. Most nations do, too.

Racial Complex

France had a strange, flighty, diplomat-philosopher, Comte de Gobineau, who wrote romantic books about a "master race," and the superiority of "Nordic blood," blue eyes, high foreheads. He occupied a fairly humble place in the

world and his books were a device with which he used to fool himself, for he had blue eyes and a high forehead. He was pinning a medal on himself. The French nation completely ignored him. But the book fell on fruitful German soil. Some Germans wanted to fool themselves, too.

An Englishman, named Houston Stewart Chamberlain, gave this movement still greater impetus. Very few people in England read Chamberlain's extreme, unbalanced theories, but some Germans accepted them as a revelation.

Hitler Not Original

Hitler's beliefs and ideals are by no means unique. Not a single one of them is original. Every doctrine in Hitlerism could be matched by similar or identical propositions, written by men of other nations. Almost every people has a Hitler, a Rosenberg, a Goebbels, a Streicher, a Goering. But in other states they have not succeeded in seizing power and making their aims the program of an empire. Circumstances, maturity, balance, have saved other nations from their own Hitlers.

But the German people as a whole are a fruitful and indispensable factor in human progress. A world without German co-operation is unthinkable. What Europe needs then is for the mature and balanced elements in Germany to dominate over the immature, destructive forces. Both Europe and humanity will continue to profit from German contributions, for all humanity marches along the same road.

R. H. Markham

Read On—

Books

Mein Kampf—Adolf Hitler, English translations published by Reynal & Hitchcock and by Stackpole Sons, 1939. The authentic though somewhat shopworn program of the Nazis; required reading for all students of Hitler's Germany.

The Revolution of Nihilism—Hermann Rauschning, Alliance Book Corporation, 1939.

A former Nazi leader's inside story of the movement that threatens to drag civilization to destruction. Heralded as the thorough expose of Nazism.

Reaching for the Stars—Nora Waln; Little, Brown, 1939.

A penetrating story of four years under Nazism; a beautiful tribute to Germany; a damaging study of Hitlerism.

Nazi Primer—English translation published by Harper & Bros., 1938. The official handbook for schooling the Hitler youth, revealing the Nazi theories of race, blood, soil, economy, self-sufficiency.

Magazines

Germany I: "We are Living in a Fortress,"—in *Fortune*, October, 1939.

A clear and careful study of Germany's regimentation, its low consumption, its Four Year plans, by which it has been preparing for war.

Marching Through the Mulberries—Nora Waln in *Saturday Evening Post*, July 1, 1939.

Author of "Reaching for the Stars" tells what Nazism is doing to the youth of Germany.

When Germany Wrote Peace—By Allan Nevins in the *New York Times Magazine*, May 7, 1939.

Only a study of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk can reveal what kind of treaties the Germans can write.

Can Nazism "Drop the Pilot"?—J. Emlin Williams in *The Christian Science Monitor Magazine*, Sept. 16, 1939.

With Hitler's assignment of supreme power to a defense council, another phase of Germany's leadership policy disappears.

Britain: New Plans for a New World

An informal group weighs today's news and its meaning. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HUMB, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"Air raids on Britain, attacking strong naval bases, sharply point up the basic fact in the situation of Britain today—that it is no longer insulated from Europe. That must be a vital consideration in the British picture today. The news thus puts Britain directly into our circle for discussion. There are so many angles to cover and time is so limited that I am going to ask for questions at once in order to take up what most interests you. So now for your questions."

Question: "The vast British Empire means tremendous intercourse between Britain and all parts of the world. Yet the average British person, I understand, has an almost insular point of view. How are these two things compatible?"

Answer: "Your British contact with the world has been primarily one of commerce and trade. This has made England in the past the greatest financial center of the world. Britain has been the great manufacturer to a world. All this has affected the Island's populace in shillings and pence. Yet John Smith, getting his weekly pay from a mill in Lancashire, goes home to a simple life not visibly touched by foreign affairs. The source of that money to him is the paymaster—not the distant land which bought the goods he helps to manufacture."

"The fact that Will Jones converts jute from India into string for Canada is hardly significant geographically to him as he watches a machine spinning out the product. Of course, other people, actually making contact with foreign lands in handling goods or finances, will be far from insular in their views, but they are naturally not great in numbers."

Question: "Isn't insularity natural in a nation living on an island?"

Answer: "Living on an island may concentrate attention on what is going on around one. But it also can stimulate thought to jump the 'water gap'—a habit which can lead to understanding of affairs in distant lands. But, nevertheless, a feeling of security has traditionally been apparent in Britain, due to that stretch of water called the Channel."

"Similar characteristics are noticeable in Americans with their much greater stretches of ocean to protect them. But a relatively new nation, they haven't centuries of satisfied tradition behind them. Rather they have a century and a half of pioneering, adventure, great immigration, and the energy of a great new nation in its formative years. So their insularity is of a different sort."

Question: "How about the so-called common people in Britain. Have they a sense of world affairs?"

Answer: "Many writers have commented on the remarkable responsiveness of the British masses to the significance of the last two years of crisis in Britain. These writers usually state that this almost intuitive sense of people, based in the very finest qualities of British tradition, was more keenly aware of what should be done than many government leaders, tangled up in attempts to reason their way through with typical political compromising."

"The tremendous support of the British people at present, taking record income taxes without a murmur, may not have resulted so much from the nation's leadership as from the people's own realization that Hitler had gone far enough. Even if it had wanted to, the British Government could hardly have taken any other ultimate course than the one it has in view of this aroused citizenry."

Question: "When Stanley Baldwin said that Britain's frontier was now the Rhine wasn't that an official admittance that Britain is no longer an island?"

Answer: "I should say yes. Certainly the airplane has made Britain a continental power, much against its wishes. The English Channel is only five minutes wide by air. A navy is not enough. That is why today Britain is building a huge air fleet to augment that navy. Also Britain passed conscription while still at peace. That means a further recognition that it is a continental power."

Question: "You often hear it said that England is an aging country and not strong. Does that mean she will lose her Dominions and become as decadent as the Fascist powers state?"

Answer: "No one can really answer that question, of course. But you can hardly look for Britain becoming decadent. Her present effort shows a smoothness and resourcefulness not even apparent in the last war. No. I suppose another way of looking at it is that Britain is the mother country, that her Dominions are growing up, strong and powerful and that eventually they may take over a major share of family responsibility. There are even those imaginative people who foresee Canada becoming the center of the British Empire, with much of what is now Britain moving over. That, of course, is the sheerest of speculation. But it shows the latent strength and well-springs which support Britain's place in the world today."

Question: "Tell us something of how Britain is meeting the present crisis?"

Answer: "We have the pleasure of having Wickham Steed today as our guest to answer that. You'll find the cabled comments of this keen thinker on world affairs, and former editor of the Times, of London, on Fireside page 75."

London Is 'Home' to Britishers Where'er They Be



Capt. Bartlett from Gendreau; Underwood; Wide World

Truly, the Sun Never Sets on the British Empire

Trafalgar Square, London, symbolizes the center, though hardly the circumference, of Britishers' affections. That circumference includes the four corners of the earth; it stretches

from Canada to India, from Australia to Labrador. It is, in fact, the world itself. The strength of the Empire, while intangible, is nonetheless sure, for democracy is its keystone.

Reconciling Determination to Caution

By Wickham Steed

Day by day widely-read English newspapers carry a short announcement on their front pages. It runs: "Black-out time tonight is . . ." Since the war began on Sept. 3, the hour when dark curtains must be drawn and families must sit or work with lights dimmed so that no glimmer can reach the enveloping darkness outside, has been shortened by, roughly, ten minutes each week.

When we venture into the streets, or along highways in the country, we are grateful for moonlight, even though it be filtered through clouds, as we have never been before. On moonless nights we see the point of the joke made in the Oxfordshire dialect by a yokel who was a bit of a wag: "Moon baint much good of; never did shine on a dark night."

The warm, fine September that followed a rainy summer let us live so much out of doors that at first we hardly felt the hampering effects of the war upon our minds and habits. We were content to "turn in" soon after the evening meal and to rise betimes next day.

Now the shortening hours of daylight and the autumnal nip in the evening air bid us stay by our firesides and talk or read or muse quietly upon what has befallen us and so great a part of Europe. For indoor games we have not quite the heart. War conditions are not yet normal enough for that. So those of us who have no pressing call to grope our way through darkened streets, or along village paths, sit and talk and think and wait.

Watchful Waiting

Above all, we wait. All England, all Britain, is waiting—waiting by the fireside, listening if the radio brings us perchance something new. (By the way, there was no radio in 1914. What did people do then?) Nor is this the only or the main difference between then and now.

In 1914 the German rush through

Belgium gave us a direct, immediate, passionate interest in the fighting. The British Expeditionary Force was "somewhere in France" within a few days. Between the retreat from Mons in the latter part of August and the battle of the Marne early in September, 1914, news of the struggle came through confusedly but almost uninterruptedly. We held our breath, as we waited anxiously for the result of the terrific German effort to capture Paris; and we could only breathe freely when we knew that it had been frustrated on the Marne.

Now our waiting, in these first weeks of war, is of another quality. We were prepared for a sudden attack by air. It did not come. Army, navy and air force were mobilized, together with hundreds of thousands of volunteer workers in National Service; yet we hear of no decisive action. The prices of food and of other necessities have gone up—increased, here and there, by what many of our people feel is shabby profiteering.

Subdued Impatience

One of our Ministers, on the radio, has begged us to be patient, and has told us that before long every one of these idle hands will find more than enough to do. We believe it; but while we wait we talk of all these things by our firesides and wonder whether they could not have been avoided.

So Britain today is in a mood of subdued impatience, not with the war itself but because people wonder whether the war is being fought with all the energy and resolution that our resources would justify and our authorities can command. I speak of what I hear on all sides. Losses, sacrifices, discomfort we know we shall have to face and bear. We want to know that the most, not the least, is being and will be got out of them.

In our heart of hearts we are steady as a rock. We wonder sometimes whether the Government

realizes how steady we are, whether it knows that we do not wish to be soothed or comforted, whether it understands that our impatience is due to doubt—which, we admit, may not be altogether warranted—about the Government's own vigor in "getting on with the job."

In the war of 1914-1918 we had some very outspoken leadership of public opinion in the press. In this very war leadership has come chiefly from Parliament. Our newspapers—with one or two exceptions—have seemed to imagine that censorship of news likely to be useful to the enemy also extends to editorial comment and opinion. This is wrong.

Censorship

I hear the Minister of Information has been obliged to instruct his staff that censorship applies only to news of military importance, not to comment upon or criticism of the doings of the Government. No such reminder ought to have been needed. Frank comment in the press may be a safety valve. It may help to warn the Government in time of how public feeling is likely to express itself before the expression takes tangible form. It can prevent the spread of disturbing rumors. It can keep public opinion sound by airing it.

These are the things we talk about and think over by our firesides in the early weeks of this war which, unlike the war at the corresponding stage in 1914, we know to be a war "for all we have and are."

The one thing that is never heard or thought in our curtailed homes is a misgiving about the war itself or the righteousness of it. We mean to win it. We mean to help, with all our strength, in restoring freedom to Europe and in keeping freedom for ourselves. We want only to know that from the very outset everything is being done, without loss of an hour, to bring the triumph of freedom nearer.

Britain's Best Battlement

Great Britain is at war.

Does England possess any battlement strong enough to resist the great forces against it? Yes. Great Britain has a bulwark that is impregnable. Against it Nazi weapons will prove futile.

That is not boasting. It is just reading an unmistakable lesson from human history.

During the centuries, Great Britain has erected the mightiest defense which it is possible for nations to build; it is the battlement of self-respect, self-government, neighborliness, co-operation, striving for God, regard for freedom.

This is a world stronghold. Mankind is its defender. The Empire of freedom-lovers embraces all the continents.

Great Britain is more than a place, more than a kingdom. It is a spiritual army holding humanity's front. Eventually, all freedom-loving men will be at her side. And the freedom-loving men cannot be beaten. Democracy is a citadel which no Darius, no Suleiman, no Philip can storm.

Observe how England has built this citadel:

Magna Charta

One of the first stones was laid in 1215, when King John was forced by an aggressive group of feudal lords to sign an agreement called Magna Charta. That was a very small beginning made by selfish land-owners, but it restricted absolutism, and placed curbs on tyranny. It established that law shall be above kings, men shall be tried in courts, they shall not be arbitrarily arrested, nor taxed without their consent.

Bible Translation

Three centuries after Magna Charta had placed people above kings, another change placed them above the Pope.

John Wycliffe (1320-1384), a great English preacher, undertook to free his nation from ecclesiastical absolutism. He prepared the first translation of the Bible into English and launched a movement to bring the strength, joy, and hope of Christianity to the weary and heavy laden.

Freedom of Serfs

During the same period the serfs were liberated. In 1381 there was a sweeping peasant revolt. The very tower of London was seized; the King himself became a virtual prisoner. Men who did the work of England demanded that they no longer be held as fields and cattle. They won their fight. Englishmen ceased to be property. An English nation came into being. An English language was formed. A man of the people, William Shakespeare began to write.

Revolution 1642

A British king tried to restore autocracy. The Puritans, led by Cromwell,

opposed him by force. Both sides went to extremes. Charles was beheaded. The Puritans themselves became autocrats. However, parliamentarism was definitely established. Cabinet government was introduced.

After that Parliament was master in England. But who was to be master in Parliament? That has been the most burning issue in modern British history.

Two centuries and many reform laws were required to solve it.

Industrial Revolution

Then the Industrial Revolution came. A working class appeared. Cities sprang up. A glorious period of heroic reform activity dawned.

In 1832 the stubborn resistance of the entrenched landlords was overcome and about half the middle class was enfranchised. Democracy received a great impetus.

William Gladstone

The mightiest of all British reformers entered the arena. William Gladstone became champion of the people. A second reform bill was passed in 1867, giving the vote to the rest of the middle class and to workers in the great cities. Rural communities were emancipated from the domination of landlords and became self governing.

Free schools are established. Universal male suffrage is introduced. Women also are given the vote. Ireland wins freedom. The empire is transformed into a Commonwealth. Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand attain equality with the Mother Country. India moves steadily toward independence, gains control of its tariffs, frees itself from the domination of British manufacturers. The Labor Party comes to power. What a cycle is completed from the Magna Charta to a proletarian Premier!

The Empire

The United Kingdom, inhabited by a unified, balanced, steadily advancing, self-governing nation of Scotch, English, Welsh, and North Irish, is associated with four loyal dominions, and directs toward self-government a mighty Oriental people of 350,000,000 souls, which is more nearly united, more prosperous, and more advanced than ever in its history. It also dominates a colonial empire containing 60,000,000 black and brown people.

Balance Sheet

This State, in its history has committed many gross injustices. Nevertheless, it has given a larger degree of freedom to a larger number of men than any other state on earth, except America; it forms the nucleus of the vastest political unit in history, binds the members together with less coercion and elicits more volun-

tary loyalty than has yet been the case with any empire or any League of peoples. A fourth of the world's men and women live in the British Commonwealth, but the Mother Country has a much smaller army than most third rate states. Fewer evidences of coercion are seen in this vast union of diverse people than in either of the two leading western European states, not one-sixth its size.

There has not yet been a case where so many people maintained so much co-operation with so little coercion, achieved such prosperity, were subjected to so little violence, and had a leadership so demonstratively pacifistic as is the present generation in Great Britain.

This is the chief citadel of world freedom and world order, the principal defender of law among nations, the foremost champion of small peoples. British freedom is world freedom; its cause, humanity's cause. That is a battlement that shall not fall. R. H. Markham

Read On—

Books

Step by Step—Winston Churchill, Putnam, 1939.

A brilliant analysis of events of the past three years. Originally published in letters in the press.

The Miracle of England—Andre Maurois, Harper, 1937.

An excellent history by a French author who shows the influence of America on England and France, thus drawing these countries more closely together.

Night Over England—Eugene & Arline Lohrke, 1939.

Two Americans look at England, seeing its foibles as well as its virtues.

Magazines

Britain, Wake Up!—Condensed from the London News Chronicle by J. B. Priestley in the Reader's Digest, July 1939.

Plea that Britain throw off its snobbery and sham and really live and practice democracy.

British Foreign Policy and the Dominions—H. V. Hodson in July Foreign Affairs.

Picture of British Commonwealth of Nations in transition period providing microcosm of the world's problems—as well as object lesson in world co-operation.

The Future of the British Empire—C. Hartley Grattan in October, 1939, Harpers.

Analysis of empire evolution suggests more power and importance to dominions, with London drawing its strength from these far-off places as the symbol instead of seat of authority.

Italy: It Dreams of a New Roman Empire

An informal group weighs today's news and its meaning. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HURD, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"Italy's uncertain diplomatic position makes that country news today. Its neutrality in the face of a military alliance signed with Germany only five months ago is of doubtful status. Mussolini's history up to the present makes it certain that opportunism rules, that Italy will commit or not commit, move or not move, strictly in accordance with what may seem its best material future.

"This is nothing new. Italy's World War switch is still vivid history. It had a signed alliance with Germany and Austria Hungary. Came the war and Italy stayed out until 1915, the second year, then suddenly switched to the Allies."

Question: "Mr. Hurd, Italy is classed with the dictatorships of today, with aggressive nationalism, colonial expansion, imperialism and attacks on Democracy. As I remember it, Italy of the World War was not like that and I seem to remember Italy also being famous at one time as a strongly vocal exponent of freedom. How comes this apparent conflict?"

Answer: "We find Italy at a very interesting place in its history as a country. You see, Italy is one of the newest of nations. As such it is going through the usual periods of national development. However, it is going through them in such rapid succession that it makes a vital illustration of this historic process."

Question: "Then Italy has not always been a powerful nation?"

Answer: "No, indeed. Italy for years was the helpless victim of foreign struggles. It was the booty which other powers fought to possess. It was broken up and passed back and forth. Only in 1848, after several revolutions, did Italy become an actor in the imperial drama."

Question: "Then the Italian people were not important at one time?"

Answer: "No. They actually rated lower than most European peoples. There was no state of Italy. Actually the name was a mere geographical expression, signifying a rather arid, boot-like peninsula, jutting down into the Mediterranean. It was inhabited by 15,000,000 people divided among ten separate political areas, practically all of which were ruled by foreign masters."

Question: "Who were these masters who apparently used pieces of Italy as dividend checks?"

Answer: "That's not a bad simile. They were, at the beginning of the last century, principally the French, the Hapsburgs and the Pope, although England, Spain, Prussia and Russia were far from disinterested. Napoleon was one of the most famous conquerors of Italy."

Question: "Who was he trying to pay off?"

Answer: "No one—unless himself. Napoleon sought to free Italy. By seizing it? Yes. You see, by his becoming master he would free it from other masters. There are different kinds of 'freedom' in diplomacy. Napoleon had the same sort of peace plan that Hitler personifies. Napoleon aimed to have peace in all of Europe—by the simple process of his dominating all of Europe."

Question: "Where did the Italians get their freedom, or even ideas for the same, since, as you say, they were pretty much a downtrodden people?"

Answer: "Strangely enough, Napoleon, in trying to impose his type of freedom on Italy, unwittingly was the wind storm which carried the seeds which ultimately caused true freedom to bloom there. While his drive caused hatred for the French, nevertheless he did create an Italian republic and disseminated the ideals of the French revolution of liberty, equality and fraternity. His soldiers, along with their bayonets, also carried the

teachings that common men are worthy of becoming their own masters and working out their own destiny."

Question: "Where did this Italian struggle for freedom center?"

Answer: "Chiefly about Piedmont in Northwest Italy. Here was good soil—5,000,000 sturdy mountaineers. Although backward and unimaginative, their hard mountain living had made them self-reliant and daring. They were not unlike their neighbors, the Swiss—although their reigning princes were far from being William Tell. Their ruling house, Savoy, was quite despotic, reactionary and repressive. But it was brave, audacious and unreservedly loyal to Italy. Led by brilliant and courageous statesmen these Piedmontese began the fight for Italian unity and never ceased until the King of Piedmont, of the House of Savoy, was crowned King of all Italy."

Question: "And now Italy has given up all these things for Fascism. How could that be?"

Answer: "Because nationalism seems more dominating than freedom. Nationalism was the basis of Italian freedom. Italy dreamed of being a great Roman Empire again. It joined in the race for colonies. Switching to the Allies in the World War, it came out with far less than it wanted and became bitter. Convinced that its existing Government was not on the road to empire it organized Fascism—complete and unrestrained nationalism—and turned to Caesar, looking for worlds to conquer."

"In 1839 Italy appealed for democratic help and international co-operation. In 1939 it calls Democracy decadent and scorns international co-operation. Thus does nationalism sweep on in a nation which started from nationalism. After all, seeds always bear only their own kind of fruit."

"And now for our guest speaker who discusses the Italy of today after a lifetime spent there—on Fireside page 123."

The Grandeur That Is Rome



Wide World; Westinghouse; By a Staff Artist

Italy Strives Mightily for a Renaissance

The glories of the past inspire the Romans of the present. (1) King Victor Emmanuel surrounded by the Royal Princes in the Chamber of Fasces and Shields. (2) Italian Monarch with his Queen, Elena. (3) Giuseppe Garibaldi, nineteenth-century Italian patriot, national hero. (4) The Italian Exhibit

at the New York World's Fair. (5) Crown Princess Marie Jose, in native Sardinia costume, with Crown Prince Umberto at a Sardinian celebration. These people of yesterday and today have rebuilt Rome.

Fascist Italy: Expert in Fence Sitting

By Alfred Bradford

Fascist Italy's attitude towards the war between the Western European Democracies and National Socialist Germany is still obscure. For all practical purposes Italy is, for the time being at any rate, neutral in the conflict which has broken out between its two former allies and its present partner. The policy of neutrality, however—or rather, since no official proclamation of neutrality has been issued by the Italian Government, the declared intention of Italy not to take the initiative in any military operations—is not final and irrevocable, but may be changed at any time.

Whatever Italy's ultimate decisions may be it is beyond question that neutrality finds the warmest support among the bulk of the Fascist party and the mass of the Italian people. It corresponds to Italy's national interests for if there is a country which needs a long period of undisturbed peace it is Italy, which has not yet recovered from the effort sustained during the Ethiopian and Spanish wars.

It is also recognized that neutrality is, generally speaking, strictly enforced. The campaign against Great Britain and France, which has been such a notable feature of the Italian news broadcast in the past few years has completely disappeared, and news is now presented to Italian and foreign listeners with praiseworthy impartiality.

What of Future?

Owing to the extreme lack of information concerning the Duce's future plans it would be idle to speculate with any degree of accuracy on Italy's future course of action. There are, however, certain factors which cannot be lightly dismissed in any study of Italy's present position and future possibilities.

Fascist Italy has a military alliance with Germany. It is of recent date, having been formally concluded less than five months ago, and its published terms should

leave no one in doubt as to the real aims of the two contracting parties. It is a defensive and an offensive alliance, binding each of the two nations to come immediately to the side of the other as an ally if one of them is "involved in hostilities."

The fact that Italy has not come to the assistance of Germany when the latter has invaded Poland is partly accounted for by Herr Adolf Hitler's decline of Italy's military help "for the time being." How far the German-Soviet pact has affected the relations between Rome and Berlin it is impossible to say, even though the popular reaction in Italy against the Hitler-Stalin deal has been unmistakable.

Italy's Claims

Again, it should be borne in mind that Italy has certain well-defined claims against one of the Powers now at war with Germany—France. And Signor Mussolini is too shrewd a statesman not to realize that a similar opportunity, with his bargaining power tremendously increased by his present policy of neutrality, may not arise again. Will he be satisfied with moderate concessions or will he insist on a 100 per cent acceptance on the part of France of his maximum demands? In 1915 the Hapsburg Empire of Austria-Hungary offered generous territorial concessions to Italy in an attempt to secure its neutrality in the World War. Is France willing to fulfill Italy's aspirations in Africa? Surely the Franco-Italian problem is now ripe for solution.

Quite apart from the two above-mentioned aspects of Italian policy, there are wider issues involved which affect directly Italian interests. Acute differences have divided for many years Italy from Great Britain and France, but in face of the real danger of a German and a Russian hegemony in Central and Southern Europe, if not over the entire continent, should not that common bond which united the in-

terests of Italy with those of France and Britain be revived again?

There is in present-day Italy a small but powerful minority of Fascists who favor intervention on the side of Germany in the hope of securing a share in the spoils of war resulting from the defeat of the Democracies, but there is a school of thought which holds exactly opposite views. Whilst anxious to see reasonable Italian aspirations fulfilled they are perturbed by the prospects of German domination in Europe, in which Italy too would become a satellite of Greater Germany.

Opinion in Italy is thus divided between two opposed elements within the Fascist party. The final decision, however, rests with one man—Signor Mussolini. What will it be? Can he maintain indefinitely neutrality, as the majority of his people desire? Will his decision be influenced by a long-term view of Italy's national interests or subjected to the immediate demands of party considerations?

Dynamism

In the recent past the Duce has delivered too many speeches designed to glorify the military calling and the sense of an Imperial mission; but he has also, on more than one occasion, proved to be in a position to rise high above the prejudices of an ordinary party man and to forge the destinies of his country with the responsibility of a statesman. He talks about the so-called "natural dynamism of the young peoples" to justify actions which would otherwise be condemned by the rest of the world.

Since nowadays dynamism is a much abused word, it is well to recall to the lucid Latin intelligence that it is only the Greek equivalent for movement, and that movement as such must be judged according to whether it is good or bad. Judged by its past results Nazi dynamism has certainly proved to be an evil thing for Europe. What will Fascist dynamism be when the time arrives to put it into practice?

Tony the Tinker Tells Italy's Story

Tony is a tinker in Torino. He solders up the holes in pots and pans, for which he gets very little money, so he lives most humbly. He doesn't like it and keeps dreaming of some way to be a hero. That's why he sings about princes, gallantry, and glory.

Long ago something like that happened to all the Tonies, to the whole Italian people. And if you asked them for Italy's story, it might run like this:

No Italy

Once upon a time there was no Italy. In fact, there was no nation, anywhere—just kings, dukes, counts, and feudal lords, dividing peoples among themselves as cowboys on the ranges sort out cattle.

Then English squires made laws in Parliament, English Christians formed a church, drove out a king, called in another. The ruled gave orders to their rulers. There was an English nation.

But there was no Italy.

A Grand Monarch clasped all France in his hard hand—nobles and prelates with candlestick makers—and for six decades held them there, changing them to Frenchmen. All sang in French, all sighed in French. A France came into being.

But there was no Italy.

That's the Introduction. Now comes the Prologue.

Napoleon

Rousseau preached the rights of man. The French proclaimed equality. Butchers and shoemakers played at ruling. Peasants on the land were freed. Spring torrents rushed down Europe's rivers. Light shone on the heights.

A sun burst over the Alps. Napoleon stormed into Italy. Alien masters fled. Ragged Frenchmen came to ragged Italians and were embraced. Now there would be an Italy!

But the new master from Corsica proved as harsh as the others. Little yokes had been exchanged for a big one.

Cannon boomed at Waterloo. A Congress met in Vienna. The man with the big yoke was put on an ocean rock. The be-wigged and elegant princes with the little yokes came back.

No Italian was at the Congress in Vienna. No Italian was asked whom he wanted for a ruler. Twenty million Italians were sorted out among dukes and kings as though they were dividends for royal stockholders.

There was no Italy.

That's the end of the Prologue—six score years ago.

Now comes the First Act.

Revolution

It was very dark in Italy. A dozen times in a dozen places lightning flashed, but brought no life-giving rain. The kings of Europe continued Italy's night.

A storm broke in Paris again. It

rushed as a tempest eastward. The continent rocked. It aroused a king from northwest Italy to march. Charles Albert, the Savoyard, sovereign of little Italian Piedmont, gathered an army and moved against Italy's chief oppressor. For the first time since Imperial Rome, an Italian ruler took sides with the people.

Patriots charge behind banners of liberty, but are defeated. They re-form their lines, charge again, and are crushed. They are ground as wheat beneath a millstone. The one Italian king who dared fight for Italy is forced to abdicate.

The noblest of revolutionists, Mazzini, has made his sacrifices for nothing. The most daring of knights, Garibaldi, had risked his life in vain.

There is no Italy.

So ended the First Act. Here is the Second.

War

Little Piedmont had found a friend. It would not have to fight Italy's battles alone, against all Europe's kings. The Emperor of France strode into battle with Piedmont at his side. Napoleon III charged through Lombardy's valleys as the first Napoleon had. He met Austria's armies twice and crushed them. The oppressors took to flight. A millennium of bondage was ending. Flags snapped in Italian skies. There was an Italy!

No! The flags droop. The cheering ceases. Napoleon makes a strange peace with the Hapsburgs. French soldiers withdraw. Austrian oppressors return. Old yokes remain. The victory is lost.

Great Cavour resigns in despair.

There is no Italy.

The Second Act is done. The Third begins—in 1860.

Liberty

A wonder happens. Time has become ripe. Europe has grown weary of holding the blanket of darkness over Italy. England bids Austria cease from oppression.

The people rise and move into freedom as dawn over a valley. Liberty blooms as a flower. Men and women do with ballots what they couldn't with bullets.

One province votes to join free Piedmont. A second province votes to join free Piedmont. Intrepid Garibaldi enters South Italy. The mercenaries of foreign oppressors refuse to fight him. Southern Italy acclaims him. Southern Italy is free. The Savoyard king of Piedmont, the champion of Italian liberty, marches into east Italy. It hails him, east Italy is free.

Upon the Austrian foot that had so long trod on Italy, steps a heavier foot, Prussia's. So Austria's hold is loosened. Venice breaks away. Venice is free.

Only Rome remains. Rome long con-

trolled by Popes, under the protection of France. But France is crushed at Sedan; an Italian army marches into Rome. Rome is free. 1871. United Italy acclaims the Piedmont king as sovereign.

Banners fly from every hill top. A vision has come true. There is an Italy.

The Great Third Act is over. The Fourth begins.

Despair

It lasted 40 years. Liberty brought prose, not poetry. Freed Italy was ragged and ill-fed. Government was bad; corruption rampant. Paradise was not what patriots had promised. Italy was still far behind, a struggler among the nations, holder of last place at the council of empires. Italians felt deeply humiliated.

So they went to war—and they were more humiliated.

Then they went to a peace conference—and were still more humiliated.

Misgoverned at home, defeated by enemies, deceived by friends, Italy was frustrated. It felt as the son of a goldsmith patching tin cans.

It wanted a Garibaldi. And it got him.

That was the Fifth Act.

Mussolini

Fascism was "Italy snapping out of it." Fascism was a discouraged nation pulling itself together. It was a beaten team, brought to life by a great cheer leader. It was statesmanship, transformed into an opera, politics played by a star tenor. It was Italy patting itself on the back, becoming heroic, taking Rome, finding glory, winning a place in the world. It was a nation that had lost faith, finding faith again.

Most of Italy has enjoyed the game. It loves heroic operas.

Now comes the Epilogue.

The House of Savoy

Mazzini didn't free Italy; he wanted a republic.

Cavour didn't free Italy; he resigned.

Garibaldi didn't free Italy; he was just a fighter.

The House of Savoy freed Italy—with their help.

It humbly managed the opera, in which those tenors sang, and, in the fulness of time, laid wreaths on their monuments.

The fulness of time is coming again. Italy still has its tinkers, goat girls and peasants. It is still destitute and lean. But it has made vast progress in seven decades, and holds a better place among the empires than at any time since barbarian tribes crossed the ancient Alps. It has a right to sing heroic songs of the future, as it mends its pots and pans.

R. H. Markham

The Low Countries: They Rank High

Your Chairman Speaks:

"Constant reports of the massing of German troops on the Belgian-Netherlands borders are coming in. Germany violated Belgian neutrality in 1914 to find an easier way into France. Today the French Maginot Line has tied up the German army unless it wishes to face heavy losses. Hitler has so far been less ethical than the Kaiser. So again Belgium, and this time the Netherlands, are seen as possible easier ways to get into France.

"With aviation achieving the importance in war that it has, the success of such a drive would be the biggest aid Germany could have in attacking England. Once in command of Dutch and Belgian, if not northern French coast areas, Germany would have dozens of airbases within 10 to 15 minutes' flight from England. So the Low Countries are very much in the news today."

Question: "Why do they call Belgium and the Netherlands the Low Countries?"

Answer: "Because geographically they really are low. Holland, in fact is so low that a third of it is actually below sea level, with only great dikes to prevent the ocean from sweeping over it. Think of Central Europe as a roof with the Alps the ridge. Sloping down on one side we come to the Mediterranean. Sloping down much more gradually on the other we come to the North and Baltic Seas. Of all the low lands along this edge of Europe's roof, Belgium and Holland are the lowest."

Question: "Why did Holland have to reclaim this land? And why reclaim sea bottom? I shouldn't think it would be good for much."

Answer: "I'm afraid you're wrong in this instance, for Holland's reclaimed land is very fine farmland. And the reason it is reclaimed is the same reason for which other countries make wars to get new

lands, namely, to take care of population and increase the country's resources.

"Holland and Belgium are both among the most densely populated countries in the western world. Holland with only 12,704 square miles of area has a population of 8,474,500. Now, to go to all the trouble of building great dikes and pumping out sea water to make additional land may seem like a lot of work, but it is quite in keeping with the hardworking and energetic Dutch, who have always taken the greatest care of any potential resources."

Question: "Isn't it very dangerous to live in land below sea level? What if the dikes should suddenly break?"

Answer: "It is theoretically dangerous to live on this reclaimed land. But actually the dikes are so well designed and so carefully watched and kept up that there is apparently no real danger. If the land was flooded there is a high, artificial knoll built in the center of each town to which all the people could flee for safety. It all makes quite a picture. Quaint houses, great windmills, these artificial flood mounds and occasionally the hull of an old boat, bared when the land was drained."

Question: "The Low Countries are always grouped together. Do they operate more or less as one country?"

Answer: "You might think so from this common grouping. But they are very much separate and even internally they have their divisions, particularly Belgium. For one thing Belgium is a land of two distinct languages, French and Flemish. Nearly three million Belgians speak only French. Over three millions speak only Flemish, leaving some 870,000 who speak both languages.

"It is not only languages that differ. The people are different. The French-speaking Belgians are

essentially Latin and resemble the French in many ways. The Flemish-speaking Belgians are of Teutonic origin and resemble the Dutch. The Flemings are essentially agricultural and conservative. The French-speaking Belgians, called Walloons, are essentially industrial and progressive. Socialism flourishes among these Walloons, and a very strong Clericalism among the Flemings. Sometimes conflict has become so intense between the two that many Flemings have wanted to have a separate government."

Question: "How divided are the Dutch?"

Answer: "Well, the language is much the same throughout most of Holland, although in the north, in Friesland, the people speak a language so near that of the British Isles that it is often said low-land Scotchmen understand Friesians easier than they do Londoners. Again we find, as in Belgium, a conflict between industry and farming. Both are advanced in Holland. There is religious conflict too. Holland is strongly Protestant but so seriously so that different kinds of Protestants conflict. The Dutch are noted for their sincere attachment to religion and as a rule bring it into their everyday lives and thinking. So such conflicts are understandable.

"Yet Holland is extremely tolerant. The oppressed of many lands have gone there as a haven. When the Jews were driven from other lands they were gladly received in Holland and made marked contributions to that country's progress. When the Protestants were sent from France they went to Holland. When the Puritans fled England they went to Holland. There the Bible was first translated into a common tongue and there Europe's Renaissance began.

"Now Mr. Markham can give you a lot more detail of the peoples of this interesting country—so I'll turn you over to him—on Page 115."

Where Land and Sea Ways Meet



Keystone; © Herbert Felton; Courtesy Boston Athenaeum; Roberts

Picturesque Scenes From the Lowlands

It is such scenes as these that greet tourists at every turn in the Lowlands, making them a "must" for those who would visit and know Europe. (1) Wash day in "spotless town"—Volendam, Holland. (2) Halls of the Trade Guilds of Ghent, Guai

aux Herbes. (3) Lace makers of Bruges make work a pleasure. (4) La Dyle, Malines, Belgium; where the Dyle runs through Malines. (5) A typical "old salt" seen on any quay at Volendam, Holland.

The Low Countries: An Epitome of Europe

By R. H. Markham

The Low Countries comprise one of the most vital areas in the world. They are a vortex where imperial rivalries clash, a traffic center where land and sea ways meet, marts that lure merchants from many continents.

There, in the past, all Europe's monarchs marched, from Caesar, through Charlemagne, to Charles V, Philip, Louis, and Napoleon. There the world's three mightiest empires still face one another on this November day. No province and no town within the Low Countries lives unto itself. For centuries they were in the hands of aliens. The anthems in Brussels, the sale of fish in Amsterdam, and the fashions in Ghent were determined by men hundreds of miles away. These tiny lands were foreposts of foreign empires, outlying fields in the estates of absent landlords, who seldom came to see them and sold them at their pleasure. They were as flounces on the skirts of queens, to be swished about at their august owner's pleasure or left dragging in the mud.

They were a no-man's land and an everyman's land. Yet now they're among the world's freest and foremost states. It's the glory of the 17 million people living there that they have converted such a place, in the face of such difficulties, into one of the most prosperous, cultured and ordered areas on the globe.

Racial Mixture

What sort of people have done it? Nobles and fishermen, bankers and gardeners, professors and coal miners, Roman Catholics and Protestants, boorish peasants and "slick" men from the cities, Jews and Nordic blondes. Here was a mixture that could have rivaled Babylon itself. Here was man in all his manifold expressions. Here was Europe with its rivalries and yearnings, its dungeons in the dark and its reaching for the stars. Here was altar and pulpit, evangelist and in-

quisitor, stifling mine, racing factory, flaming forge. Out of it rose Belgium and Holland, to freedom and self-government, to education, brotherhood, and prosperity.

Though not richly endowed with natural resources, these lands have created an industry whose wares find their ways to most world markets. Little Belgium absorbs more foreign goods than the whole of India. Holland has very little land or sky, but its airplanes fly on regular routes to the ends of the earth. It dries up the sea to get land for its gardeners, yet produces enough to sell England annually 100 million dollars worth of peas, onions, tomatoes, bulbs, butter, eggs, and cheese. It has scraped sea shells off the mud to make pastures for its cattle, but Holland cows are known to be among the best in the world—as Belgian draft horses are said to have no superior on earth.

A Sea People

And the land is well distributed. Hardly two dozen farmers own 500 acres of plow land each; and barely 200 as much as 250. Most have between three and fifty acres and own the land they work. Crowded as Holland is, with its population doubled in 50 years, 52 per cent of the people still live in the country.

But Dutchmen live from the sea, too, for it contains fish, especially herring. These arrive for harvest at certain seasons of the year, as when wheat ripens or hens sit. The fishermen spread their nets, gaily-decked, heavy-laden little boats stream into many ports and the inhabitants celebrate as at apple time in Austria, or grape-gathering in Bulgaria. And well they may, for many of their greatest cities were built on herring profits.

But the sea is more than a home for herring. It is also a place to sail on, and Dutchmen went to many distant lands. They settled on Staten Island near New York, landed in Australia, built a little settlement on the frigid land of

Novaya Zemlya, not very far from the North Pole, put up tiny huts in Greenland, Formosa, and Ceylon, and placed their hands on a vast empire, much of which is still in their possession.

Their greatest achievement, however, was not winning empire, but in adapting themselves to reduced circumstances when much of it had gone. It is the power of adaptation that has made the Lowlands great.

Love of Peace

Belgians and Hollanders have fought a dozen wars against one another but for a full century they have lived together in peace. Belgian boats go duty free through Dutch waters, and both states prosper from the booming Belgian port that rose on Holland's border. Half of the Belgians are of Dutch origin, and they are often in bitter opposition to other Belgians, but Holland raises no minority claims.

The northern Dutch are stolid, staid and sober; the southern, somewhat gayer. The northern Belgians are simple, placid peasants; the southern, vivacious, volatile workers. But all peacefully resolve their differences. Nazi agents are very active; "Reds" crusade throughout the land; panaceas temporarily daze the crowds; parliaments break up and ministerial crises last for weeks; but, through it all, balance is preserved, loyalty prevails and self-government endures. At one of the most difficult spots on all the earth, where the fiercest rivalries meet, and the most furious storm winds blow, a diverse multitude of little people hold high man's banners of freedom and of brotherhood.

Bright poppies bloom in Flanders, sweet hyacinths in Haarlem, Socialist songs echo in Ardenne woods; anthems in cathedrals; "A mighty fortress is our God," in plain Dutch meeting houses. It is all a symphony of color, of fragrance, and of striving, which centuries of sacrifice have written and which some day all Europe can sing in unison.

Help Yourself to Our Dutch Treat

What's in a Name

Do you know what a "Dutch treat" is? Mr. Farmer's Dictionary of Slang says it is "an entertainment where everyone pays for what he gets."

Did you ever talk to anyone "like a Dutch uncle"? If so, you probably said some very sharp words.

Did you ever hear anyone say, "I'll be a Dutchman if I do!" If so, you perceived from the tone of his voice that he preferred to be almost anyone on earth or under the earth than a Dutchman.

You may have also heard about a "Dutchman's bargain." You must be careful not to be on the wrong end of a "Dutchman's bargain," for it is said that

"In matters of commerce
The fault of the Dutch
Is giving too little
And asking too much."

From all this you see that the people who made the English language had rather a poor opinion of the Dutch. If they wanted to say something very bad about some one they called him a Dutchman. However, this was really a compliment. It meant in plain words that they could not get the best of the Dutch. They met them at every corner, crossroad, strait, cape and market place; and as often as not the Dutchmen had beat the rest of the world there. The best the Anglo-Saxons could do was merely to change New Zealand to New Zealand, or Cape Horn to Cape Horn. When they got into difficulties which they could not solve, they ran away to seek refuge in Holland or called a Hollander over to put things right in Britain. But still they didn't like them.

Our Dutch Treat

Thus when a treat was no treat, the Britishers called it a "Dutch treat." But they were wrong. A "Dutch treat" is really a rare favor. No one could offer you anything choicer. Still this treat of ours is going to be choicer, for Belgium is to be included. It's a "Dutch treat" with Belgian frosting! Now, please help yourself. The table is before you.

It is so full, one could not name all the delicacies, but a few must at least be mentioned. One is the "lowlands" themselves and you will realize how low they are when you recall that many of the towns in Holland rest on land that was recently under water. Many Dutchmen live their whole lives through in places much lower than the neighboring sea.

Very little of Holland is seventy feet above sea level. One tiny point only reaches the dizzying altitude of 1,000 feet and most of the country is less than thirty feet high. There is hardly an elevation in the land that could look down

onto the top of Eiffel Tower. If it wasn't for the dikes, many Hollanders would have to leave their homes every time the tide came in.

These two little countries crowded between great empires and the deep sea, look somewhat like a handleless pitcher with a broken spout. Through the hole where the spout should be, the sea runs into the land and through many other holes too. The base of the pitcher is Belgium which is mostly inland, having only 40 miles of coastline.

Holland, on the other hand, has far more than its share. It is nothing but a collection of coast and many-fingered deltas. Holland is a place where other people's rivers meet the sea, and where the sea rushes in to meet other people's rivers.

Bruges

But let's tear ourselves away from lowland shores and visit some of its inland cities. First of all Bruges. And why Bruges? Because it is so typical of what Belgium has been in the world. It is a slow and quiet place. Time has forgotten it and all the clocks strike the same hours, as before Columbus, just as after Columbus, and as after Martin Luther.

At that time Bruges with 200,000 people reached the apex of its happiness. It was a world emporium. It lay on the banks of a river that ran full-streamed to the sea a dozen miles away. In it ended a score of inland routes; in it converged as many waterways to meet them.

There we find massive, high-roofed houses, oblivious of time, arches, narrow streets where no trucks rumble and where men still move with unhurried steps, a limpid labyrinth of clear, cool canals that make one think of Venice. There are grand churches, splendid belfries and ten-ton victory bells, each one of which requires eight men's strength to ring out its peals of triumph. Often they have thundered in joyous exaltation, but still oftener they have remained mute as anxious men and women waited for their tidings. In these churches are windows that would thrill all masters, and paintings that would honor any gallery.

In the shade of these churches women sit down to knit and girls gather to make the most exquisite laces in Europe outside of Kiskunhalas in Hungary.

But the harbor at the river's end slowly filled up with sand. As the sands of the sea drifted in, Bruges' sands of vitality drifted out and the city stands today a magnificent monument of how Belgian men once lived and wrought.

Brussels

Belgians still live nobly and still achieve greatly but have moved their centers. Ships now go up another river to another mart; that's Antwerp. It is

Europe's second seaport. It is there the landways of continents meet the waterways of empires.

But before visiting Antwerp, let's glance at Brussels. It is like Bruges but is vastly different too. It embodies Belgium of yesterday and Belgium of today. Its market places have been said to bear closer resemblance to the Middle Ages than all others. Its magnificence and beauty bewilder many visitors at first sight but in another part of Belgium's capital are large quarters that are as modern, stream-lined, smooth and sleek as any in the world.

Neon lights flame in the streets. Autos jostle in raucous torrents through splendid boulevards. Whole blocks of counting houses exchange francs or marks for pounds and dollars. Mountains of merchandise mount in warehouses and then vanish, factory chimneys pour out smoke, cathedrals resound with anthems of faith and praise. Museums quietly display masterpieces of lowland art. There Flemings defy Walloons. Socialist shakes fist at Clerical, peasant opposes proletarian, French meet the Third Reich, the British Commonwealth meet Europe's continent and over all the tumult, a young king tries to preserve peace and harmony.

Antwerp

Now let's go to Antwerp, "Queen of the river Scheldt." It is very old and very new. It is not so harmonious and balanced as many other Belgian cities. The old is rather wizened; the new is somewhat garish. They seem to call each other names.

That's because the splendid past vanished before the even more splendid future began. Antwerp is a border city, a castle, to which outsiders hold the keys. Hollanders control the fate of this Belgian town. For centuries they kept Antwerp's door closed, so the city languished until it almost disappeared. Then Holland allowed Belgium's father of waters to pass untrammelled to the sea and Antwerp sprang into pre-eminence.

It has become a European New York. Belgium through it handles the wares of many peoples, prospering on the commissions. Antwerp is a living, throbbing monument of international co-operation.

Now we should leave Antwerp and step over the border into Holland. But the banquet is over. The Dutch treat is so lavish we could barely sample it. We should see flowers and pastures, churches and galleries, white-sailed boats and sturdy wind-mills, The Hague and Amsterdam, but they will wait.

Take a gay tulip or fragrant hyacinth with you, and come back soon.

Poland: Crushed, It Starts to Rise Again

Our setting is a wood-paneled library. Before a crackling fire sit a group in comfortable chairs, talking informally. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HURD, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"News of the organization of a new Polish government in France to carry on and seek once more a Polish state emphasizes the dominant character of the Poles—irrepressible identity. Paraphrasing an old saying we might put it, 'Poland, crushed to earth, shall rise again!' Some of you have said, 'Well, I guess Poland's done.' That new government is your answer—and history its confirmation.

"Of course it is generally realized that Poland, as the immediate starting point of the present war, was primarily a trigger, a last straw following continued Hitler aggression. Little attempt has been made to make out a case for Poland as was made for Belgium in the World War. The quality of Polish democracy, the vast minority group and their treatment, the extremes of riches and poverty have left Poland open to too much criticism to make it an ideal 'martyr state.'"

Question: "Mr. Hurd, why should we spend time or sympathy on such a state?"

Answer: "In answering we'll put aside entirely the question of the current war and aggression. We'll consider that Poland's eastern frontier did include far too many non-Poles. That is the area Russia has taken over. To be fair we must remember that this boundary was made after a very bitter war in which Bolshevik Russia almost succeeded in crushing the new Polish State. The Communists announced they were going to pierce into Europe over a destroyed Poland. They actually got into the suburbs of Warsaw. Now in those circumstances wasn't it most natural that Poland should push back its boundaries against Russia's as far as possible?"

Question: "When did all this happen?"

Answer: "After the 1918 armistice. The Allies had fixed Poland's western boundary but Poland and Russia fought until 1921 over the eastern boundary. Pilsudski drove off the Russian army in 1920 at Warsaw. A treaty fixing the final boundary was signed between Russia and Poland March 21, 1921, at Riga."

Question: "That was part of the Versailles setup, wasn't it?"

Answer: "No, indeed. The Allies had drawn an entirely different frontier called the 'Curzon line,' which excluded most of the Russian, Ukrainian and Lithuanian minorities. In taking these, understandable as it was, Poland weakened itself as a closely-knit state, and thus contributed in part to its downfall."

Question: "But Poland failed to be a democracy, didn't it? Why free a people merely to replace foreign autocrats with native autocrats?"

Answer: "The Polish state did succeed in promoting democracy although self-government, as the West understands it, was very limited. As we have pointed out before in these pages, it takes time to educate a people up to having a true democracy. Here was Poland divided into three groups which had lived apart for 150 years. There were class differences dating back through the centuries. Add lots of inexperience, which means a lack of discipline in a new nation. But the fact remains the Poles were moving towards self-government. The United States has had 150 years to learn how to run a democracy. The Poles only had 20."

Question: "Well, you do temper the case. But how about the question of land distribution? How about Poland's feudal landlords?"

Answer: "There has been much misinformation on this. You would think no land had been distributed. But actually during the 200 years laws were passed providing that all estates formerly held by Russian magnates, all extensive church

properties and private farms larger than 445 acres should be distributed. Thus 700,000 new holdings were provided. Actually about 70 per cent of the agricultural land is in small holdings.

Question: "Then why didn't all these successful farms stabilize the country?"

Answer: "Because there weren't all these successful farms. Devastated by war, Poland had lost much of its stock and buildings. There was no credit. And if you are to farm successfully you must have buildings, livestock and credit in order to get going."

Question: "How about voting and government control. How near democracy did it get?"

Answer: "Poland was a parliamentary republic, with supreme authority in the hands of the President, who wielded greater power than many kings. The Parliament consisted of two chambers, the Sejm and the Senate. The Sejm was elected by all citizens, male and female, over the age of 24. The Senate was chosen by a small electorate of about 300,000. In general, in keeping with the need of discipline and control of a budding democracy, the army exercised a far greater influence on politics than in Western democracies."

Question: "How about education?"

Answer: "Poland had done remarkably well, starting from less than scratch as a poor, devastated, agricultural country. Five million children were in elementary schools, 225,000 in high schools and 50,000 in universities."

Question: "Could you tell us something about the Polish people?"

Answer: "Your answer to that came in by cable this morning from London where Christopher Buckley, just back from contributing stories from the Polish and Spanish war fronts, turned it out as our guest speaker contribution of the day. You'll find it just below on Fireside page 43."

Poland—Through the Centuries



A Hardy Poverty and Class 'Unconsciousness'

By Christopher Buckley

The average traveler approaching Poland for the first time would probably at some period of his journey become conscious of his extraordinary ignorance of Poland and Polish affairs.

The approach to Warsaw by the railway from Germany over some of the flattest and dullest country in Poland would seem strangely different from the well-wooded and watered countryside between Dover or Southampton and London. The small wayside stations would seem infinitely dreary. Long before one reached Warsaw the traveler would be liable to conceive of Poland as a land as barren as, and far less colorful than, the least fertile areas of Castille or even Bosnia. And this first impression would never be quite dissipated. One might have accepted the gaiety and sophistication of Warsaw, reveled in the old-world charm of Cracow, appreciated the more varied scenery of southern and eastern Poland, admired the up-to-date efficiency of Gdynia and the new industrial towns of the south. But always as a background one would recall with a sense of pathos the grinding poverty of the small Polish town or village.

The Peasants

Yet the Polish peasant brought up on a diet consisting mainly of black bread and potatoes was a sturdy enough individual and got through a day's work of which any of us might be proud. His children playing bare-legged and bare-footed in the dust did not, in general, look ill-nourished, and his wife appeared hardier and less worn by toil than the mother of a family in an English depressed area. Such facts should be remembered when one reads statements such as occurred in one of the best-documented recent books on Poland, to the effect that one-third of the inhabitants of Poland lived near starvation level.

In Warsaw the traveler might have endeavored to seek the key to the Polish character. Now if I may be allowed the liberty of a

paradox, a capital city is the least national institution in a nation. It is not the very efficient and courteous young men, speaking excellent English, French or German, to whom the traveler's letters of introduction were addressed, who were most characteristic of the Polish spirit. They represented a very encouraging aspect of the New Poland, the Poland that in 15 years had created out of the small fishing village of Gdynia the greatest port on the Baltic; the Poland that was developing the planned economy of the Central Industrial Region. But they were not all Poland. They had not become the dominant force in the country. Their enlightened schemes of social aid, their Housing Estates and their Model Factories—how frequently, alas, lying in ruins at this moment—might be symbolized by a beautifully tiled and hygienic modern bathroom introduced into a mainly un-modernized feudal castle. For there was another and more powerful Poland, the Poland of the great families, the Czartoryskis or Radzivils, of the impoverished but intensely class-conscious small landowner, of the military caste.

Polish Character

However, there was much to be learned of Polish character and customs from a sojourn of even a few days in Warsaw. For a shilling or two a visitor might hire a "droshki," a small open one-horse carriage capable of holding two people comfortably, for half the day. He would learn to adapt himself to the Polish day: the breakfast (śniadanie), a rather heavier meal than the customary Continental petit déjeuner and taking place usually at an earlier hour; the long morning's work—all banks, almost all shops and offices were open from eight o'clock. Warsaw had not yet had to face the problem of the time taken in transit by employees living at a distance from their work.

The large mid-day meal (obiad) occurred between two and four o'clock. By four o'clock the office and usually the factory had finished for the day. Then followed the

hours of sauntering, when the cafés and still more the "patisseries" did their chief trade. There can be no people with a sweeter tooth than the Poles. In what other country is there so large a proportion of shops selling rich cakes? And where else could one see, as I have seen during an interval at Vilna, a number of hussars in full uniform, contentedly sucking ice creams and lollipops? The evening meal was taken never earlier than eight and often as late as ten or ten-thirty.

Class Divisions

A visit to the country early in August destroyed any hope that the crisis might be peacefully liquidated. For here the class nature of Poland was more powerfully in evidence, and here one might meet members of the landowning class as blissfully remote in thought from the clouds rolling up from the horizon, as remote from the hard realities of the contemporary world as characters in a Tchekov play. Poland shared with Hungary the distinction of being the last country where the landowning classes maintained an almost medieval degree of feudal privilege and feudal dignity. The sharp class divisions of the Polish State were brought somewhat uncomfortably home to the sympathetic observer. One had already been uneasily conscious of them on the train. Certain privileges, of no moment in themselves, accorded to First Class passengers. The invariable division of station restaurants: two rooms used, one for First Class passengers, one for Second and Third—a custom not common in the West. And until the last, in the spacious homes of the Polish aristocracy, the heads of families still kept virtually open house, still maintained and even on occasion paid a salary to their quota of idle or needy relatives and hangers-on, still comfortably placed faith in the Polish cavalry to maintain the national independence, and still discussed Field Marshal Hermann Göring in terms of hunting exploits.

The Polish Panorama—Past and Present

The Poles Are Slavs

That means they are members of the largest racial family in Europe. Their brothers are Russians, Ukrainians, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Bulgars, and many others. Slavs occupy or control a sixth of the surface of the earth, more than one-half of Europe, more than one-third of Asia.

Poles in Prussia

Much of Eastern Germany was once inhabited by Slavs. They extended farther west than Berlin. Poles and Germans have been struggling against one another for nearly a millennium.

It is Prussia, especially East Prussia, that has been causing the Poles difficulties for many centuries. The word Prussia seems to be of Slavic origin, meaning "Beside Russia."

A district in this same vicinity is called "Pomorze," which likewise means "by the sea." It was the famous "corridor," created by the Treaty of Versailles

to give Poland an outlet. Many people have thought this "corridor" a sort of street, cut through German territory, like a road through a neighbor's garden. But, in fact, Pomorze is inhabited predominantly by Poles, and was, even before Copernicus.

Until 1225 there were no Germans at all in East Prussia. That densely wooded, lake-dotted, sandy plain was inhabited by a few thousand very savage, long-haired, thick-bearded heathen, of Slavic or Gothic origin. They were the original Prussians, and though long ago exterminated, gave their name to the greater part of the mighty German nation. They originally had no more to do with Germans than American Redskins with India.

Germans in Prussia

The first meeting of Germans and Prussians was very dramatic, and by no means cordial. The heathen Prussians were reputed to be the fiercest tribe in Europe and seemed to enjoy nothing more than annihilating missionaries sent to Christianize them.

The Teutonic Knights had just finished a rousing crusading expedition in Palestine and were looking out beneath the well-burnished visors of their steel helmets for new infidels to attack. The Polish King suggested they try their lances on the Prussians. The Pope approved. The steel-clad missionaries rode in on their tank-like war horses, built fortresses that still remain, and wiped out the unreasoning woodsmen who preferred extermination to coercion. The irresistibly brave, marvelously organized, exceedingly industrious crusaders settled down, and still abide. They made East Prussia German.

Poles vs. Germans

In 1308 these Knights seized Pomorze, the "corridor," and kept it for 146 years. The Poles defeated them catastrophically at the famous battle of Thorn in 1410 and took back Pomorze. They held it till the partitioning of Poland in 1772, when the Germans got it again.

The Poles have controlled this area for nearly 700 years, the Germans for just under 300. So, the present score's 7 to 3. Germans are now having their innings.

Foreign Influence

The role foreigners have played in Polish history almost passes belief. The Polish nobles elected their kings and often chose foreigners. One of the greatest rulers was a Hungarian. Russians, Germans, French, Swedes occupied the Polish throne. Most European conquerors used Poland as a "hunting ground." Among them were Napoleon, Carl X of Sweden, the Bourbons, Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns, Romanoffs.

The Polish nation is now in the midst of the struggle to free its land from

foreign owners, and its cities from foreign masters. This is one of the most difficult of all social struggles.

Flair for Freedom

Among humanity's most intrepid champions of freedom are the Poles. This reveals a strange paradox. Poles have been notoriously reactionary; they are also phenomenally democratic. Some Poles are distressingly treacherous; others are loyal beyond all measure. It is probable that no European people has given so many martyrs for freedom as the Poles. They were a revolutionary yeast throughout all Europe.

Poles have been at almost every barricade, fighting shoulder to shoulder with other nations for progress. Wherever a flag of liberty was raised Poles would be following it. They even rushed across the ocean and fought under the banners of liberty-seeking American colonists.

The Polish People

In social intercourse, the Poles are scintillating. They may not always please you, but never bore you. You may wish to applaud them or hiss them, but never walk out on them. They may be absurd, but never dull. They are spirited, sparkling, ardent. They like to show off and are masters at it.

In his dress a Pole is flashy and elegant. Life is a stage and he's an actor; so he dresses for the part. In that respect all Poles are one. The noble and his coachman; the princess and her seamstress, all dress with spirit—and with taste. They love colors and know how to combine them. They paint flowers on their wagons, on their houses, and over their gates; they also embroider flowers on their clothes. They have flowers in their hearts.

Read On—

Poland: Key to Europe—by Raymond Leslie Buell in the Reader's Digest for July, 1939, from a book by the same title.

Though written before the outbreak of war this work is still authoritative and informative.

Why the Poles Stand Firm—by R. H. Markham in The Christian Science Monitor Magazine, July 29, 1939.

The Poles' belief that liberty is worth any sacrifice justified by events.

Poland—by Walter Duranty in the Atlantic Monthly for September, 1939.

Poland's past mixed up with its present, and because it knows what subjugation is, it is determined to resist.

Poland—by W. J. Rose, a Penguin twenty-five cent book.

A useful pocket size collection of facts about Poland including historical and physical background plus maps and bibliography.

Polish Personalities

Poland has had its share of distinguished personages—in fact, some say, more than its share. Among them are:

1. Copernicus, the astronomer of the 16th century who showed that the earth turns around the sun.
2. Madame Curie, who with her husband discovered radium in 1898, and in 1903 received the Nobel Prize in chemistry.
3. Chopin, whose music so clearly reflects the characteristics of his countrymen.
4. Paderewski, premier pianist and pianist Premier, today's symbol of a Poland that is gone.
5. Pulaski, the Polish nobleman who ably aided the American colonies in their Revolution.
6. Kosciuszko, Polish national hero who after aiding the American colonies, returned to battle Russian domination.
7. Joseph Conrad, Polish-born English novelist, author of "Lord Jim," "Typhoon" and other works.
8. Pilsudski, "Father of the Polish Republic" that just has been; its strong man until his passing.
9. Jan Sobieski, Polish national hero of the 17th century, who delivered Vienna from the Turks in 1683.
10. Helena Modjeska, Polish actress who toured the United States with Otis Skinner and Maurice Barrymore.
11. Marcella Sembrich, Polish operatic soprano, a leading soprano with the New York Metropolitan around the turn of the century.
12. Henryk Sienkiewicz, winner of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1905, whose novel "Quo Vadis" won him international fame.

Rumania: A Case of Stalin 'and/or' Hitler?

Fireside Series Key Is Informality

Current events given with the informality of fireside chats is the aim of this new Monitor series. It presents the biggest major countries and situations of the day, brought up to last-minute timeliness by cable, telephone, and radio.

The setting is a cheery, wood-paneled library with a warm fire crackling in the fireplace. Around it, comfortably settled in deep easy chairs and lounges, are a group taking part in the course.

Leader of this discussion period is VOLNEY D. HUNT, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman speaks:

"After Poland, is Rumania next? Several of you have asked that question. Certainly the news brings this country of the Balkans right into the spotlight. For years both Russia and Germany have wanted to dominate the Balkans, long before their present governments came in. In fact the World War was brought about largely through German backing of Austria to invade Serbia whereupon Russia jumped in to defend its Slav brother—or should we say nephew? The Balkans emerged safe and sound with Rumania particularly happy with much new territory.

"Hitler has been applying steady pressure to the Balkans with Rumania, nearest geographically, and dearest because of its much needed oil fields, most in danger. It was generally thought that with the running over of Poland Rumania would be next—and just about as hard for the Allies to defend. Then Stalin pulled his surprise which was made to appear as no surprise. He insured Russia's getting her share of Poland in return for making the non-aggression pact with Germany, which was intended by Berlin to put such fear in the Allies that they would not attack Germany. The bluff failed but Stalin didn't. He got his land. Not only did he take much of Poland but he swung across so that his share cuts Germany directly off from Rumania."

Question: "But does that make Rumania safe? Is Russia a better friend than Germany?"

Answer: "No, you can hardly say Rumania is safe. But it probably feels safer with Russia than with Germany. Russia may take back Bessarabia, obtained from her after the World War. It may, as the Slav protector, force Rumania to give back Dobruja to the Bulgarians. But it is likely to leave the rest of Rumania. Germany, on the other hand, could have been expected to take over Rumania as it did Bohemia and Slovakia, and perhaps give Transylvania to Hungary."

Question: "Doesn't the recent assassination of the Rumanian premier indicate a weak government which Russia might easily dominate?"

Answer: "Not necessarily. Rumania cracked down hard and fast on the Iron Guard which caused the assassination. Many believe it to be the last act of this guard which was useful to Germany in the anti-Russian days. Today their part is apparently about over. In the meantime King Carol is meeting the emergency."

Question: "Is he a strong ruler then?"

Answer: "He has been in this emergency, although widely criticized before for extravagance and special privilege. Combining stubbornness in an unusual manner with agility, alertness and adroitness, he may be able to play Stalin off against Hitler. After all both would prefer a present weak Rumania to the domination of that country by the other. Its up to Carol now."

Question: "You spoke about Rumania's new lands after the war. Did it steal these lands and peoples?"

Answer: "Rumania says it 'liberated' or 'redeemed' them. It felt it was reuniting Rumanian areas to the mother country—and this is not an entirely absurd claim. The predominant racial element in Bessarabia, Transylvania and the Buko-

vina is Rumanian. At that a million Rumanians still remain in Russia, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia."

Question: "Then, what's the trouble about if Rumanians just re-annexed Rumanians?"

Answer: "There's the rub. As in the rest of Europe, people don't stay in solid groups. They are in scattered groups. So when Rumanian brought into its fold Rumanians it also caught in the net a lot of other people. There are 1,500,000 Hungarians, 800,000 Russians, 800,000 Germans and 500,000 Bulgarians in Rumania.

"A fourth of the population is minorities. But the real trouble is the quality of those minorities. Three particular groups have lorded it over the Rumanians—the Hungarians, Germans and Jews. The reason? The Rumanians are basically peasants. These more-educated other people looked down on them and treated them as serfs. Leaving the Rumanians to the land they went to the cities. The result is the minorities actually predominate in the cities.

Question: "Wasn't Hitler foolish to let Stalin, of all people, right into the Balkans as he did?"

Answer: "Perhaps the answer is the old oriental tale of the Arab who asked a camel to poke its head in the tent."

Question: "Meaning what?"

Answer: "Well, in the story the Camel followed its head—right into the tent. The Arab tent being small you can imagine what happened to the Arab."

Question: "Could you tell us something about Rumania and its people?"

Answer: "We are fortunate enough today to have R. H. Markham, the Monitor's Central European staff writer with us and he will tell you about the Rumanians as only a man who has traversed that country riding in haywagons and sleeping in barns, can do. You'll find his story just below on page 19."

Bucharest's Colorful Minority Problem



KEY

	Rumanians		Hungarians
	Russians		Bulgarians
	Germans		



James Sawditz; © Sovfoto

Racial Ingredients of Rumania's Melting Pot

The World War's peace treaties virtually doubled Rumania's territory. But it more than doubled her population problems, for it added to her population millions of Magyars, Jews,

Germans, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Serbs, Slovaks. The above map shows the political mosaic that is present-day Rumania. Note map nationality keys in pictures.

Roman Greetings Feature Land of King Carol

By R. H. Markham

The Rumanians are living relics of antiquity. Of course every other nation is, too. Even the most cursory visit to Mexico City or Lima takes you back to Romulus and Remus. But here the past seems to shout at you and jump at you in a more spectacular manner. Why, even when one chauffeur greets another you might imagine Mr. Cato speaking to Mr. Cicero.

And the strangest aspect of this exchange of Roman greetings by pumpkin-seed-vendors in Chisinau or Cluj is not that common workmen speak the language of Caesar, for they used to do that in Rome, also, but that this tongue ever got to the tall grass of Bessarabia or the back woods of Bukovina and that it won its way as the only native language. Every relic of an original, primitive dialect has been submerged.

And there never were many Romans here, either—only a small number of soldiers, who probably weren't from Rome at all, scattered settlements of agile merchants, who were probably Greeks, Jews or Levantines, and condemned persons whom the Roman government interned in distant Dacia. How did they teach Latin to a nation of long haired Dacian savages? Well, they did, and that's that.

Real Melody

Of course it's not a pure Latin. Rumanian contains at least 25 per cent Slav words. Every modern Latin language sounds like a corruption of some other Latin language. Portuguese is called broken Spanish; Spanish, broken Italian. Rumanian is broken everything. But it's very beautiful. The two most melodious tongues in the world are probably Italian and Russian, so what must Rumanian be, which is a combination of the two!

By blood these people are like the rest of the Europeans, a mixture of many races. In Rumania are Russians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Hungarians, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Germans, French, Jews, Tartars,

Gypsies and other stock. One constantly meets all sorts of physical types. Generalizations are difficult, but we might picture a representative Rumanian as rather dark, fairly tall, somewhat slender, with dark brown hair, dark eyes and a somewhat elongated, fine-featured face.

By disposition a Rumanian tends to be soft. He is easy going, genial, emotional, artistic. The Rumanians have never conducted a great national crusade, carried on a religious reformation or launched a big social revolution. They are inclined to "live and let live."

Encouraging Signs

In consequence, they are backward and poorly organized. The peasantry remains behind that of any other country in southeast Europe except Albania. Illiteracy abounds, poverty is very common, social injustice prevails and political corruption flourishes. Rumania seems to be a classic land of human frustration.

But there are encouraging aspects. Biologically the Rumanians are astoundingly virile, second to no other people in the western world, except the Russians. Due to their natural increase the Rumanians tend to push back every other race in this part of the world.

Then again they have remarkable power in assimilating others. Although the Rumanians are backward and soft, they swallow up harder and more advanced peoples. When Bulgarians and Rumanians are in contact, the Bulgarians tend to become Rumanians. Even hard, proud Hungarians become Rumanians. A Rumanian, though poor, is genial, emotional, seductive. Their glow and radiance seem to captivate stolder, stolder, harsher peoples.

Recent Changes

Rumanian folk embroidery is a vivid example of this fine, genial spirit. It is the most delicate in Europe. It is made by utterly untrained, illiterate peasant women, yet in exquisiteness has no rival. It is as peach petals on a gossamer

net; as though fringes of forget-me-nots were strewn on spider webs.

The Rumanians as all Balkan peoples, have been only recently liberated from the Turks. At first they were divided between two separate principalities, which were joined in a common kingdom under a Hohenzollern prince, who became King Carol I in 1881. This remained a small Balkan state until the World War, when it was more than doubled in extent and its population raised from seven to seventeen million. It is now 19,033,363.

Most of the people are peasants. Feudalism was abolished in 1864, and all agricultural land redistributed in 1921. A small class of aristocrats exists, but in spite of that the way to the highest office and highest post is open to every able Rumanian.

The Rumanian nation, though composed of many elements, is exceptionally uniform. Rumanians in Bulgaria, Greece, Russia, and Hungary are astoundingly similar. Politically, socially, and economically they are weak, racially exceptionally strong. Rumanians have lived utterly defenseless under foreign rules for a millennium without being denationalized.

Rumania is very rich. It is justly called "Europe's America." No other country of its size on the continent can be compared to it. Rumania, lying in the best part of the Danube valley, has unexcelled agricultural land favored by plenty of rain and a good climate. It produces enormous surpluses of wheat and corn. It also has great forests, providing more wood than world markets normally absorb. In addition, it is Europe's chief oil-producing country, outside of Russia. Likewise, it has inexhaustible quantities of salt, some coal, gold, silver, bauxite, and other minerals.

Rumania has everything, and its people are exceptionally virile, but socially they are poorly organized, and politically they are grievously exploited. To sum up, Rumania is a grand pyramid sitting on its head. Who would dare predict it can withstand storms?

Thumbnail Sketches of Rumania Leaders

Nichola Titulescu

Nichola Titulescu, 56 years old, is the most spectacular diplomat in modern Rumanian history. In post-war years he was the most influential "small country" statesman in Europe, after Eduard Benes and Eleutherios Venizelos, and more brilliant than either. He is tall, thin, long-armed, not handsome, an almost unmatched orator.

He was a staunch friend of France, a tireless defender of collective security, one of Europe's more uncompromising opponents of authoritarianism, an advocate of a Rumanian-Russian understanding, the creator of the Balkan Entente, a pillar of the Little Entente. He so vigorously opposed Italy's war on Ethiopia and so sharply criticized boisterous demonstrations of Italian journalists in Geneva, that he incurred the vehement enmity of the Duce.

Besides these opponents abroad, Titulescu had many in his own country. He was very ambitious, enjoyed enormous prestige, was very conscious of his superior talents, was a sensational spender, had a biting tongue, defended his views with furious energy, was a dangerous political rival. Finally, the King turned against him and suddenly on Aug. 29, 1936, dismissed him from the cabinet, without warning, consultation or formal notice. He is now working as an attorney in England.

Juliu Maniu

Juliu Maniu, 76 years old, is Rumania's Woodrow Wilson. He is of medium height, slender, solemn, genial, stiffly friendly, cordially unbending; punctual in habits, fanatical in the firmness of his convictions. Held incorruptible.

Chronology

- 100-106—Roman Legions set up posts in Rumania.
- 1393—Rumania acknowledges suzerainty of Turkey (ended 1877).
- 1457-1504—Stefan, the Great, creates ephemeral Great Rumania.
- 1593-1601—Michael, the Brave, restores ephemeral glory and power.
- 1774—Russia becomes actual but unofficial protector of Rumania.
- 1829—Russia begins to govern Rumania.
- 1859—Rumania becomes "The United Principalities."
- 1864—Serfs freed.
- 1866—Prince Carol, a Hohenzollern, becomes ruler.
- 1878—Rumania becomes completely independent.
- 1881—Elevates itself from principality to kingdom.
- 1913—Takes South Dobroudja from Bulgaria.
- 1916—Enters World War on side of Allies.
- 1918-19—Becomes Greater Rumania.

poor, frugal, unmarried; lives on a small farm, but wears long-tailed coat, is very religious, and was nobly devoted to his old mother. He is a good, high-voiced, single-tracked orator and was four times Prime Minister.

Maniu is the chief champion of liberal democracy in Southeast Europe. He is afraid of no one and nothing; is the man most trusted and loved by Rumanian masses, most hated by the Rumanian King. He is irrepressibly against authoritarianism, unreservedly for co-operation with France; advocates creation of general Danubian Federation.

Ion Mihalache

Ion Mihalache, 57 years old, is Rumania's principal peasant leader, a farmer who began his career as village teacher. He has long been president or vice-president of National Peasant Party; is the chief associate of Rumania's leading democrat, Juliu Maniu. He is stocky, round-faced, buxom; has leonine hair, and as an orator, resembles sledge hammer.

He speaks only Rumanian with ease; wears beautiful peasant costumes; tight white trousers, long embroidered knee-length shirts, "with tail out," short, tight-fitting, highly-decorated sheepskin vests, black sheepskin cap. He is true to principles, refuses to co-operate with Rumania's authoritarian governments.

Corneliu Codreanu

Corneliu Zelia Codreanu, born 1900, was founder and leader of the Iron Guards, a Nazi-like organization of young Rumanians, often outlawed, but never exterminated. Codreanu was executed (euphemistically "shot while trying to escape," Nov. 30, 1938), along with several of his colleagues. He was tall, slender, long-faced, thoughtful-appearing, handsome.

He used revolutionary methods, refrained from no act of violence, personally shot a sheriff, was utterly dictatorial, greatly sympathized with Hitler and Mussolini. Most of his followers were moved by idealistic motives; some were place-seekers of most vulgar sort. All were pledged to unreserved obedience. Iron Guardists were Crusaders, aiming to eliminate Jews, free Rumania from graft, favoritism, and corruption. They wanted to have everybody share in enjoying the good things of Rumania. They acted as champions of little people. Most university and high school youth followed Codreanu and dreamed of making a "new Rumania." He was a very poor orator, was vindictive, bold, ambitious. He aroused more fanatical devotion and called forth more crusading ardor than any leader in modern Rumanian history.

Armand Calinescu

Armand Calinescu, born in 1895, has been Rumania's strong man since the beginning of 1938; Prime Minister since

February 1939 until his recent assassination. He was small, perky, alert, brilliant, and brave, one of the best dressed men in the world. By wearing a black monocle he made a sightless eye contribute to his distinctive appearance.

Calinescu has been rather independent in his actions; never failing to watch for the main chance. He made his career, and reached post of Minister of the Interior as member of National Peasant Party under Maniu and Mihalache. He was outspoken champion of democracy. In February, 1939, he suddenly deserted his party and became a pillar of an authoritarian regime. He quickly drew practically the whole executive power into his hands, suppressed his old party, persecuted his old colleagues, became chief defender of absolutism. He executed his opponents with a ruthlessness equalled by no other Rumanian statesman in modern history.

Word Pictures

Rumania is one of the world's principal corn-producing countries, and the chief food of the people there is corn meal. It is usually boiled as mush and called "mamaliga." A great many of the poorer peasants haven't much else to eat. When fortunate, they put butter on it, and call it "mamaliga cu unt." On special occasions they eat it with fried onions, and then it's delicious "mamaliga cu cheapa."

A few years ago when the world economic crisis was at its height Titulescu, still Rumania's leading diplomat, gave a rousing interview to a group of journalists, saying Rumania would have to economize. Everybody would have to go on a diet of "corn meal and onions," he declared. It would have made many a peasants' mouth water. It sounded like a Sunday dinner.

"Branza cu smetana" is a delightful and widely used dish. Branza in this case is white cottage cheese and smetana is a sort of sweet cream of the consistency of thick molasses. This is a dessert used before the final dessert and coffee. In a good Rumanian meal there is a whole series of desserts.

As in all Balkan lands, sour milk is a staple Rumanian food. Many Rumanian cities abound in "milkeries," where one can get very cheap, wholesome victuals: hot, boiled sweet milk, artificially soured milk, eggs and bread. Many of these shops are conducted by Bulgarians.

A large part of Bucharest's vegetables are raised by Bulgarian gardeners. They lease land near the city, live in profit-sharing colonies directed by a chief who gives to each member his part, work extremely hard, and go home late each fall to spend the winter with their families.

Russia: How Far Will It Drive to the West?

Our setting is a wood-paneled library. Before a crackling fire sit a group in comfortable chairs, talking informally. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HUBB, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"Today we come to another country with as vast possibilities of discussion as our France of yesterday—Russia. Again our limited time will restrict us to a few fundamentals. Russia spreads over western Europe and across Asia to the Pacific Ocean. On your maps it is a vast land area. It's big—and a key theme to Russia is that bigness.

"It's called the bear, the steam-roller. Like a huge amorphous mass, it is not strong at any one point yet its sheer weight makes it a power always felt in eastern European affairs. Someone has said that to have a little, guarantees the most efficiency in making that little go far. Russia has always had a lot. Therefore it has always been inefficient. Masses of peoples to farm masses of land have meant continuation of the most primitive farm methods in the past.

"In wars Russia has always produced huge armies and then thrown the men away in futile strategy, confident that it could replace them from an apparently inexhaustible source. Soviet Russia has built huge industrial plants, tremendous in size, yet hopelessly short on quality and quantity of output. It's much like a leaking dam at a pond which fills so rapidly no one notices or cares about the leaks."

Question: "Isn't it the orientalism of Russia which makes it appear amorphous?"

Answer: "That undoubtedly plays its part. When you get size and an oriental point of view as well, then you have the sort of thing we find in Russia. But the occidental or Western angle of Russia must not be overlooked. There is a tendency on the part of certain writers to consider Russia as moving eastward or southward. But a look at

history, as shown in the accompanying map, shows a marked trend westward."

Question: "I note that movement west was largely pre-Soviet. Isn't Stalin, with a completely different ideology of government, likely to reverse that trend?"

Answer: "Let's consider that. Now the mass momentum of national characteristics and trends is so strong that no change in government seems to swing it very far. Germany under Hitler remarkably resembles many of the objectives if not the methods of the Germany of the Kaiser, Bismarck and Frederick."

"Look at Russia today. Stalin has thrown off the last remains of Lenin or Marxist Communism and emerges practically a Tsar. Isn't it interesting that with it comes a Tsarist drive westward?"

Question: "Then you think that the hope that Stalin merely secured his frontiers in Poland to permit him to work east and south is a false one?"

Answer: "Yes, if we are to accept continuous historic trends as a guide to the future. Russia has long been fascinated with the West. Most of the Russian population is in western Russia. Peter the Great definitely accepted the West and worked hard to change Russia into a Western state. Even his famous Russian city had a Germanized name, St. Petersburg. Russia as you will see on the map was pretty far into Europe in 1914—and before that time Russian troops were engaged as far away as Spain and Northern Italy.

"If we accept this trend, then Stalin is bidding his time until he can move to the west again. Tie up Germany in a war with England and France and he will be free to move into the Balkans, Scandinavia and perhaps even the rest of Poland."

Question: "But that infers military action and Russia's success so

far has been obtained without that. Would Stalin risk a change?"

Answer: "It's a question whether or not he'd have to. Remember that he, with Hitler, is of the school that has two arms of conquest, politics and the army. In the old days when the army moved in the generals were given charge of things until peace. Then politics came up again. Now the army and politics are used simultaneously, with alternate threats carefully weighed as to timing, distance and pressure, bringing about conquest often without much warfare. Stalin, lifelong student and expert on revolution, has a most effective vehicle for internally weakening a distracted country. Then he can threaten with force and get what he wants."

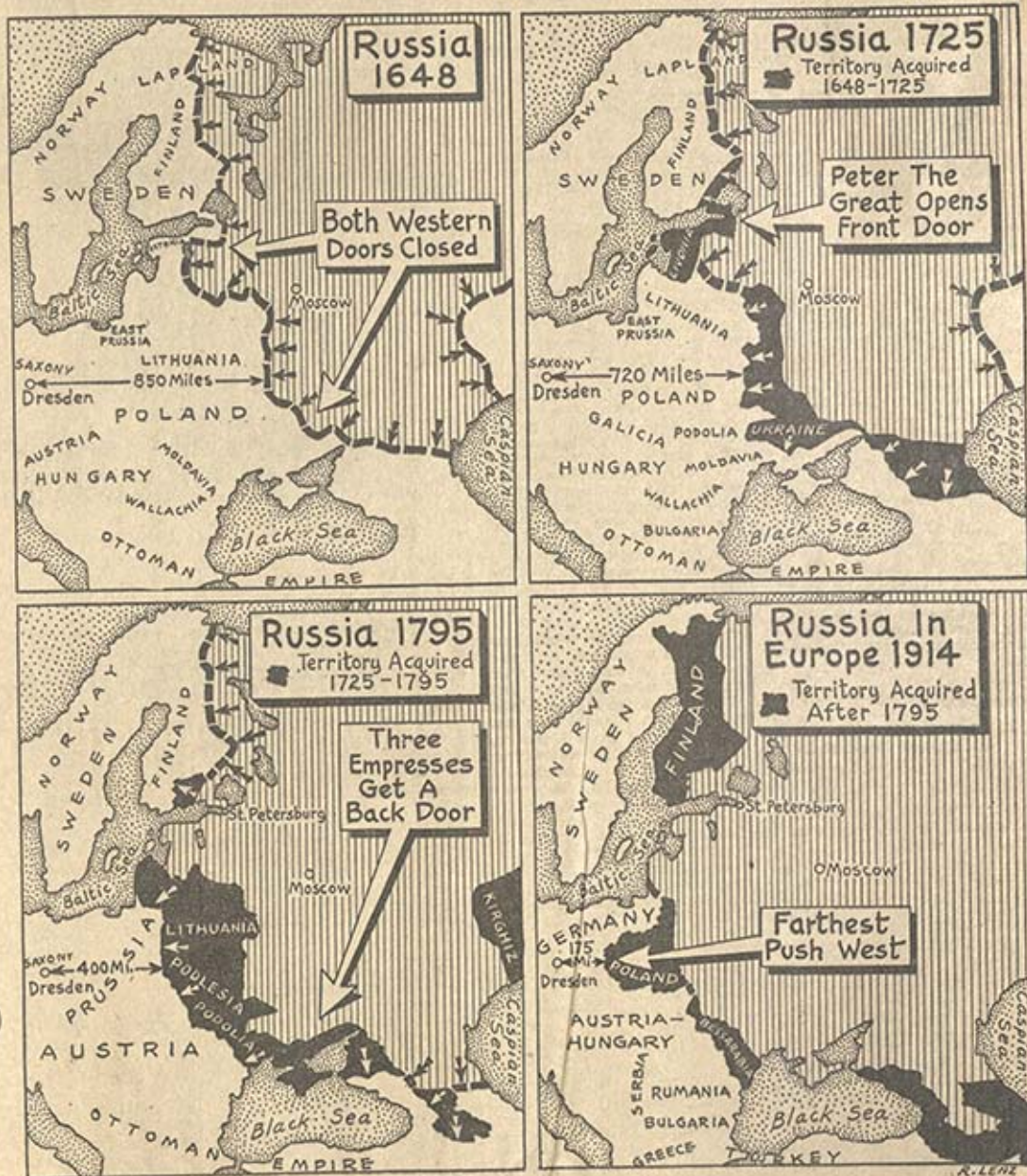
Question: "Then France and England might have a Communistic Russia literally at their doors if the Stalin revolution managed to go deep into Germany?"

Answer: "It's possible. If that were so, and England, France and Germany could work out a peace before they were too exhausted, it's not beyond possibility you might see all three of them join together to push Russia out of Europe. If they ever joined forces to do it it shouldn't be very hard. Remember its weight and not military skill that is Russia. Weight with skill can drive it out. The Reich Army of today could do it without difficulty."

Question: "Could you tell us more about these major changes in Stalin's policy?"

Answer: "Nowhere near as well as the Monitor's noted Russian correspondent, W. H. Chamberlin, who is our guest today. Writer of what is considered the best history of the Russian revolution, long a student of Russian affairs, Mr. Chamberlin has been on assignment in Japan and France since leaving Russia. He cabled his answer as guest speaker for today's meeting and you'll find it on Fireside page 55 just below."

The Slavic Bear Between Hibernations



By a Staff Artist

Russia Opens Front and Back Doors to the West

The Mother of the Slavs sprawls over a continent, now balancing, now upsetting Europe's delicate balance of power. Her present advance in Europe has been at the invitation of

Hitler; but her fundamental interests in the Baltic and the Balkans would seem to clash with those of Germany. How long then can this unnatural alliance continue?

Stalin: Master of Russia, Threat to Europe

By W. H. Chamberlin

There are two great recent changes in the Soviet Union, closely connected with each other. Firstly, the character of the regime has been transformed during the last few years as a result of the purges which politically, and often physically, "liquidated" almost all the survivors of the Bolshevik Old Guard, many prominent Soviet generals, diplomats and captains of industry. Secondly the Soviet Union having joined the ranks of the so-called "dynamic states," is now committed forcefully to changing the European frontier which it accepted after the civil war and wars with Poland, Finland and the Baltic States in the years following the conclusion of the World War.

It becomes retrospectively increasingly clear that the central purposes of the purges was to free Stalin from anything in the nature of Communist public opinion.

The official charges of pro-German, pro-Japanese activity and industrial sabotage were not the real reason for the trials. Stalin desired to destroy every Communist of independent reputation dating from the early period of the revolution, with the purpose of having his hands free for any policy, including an understanding or alliance with Fascism, that he might choose to pursue. His destruction of Marshal Tukhachevsky and other prominent Red Army generals who, it is worth noting, weren't old regime military leaders but young men who had made careers under the revolution, was motivated by nervous fear of a Bonapartist coup.

Present Despotism

As a result of the purges the Soviet system changed from an oligarchical party dictatorship, with a certain ideological basis, into a purely personal despotism. Stalin, whose chief lieutenants now are either too young to have participated in the revolution or who played a mediocre role therein, can,

like Hitler and Mussolini, follow any policy, internationally or internally, which seems expedient, regardless of its compatibility with the ideas of Marx and Lenin. This makes the future course of Soviet development more incalculable than ever.

Stalin's first conspicuous use of his new, completely unfettered position was the conclusion of the sensational understanding with Hitler which so shocked those uncritical admirers of the Soviet regime in western countries who took its anti-fascist professions seriously.

Stalin's Policy

One must admit Stalin played his cards cleverly, recognizing that his three objectives in their relative order of importance are maintaining his own power, increasing the Russian territorial possessions, and stimulating international revolution. His policy during the months immediately preceding the war was a masterpiece of Machiavellian cunning, pushing Europe into a war from which he proposed to stand aloof, reaping all possible advantages. He encouraged England and France to believe he would co-operate in defending Poland, then at the very last moment, when neither Hitler nor the Democratic powers could very well back down, switched his orientation to the Third Reich.

A prolonged destructive war, wherein Germany, France and England are the main participants, can only benefit Stalin, whether he thinks primarily in terms of Russian power or world revolution. He already, with practically no military loss, has regained a large area inhabited by some thirteen million people in eastern Poland and, following the best Hitler technique as used in Austria and Czechoslovakia, gained bloodless control of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

But Stalin's greatest opportunity may well come at the end of the war if it ends in the breakdown of Germany. It is very likely all eastern and southeastern Europe

will then be in an extremely chaotic condition, very favorable for communist propaganda, and Stalin will have the Red Army as a weapon to convince those who don't succumb to propaganda.

One can already see indications of a radically new alignment of forces in such an eventuality, with Fascist Italy and conservative Spain perhaps siding with England and France against the Red Colossus, while Germany itself may be the prey of a civil war, with England and France supporting moderates against extremists, who may go Bolshevik as the price of Soviet aid.

The more immediate question is how far Stalin can and will help Hitler. The weakness of Stalin's huge empire is its uncommonly inefficient economic system. The masses of the people still live at an extremely low standard and the traditional defects of bad quality industrial production, inefficient transportation and incompetent distribution show no improvement.

Even the easiest industrial problem, the increase of the quantitative output of iron, steel and oil, has lagged badly in recent years. Russia, if it desires, can supply Germany with gold, manganese, timber and copper. Its ability to supply any large amount of oil, iron or steel would seem to depend upon whether the Germans will be allowed to organize production.

Aid to Hitler?

There is no indication that Stalin will send any troops or airplanes to Germany, but as it is to his interest to prolong the war he will probably feed Germany raw materials, thereby somewhat counterbalancing British and French supplies from America. The social order of the new Russia would seem to suggest a less efficient Fascist state with strong oriental characteristics as regards the absolute power of its ruler and the extremely precarious tenure of the life and liberty of its chief functionaries.

Scandinavia: Where Briton and Teuton Meet

An informal group weighs today's news and its meaning. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HURN, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"Scandinavia takes its place for discussion today—brought into the news as it has been by the meeting of the three Scandinavian kings and the President of Finland, seeking a solution to the Soviet push into the Baltic. What makes up Scandinavia? Well, primarily Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Iceland—but Finland is considered part of the Scandinavian group, having once belonged to Sweden.

"Scandinavia is famous for its democracy, its peace, its lack of poverty, its lack of class distinction, its great success with co-operatives and for orderliness and neatness—among other things. And right here I see a question coming. What is it?"

Question: "You raise what has long been a puzzle to me—the combination of democracy, as a British and French characteristic, with orderliness and other Teutonic characteristics. Are the Scandinavians really one race?"

Answer: "Yes, except for the Finns who have a special place. They are members of the great Teuton family—Nordic blonds. Many of them are tall with long faces, blue eyes and light hair. They are cousins to both the German and the British. Their languages are related to German and English. The Scandinavian peoples can easily understand each other, though each nation has its own language and each glories in its own literature. However, they read one another's books and papers and attend common conferences."

Question: "Is it that the Scandinavian Teutons are quite different from the other Teutonic peoples?"

Answer: "Not basically. There is much solidarity in the whole Teuton world which includes Holland and most of Switzerland as well as the whole of Germany.

Traveling in Europe you can easily discern a general Teutonic culture from Spitzbergen in North Norway to Bern and Graz. It is marked by those desirable qualities of solidity, thoroughness, love for the home, poetry, a sense of duty, cleanliness, general enlightenment, well-tended fields, good roads, robust, rosy-cheeked people. Also by an attachment to beauty, an appreciation of music, conservation of natural resources and orderliness."

Question: "Then why aren't the Scandinavians just like the Germans? Why are they democratic while the Germans prefer strong leadership and autocracy?"

Answer: The Teutonic is but one influence in Scandinavia. On the other side we have the British influence. The British have a freer spirit than many Teutons. British institutions and the British way of looking at things have been sources of great inspiration in the northern lands. Again, commercially these countries are within the British sphere. Their banking, commerce, and industry are largely adapted to British needs. Denmark, for instance, actually is economically more closely connected with Great Britain than are many parts of the empire! British democracy has been a pattern and inspiration for the development of Scandinavian politics. So you see the Scandinavians are a wholesome combination of much that is the best in both Germany and Britain—a fact which has led many wishers for world peace and development to hope for closer British and German co-operation so that these Scandinavian achievements might spread over much more of Europe."

Question: "Isn't another reason for the Scandinavian difference from the German people the fact that the northern countries live on peninsulas and have therefore led peaceful and unintruded-upon lives?"

Answer: "They do live on such peninsulas—but their history is far from peaceful until the last cen-

tury. For centuries the Scandinavian countries were mixed up in Europe's conflicts. Sweden and Denmark were both great international factors, ruled by dynasties with vast ambitions. Thoroughly imperialistic, they often invaded foreign lands. Even Hitler's conquests pale besides some of Sweden's. Scandinavia also was involved in Napoleon's wars."

Question: "Then it is not geography that makes Scandinavians peaceful?"

Answer: "No. Many other factors must be considered. One is religion. All the Scandinavians are Protestant so there is no inter-sect conflict. A free, united allegiance to native, progressive churches, gives a concerted strength to these lands. All these people are basically ethical, self-reliant, independent and fair. They are practical, stubbornly devoted to what they consider right and willing to play fair. Their literature is humane, striving towards justice."

Question: "Do the Finns have a number of good qualities like the other Scandinavians? This is interesting since they are of another race?"

Answer: "Yes they do — all of which puts a question mark on the value of race as such rather than racial ideas, which can be exported. The world thinks of the Finns as the champions at long-distance running, remembering Paavo Nurmi. But they excel in many other things. Spiritually, economically and politically they are on a level with the other Northern countries. They are a hard-working, agricultural people. Land is well distributed and almost every family owns some. Co-operatives, as in the rest of Scandinavia, are highly developed. The people are solid, sober, clean and enterprising."

"And now we just have time to hear our guest speaker for the day, that good friend of people everywhere, R. H. Markham, who continues this discussion on Fireside Page 79."

Where Progressive Policies Flourish



James Sawders; Cushing

Land of the Vikings: Composite of Past, Present and Future

Picturesque scenes in Scandinavia: 1. Grain elevators at the Danish city of Aarhus. 2. Artist decorating porcelain at Danish Royal Porcelain Works. 3. Norwegian peasant lad from the Setesdal Valley. 4. The busy wharf district of Bergen,

Norway. 5. Modern headquarters of the Swedish Co-operative Societies in Stockholm. 6. Swedish peasant girl in her Sunday go-to-meeting finery. Of such an assortment of peoples, places, pursuits is Scandinavia made.

Model Lands and People Feature Scandinavia

By R. H. Markham

Describing Scandinavia is like writing a fairy tale. It gives one the impression he is making things up. Even the soberest and most unemotional portrayal of Scandinavian civilization is stirring.

This development is of comparatively recent origin. Norway has been independent only since 1905. A quarter of a century ago the Swedish King possessed the right to create cabinets, just as he wished. Fifty years ago "Denmark was on the verge of disintegration." These peoples have very frequently gone to war against one another, subjugated and pillaged one another, combined with outside powers against one another, swapped their own peoples and lands back and forth, and engaged in vast imperialistic wars. Such a background makes the present picture seem all the brighter.

The most striking achievement of Scandinavia is peace. Norway and Sweden have not been engaged in any war for a century; Denmark not since 1864. Scandinavia withdrew from the imperialistic arena after the Napoleonic wars, and ever since has devoted itself to peaceful progress. The people settle their many acute and complicated problems by peaceful means.

Liberty in Unity

Liberty in unity is Scandinavia's ideal. Each nation is separate and independent, but all co-operate in perfect harmony. There is no United States of Scandinavia, but a sort of Co-operative of Scandinavian peoples. This is the world's foremost example of voluntary international co-ordination; it provides a maximum of independence with a maximum of solidarity.

Nowhere is self-government better developed. Both "left" and "right" authoritarianism is shunned. Socialists abound, are very energetic, very conscientious, and very influential, but they do not advocate a dictatorship of the

proletariat. Nazism has but few supporters. Co-ordination and social integration, with a fair deal for all is the general ideal. One may say, there is more liberalism than conservatism, though each is tempered by the other. The Scandinavians of all classes play fair.

The contrast between wealth and poverty is not very glaring. There isn't very much pretension and less snobbishness than in most places. Scandinavians are reserved but not many are exclusive. Even the three kings live a good deal like their fellow citizens.

Small Land Holdings

This feeling of freedom and equality is accompanied by unusual economic individuality and independence. Small holdings abound, and seem to be increasing. Only six per cent of the farms in Denmark, for instance, are held by tenants. A very large per cent of all Scandinavians are free holders. Most live in the country or small towns. Only 30 per cent of the Norwegians dwell in cities and in the category of "cities" are reckoned very small settlements.

In flat, fertile little Denmark, nearly four fifths of which is under cultivation, there is no isolation, but much individuality. The land is thickly settled and intensively tended in the most modern ways by the people who own it. One sixth of it is divided into very small holdings, one sixth remains in fairly large holdings and two thirds contains farms averaging 60 acres each. For the last 40 years the number of small land-holders has been increasing at the expense of the large farms.

In Sweden, also, 80 per cent of all agricultural land is in small holdings, and two thirds of the people live in the country.

This cutting up of the land into such small parcels might mean general impoverishment and a primitive type of agriculture, because a peasant family with 10 acres of land could hardly procure modern ma-

chinery. But that is not the case. This problem is solved by a co-operative economy. In Denmark, especially, but to a large degree in the whole of Scandinavia, producers, consumers, and investors work together.

They have been prepared for this by heroic educational activity, carried on by the State and private societies interested in popular progress. The people are educated how to work effectively and live abundantly. Villages, fields, town dwellings, factories, forests, all testify to this truth. The people are very human and of course have all kinds of human weaknesses. They like to make money, as other people do, but still they have created a society in which both freedom and order prevail, where modern efficiency does not stifle the development of individual personality, and rugged individualism does not prevent collective action.

Balance

Scandinavia is a place of balance. It is as famous for its sport as for its dramas of herring. Men work wisely and play heartily. They believe in duty and they believe in pleasure. They eat a great variety of delicious sandwiches, fish, preserves, pastry, and the like, but are not given to self-indulgence. Men are deeply religious and seek God, but also ardently seek beauty.

They keep the liquor traffic under control. In social insurance they are among the first in the world. They act carefully, yet are anything but sluggish; their coffee houses are as quiet as libraries, but the people in them are very alert; the Scandinavians eschew militarism, but are exceptionally virile. They are intensely nationalistic, but use that passion to elevate themselves, not to suppress others.

They have achieved what others dreamed of. Yesterday they were what others are today. They give us a right to hope that our tomorrow will be like their today. If so, it will be good.

A Viking Comes Back

Eric saw a moving picture last night. At least he thought he did. He fell to sleep over his books and as his eye lids went down, a curtain went up—on a marvelous drama.

Eric is a high school student. He lives in a log house in a little forest town of lower Sweden, milks a cow, chops wood, daily tramps five miles to school, does his home work in a bare room on a rough table, sleeps on a rather hard bed under coarse blankets, and is surrounded by snow six months of the year. It's a monotonous life with nothing more exciting than fighting storms or sending giant logs down ice-covered slopes. Eric dreads spending the rest of his life in such a place; he longs for a great day, when he will go places and see things.

Eric Sees Things

Last night he saw things. They were Vikings, in graceful ships with high defiant prow, billowy sails and rows of long, strong oars. The men had stringing moustaches, flowing hair, high foreheads, bristling eye brows, blue eyes that pierced through mists and clouds, read all the stars, leapt over all horizons.

The Vikings bore such names as Eric the Red, Olaf the White, Knut the Curly, and were wild adventurers. They carried swords, clanked about in wide-topped boots, whistled through their teeth, yelled "heave ho" here, "heave ho" there, and sailed seven seas, in raids on half the continents.

Fierce men, accompanied by fiercer women with long braids of golden hair, were discovering America, invading Ireland, plundering Scotland, subduing England, ruling Russia, overrunning Germany, establishing themselves in France, preparing to reign over Britain, penetrating into Turkey, sacking Italy, exploring Africa.

That was a grand sight for Eric. If he had known he was asleep he'd have asked never to be awakened. He'd have wished he might climb into one of those Viking boats and sail through the centuries.

Viking Appears

Instead of that a big tall Viking left the stage and came to him, stamping grandly down the aisle, lofty helmet on his head, swinging sword at his side.

"Hello, mate," he said, stopping before the youth.

"Hello, chief," the young wood-chopper exclaimed a-quiver from the honor that had been given him.

"What's your name?" Viking asked.

"Eric."

"A grand name," continued Viking. "He was our greatest explorer. He discovered America. Be proud of your name."

"Aw, Chief," objected the milk-boy sighing, "I can't be proud. I'm ashamed. Here I am an Eric. But all I do is milk a cow and study geometry. I want to be a Viking, stand up in a boat, discover new worlds, conquer England, rule Russia. I

want adventure. I came a thousand years too late."

"No, my son," Viking interposed. "Now is the time for adventure."

"What do you mean, Chief?" protested Eric, rising respectfully, but puzzled. "I'd like to go down into Germany, as Gustav Adolfus, to save somebody, or invade Russia, as King Charles, to drive back barbarians. We Norsemen used to be a mighty power, but look at us now, cooped up in this little country, milking cows and sawing wood!"

"We never were a greater force than today," Viking said firmly. "Now is our epoch. This is the moment for adventurous Norsemen."

Contrasts

"We old Vikings destroyed; you new Vikings build. Take from us old pirates daring, self-reliance, love of new paths, and a passion for freedom, but nothing more."

"We robbed people; you give to people. Because of us, Norseman meant terror; because of you, Norseman means blessing. Where we went, lights went out; where you go lights are kindled. We brought war; you bring peace. Our songs were battle hymns; yours are hymns of love to God and man."

"We old Vikings turned things upside down; you new Vikings consolidate and stabilize. Norse poets set the hearts of the world a-singing. Norse story tellers put half the world's children to sleep; Norse prophets inspire mankind to reforms. Norse scientists snatch golden secrets from nature as we snatched golden plunder from churches."

"Norsemen give an example of cen-

tennial harmony to a warring world. They show a machine-ridden epoch how capital and labor may be friends. While others deepen the abyss that divides rich and poor, Norsemen close it. 'Tis they who best show a quarreling world the way of brotherhood. Among Norsemen city helps country, state helps state, nation aids nation, the factory supplements the farm, buyer and seller clasp hands at the market place; the artist sits at the pig herd's hearth."

Bright Future

The old Viking grew eloquent and his face glowed—as though he were sailing into a morning sun, or cleaving a raging sea.

"We old pirates saw but the edge of life," he said. "We only skirted winding windy shores and clung to straggling rivers. We kept on the fringe of things. But the whole world is yours. The nations come to your doors to learn. They stop at your thresholds to listen. They pause at your gardens to gaze."

"Eric the Red, discovered a new continent, but didn't know it from a sea gull's cove. You modern Erics make new worlds. You squeeze them out of atoms, lure them out of aeons, charm them out of ether waves. We old Vikings are as toy adventurers beside you; our ships, for ponds where kiddies play. I was born a thousand years too soon!"

A book dropped. Eric started. He rubbed his eyes and sighed and sadly said, "What do you think of that?"

Scandinavia

Population

Strictly speaking, there are 13,014,000 Scandinavians, namely 3,735,000 Danes; 6,267,000 Swedes; 2,895,000 Norwegians; 117,000 Icelanders. The Finns, who from many points of view might be considered to belong to the same group, add 3,810,000 to the number.

Geography

Geographically, the Scandinavian lands are very large, but for the purpose of human habitation quite tiny. Sweden resembles a large Christmas stocking, with a little bit of candy in the toe; the candy is the people. Norway is a long belt with a tiny edge of lace on one side and end; that lace is the people. They inhabit parts of the shore and a few of the valleys. Denmark is a little more than half as big as Maine.

Gulf Stream

These are the most northern civilized countries in the world and they would be barren, white wastes of snow and ice, were it not for the kindly Gulf Stream. The sweltering heat that Texas and Louisiana experience in summer really heats up the Gulf Stream for Norway and Sweden.

Read On—

Country Life in Norway—by Axel H. Oxholm in the National Geographic for April 1939.

The Gulf Stream credited with enabling one-third of the people in this far-north, mountainous land to prosper on farms.

Farm-Labor Relations in Scandinavia—by Marquis W. Childs in the Autumn 1938 Yale Review.

Study of Scandinavian efforts to strike a balance between the standards of the farm and city.

Social Problems and Policies in Sweden—in the Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, May 1938.

Series of articles on Sweden's handling of a dozen or more social problems.

How the Scandinavians Do It—by Marquis W. Childs in September 1938 Harpers.

In these northern European countries labor rules democratically despite left and right critics and neighboring dictatorships.

Turkey: Historic Crossroads Vital Today

Our setting is a wood-paneled library. Before a crackling fire sit a group in comfortable chairs, talking informally. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HUNT, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"Turkey's diplomatic star has suddenly ascended in recent weeks. It's getting recognition that might seem out of proportion to its apparent size and importance. Several of you have asked why. There are two major reasons. One is its unique and powerful strategic position. The other the Turk's ability to deal realistically, a quality essential in handling Germany and Russia.

"Let's consider the Turk himself for a moment. Lots of people think he is a race apart. Yet biologically he is largely a Mediterranean type. He resembles southern Europeans. His greatest modern leader, Kemal Atatürk, could have passed as a Scot or a Bostonian."

Question: "Then the Turk's character is much like the southern European?"

Answer: "No. You see the Turks are mainly Moslems. Islam has exercised a great influence on their character. In the past many brutal deeds and plunderings occurred in the name of religion. Women were held down and arrogance often became a virtue. Yet actually the Turkish masses are very pleasant, neighborly people."

Question: "Speaking of Atatürk, hasn't he changed the Islamic characteristics of the Turks?"

Answer: "Not all, but a lot. He worked wonders in just 15 years. He took an utterly crushed, flagrantly humiliated people and gave it a strong, honorable place among nations. A state on the point of being partitioned, he made it the leading power in the Near East. He consolidated a country 17 per cent larger than France with almost 17,000,000 people. Once widely mixed it is now almost 90 per cent Turkish."

"Doctrines of the French and American Revolutions now inspire the leaders. Living with a zeal for progress they are working hard to make Turkey catch up with the western world. In education, language reforms, religious liberation, emancipation of women, industrial development, improvement of the courts and agricultural advances they have attained remarkable success."

Question: "That sounds like a democracy. But Atatürk was a dictator, wasn't he?"

Answer: "Atatürk and his aides recognized that you cannot make a backward people democratic at once. They must be educated up to it. So they have given a strong leadership to bring this about, with democracy the ultimate goal."

Question: "Is it because Turkey is now strong that it gets marked diplomatic recognition today?"

Answer: "No. Turkey is not so strong yet. As I said at first it is the strategic position of Turkey which counts so heavily. Next comes the Turkish character we have outlined which makes for a very realistic type of leadership. In a Turk a hardboiled Stalin or a ruthless Hitler meets his match. Yet combined with this realism is a democratic and progressive instinct. Taking his strategic position to the gaming tables of diplomacy, even playing across from Stalin and Hitler, Mr. Turk will make a very good showing."

Question: "What about this strategic position?"

Answer: "You have to look at a map to see it. You will find that Turkey controls the greatest crossroads in Europe—the Straits of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara and the Bosphorus. It is a crossroads of boat and railway. Boats connecting the Mediterranean with the Black Sea shuttle constantly through these waters. Long freight trains pounding down through the Balkans cross here for the near east. This railroad was part of the Kaiser's famous dream—'Berlin to

Bagdad.' It probably will be connected to Bagdad yet. In the meantime it is the great artery of that region."

"Control of this waterway has long been the goal of Germany, Russia and, some years ago, England. England sought it because as a naval power it needed these waters. Russia and Germany saw it as a way to dominate all the Balkans and the Near East. Britain in a badly-handled campaign lost thousands of men in attacking the Dardanelles during the World War."

Question: "Isn't Turkey in a dangerous position with two great, aggressive powers seeking control?"

Answer: "Yes and no. Theoretically yes. But realistically Turkey knows it is too great a prize for any one of the powers to ever let another great power take over. So it is playing them against one another and it is very likely to succeed. And in so doing it will help stabilize the Balkans of which it is the leading power today."

Question: "Won't Turkey use this position to try and expand to the size of the old Ottoman empire?"

Answer: "No. Turkey has learned that efforts at making more out of what it has is a much better long range plan than continually taking in more territory than it can control and digest. That is realism at its best—and something the other so-called realistic powers have yet to find out—probably at high cost. Nevertheless in its need for oil Turkey may yet expand southward."

Question: "All this hardly paints Turkey as the 'Sick man of Europe,' its once famous description?"

Answer: "For an answer we have arranged for a more sharply defined picture of Turkey today and the changes that have made it so, by our guest speaker, Dr. Philip Ireland of Harvard University, who has recently returned from a period of research and study in Turkey—on Fireside Page 35."

Turkey—At the Crossroads



Galloway; Authenticated News; By a Staff Artist

Rail and Water Routes Cross at Istanbul

The picturesque peaceful-appearing Bosphorus shown at the top actually is the key to Near Eastern diplomacy, which has been so ably practiced by: Sükrü Sarıcaoglu, Turkish Premier, at the left; and İsmet İnönü, Turkish President, at the right.

Atatürk: One Man's Constructive Genius

By Dr. Philip W. Ireland

The Ottoman Empire, at the Armistice in 1918, seemed completely at the mercy of the Allies, so shattered and exhausted were the Turks. The long threatened collapse seemed certain.

Yet within five years Turkey's enemies had been forced from Turkish soil by nationalists, aroused, organized and led by Mustafa Kemal and his associates. Turkey had signed at Lausanne the only negotiated peace of the war. The capitulations and special privileges of foreigners had been abolished. The Sultanate and the Khalifate, in spite of past centuries of authority, had been swept away and Turkey had become a republic with Mustafa Kemal as its first president. Turkey was recognized as a nation by right and not by sufferance. The Allies had won the war but it was Turkey which had won the peace.

The primary problem which faced Turkey was not the absence of potentials in its people and its natural resources. It was the releasing and utilization of the potentials which had lain dormant under oppression.

To One Man Full Credit

Mustafa Kemal, perhaps better known as Atatürk, energetic, sure of his aims, ambitious for his country, unhampered by tradition or sentimentality, did not wait for the Peace of Lausanne to initiate his program of creating a modernized Turkey, looking to Europe rather than Asia, employing western methods and technique in developing its resources and freed from the self-seeking Ottoman dynasty and from the stultifying influence of the Islamic clergy.

Three of the methods employed by Atatürk in creating a new Turkey seem of special importance: secularization; intensification of nationalism; and development of resources.

Under the Empire, Islamic law, enforced by an entrenched reactionary clergy, dominated the legal and educational system and so-

ciety in general. Steps in Atatürk's secularization program cut at the roots of divided allegiance and authority in the new republic and furthered westernization, as did abolition of the fez and the encouragement of western dress, the adoption of the Latin alphabet and the western calendar and the compulsory use of family names.

In achieving national unity, the Turkish Republic has not hesitated to use methods adopted by other authoritarian governments. In the schools, in official histories, in the press, in the People's Houses and by government spokesmen, pride and confidence in the Turkish nation, in the purity of the Turkish race and language and in the mission of Turkish culture are stimulated and encouraged. "Turk," often used as a term of derogation in Ottoman days, has become a term of honor and self-respect.

Democratic Ideals Aim

The educational system is used for more than inculcating nationalism. The high illiteracy is being attacked. The creation of good citizens, trained in liberal western methods and interested in themselves, their country and the world at large is stressed. Democracy is not held up to scorn. Rather it is held up as an objective to be attained. Sanctity of the law and the constitution is taught.

Turkey in many respects is a poor country. Its national budget of about \$250,000,000 is about half that of New York City. Nearly fifty per cent of the land is either sterile or unproductive without costly irrigation. Yet it has rich deposits of chrome, copper, iron, coal and lignite. It produces cotton, grains and excellent tobacco, fruit and wool. In the development of these resources, as well as of industries using local raw materials, Turkey has been successful considering her early handicaps—lack of capital, trained personnel, a badly-devised tax system and fear of foreign intervention. Turkey is predominant-

ly agricultural but agriculture has been somewhat neglected.

To Turks the present war comes as a blow. The program of rebuilding Turkey is far from complete. Turkish leaders speak in terms of ten, twenty, thirty years for the carrying out of present plans which war will bring to a standstill. "Peace at home and peace abroad" has been more than a mere phrase. Sincere efforts on behalf of peace have brought about the settlement of long-standing quarrels with Greece, the creation of a Balkan Entente and of a Middle East bloc, composed of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan, committed to peace and non-aggression.

Turkey and the Powers

Among the great Powers, Turkey's relations have tended to center about Russia, its friend of long-standing, with whom it has a long land frontier. Toward England and France Turkey's post war hostility has turned to friendship, formalized in recent alliances, in the recognition of a common interest in peace, the maintenance of the status quo and in greater freedom of trade. Italy, as long as Mussolini speaks of Mare Nostrum or of Italy's role in the Mediterranean, will be regarded with suspicion. Turkey's sympathy with Germany has for the most part changed to apprehension of Nazi ambitions in the Balkans and Near East, a fact which underlines Turkey's realization that her long-run interests as well as her sympathies lie with Great Britain and France.

Turkey's future action is almost unpredictable in the light of the Russo-German agreement and of the present negotiations in Moscow. She does not undervalue her strategic position and her diplomats will drive a shrewd bargain. Turkey values peace. She will make concessions to achieve it but she will not fail to pour her not inconsiderable force and resources onto the battlefield if her national independence is threatened.

A 'Talkie' on Turkey

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Relax. Sit back. Take it easy. For a long, long film is beginning. It covers, not hours nor days. Not months nor years. Not decades nor centuries. But a millennium. One millennium entire, and a third of another.

Look at the scene. Burning sands; eternal snows; dashing waves. Three continents. Seven seas. The two most magnificent river valleys in human history, with billowing sails over gold decked barks. Queens with diamond crowns and gossamer scarfs. Warriors with Damascus steel scimitars on coal black steeds. Barefooted Arabs racing in waterless wastes. Grand-domed churches. Minareted mosques. Black-robed priests swinging incense-burners; white-scarfed hodjas calling to prayer.

Now the film starts. Warriors sweep out of Arabia's sands—lean, fanatical, scornful of danger. "There is one God," they cry, "and Mohammed is his prophet!" They rush north and east and west. The world takes flight before them.

Crash! Down goes the Persian empire. Crash! Most of the Roman empire collapses.

Shouts rend the air! Mohammedans enter Jerusalem.

Flames mount to the sky! Mohammedans enter Alexandria.

Ships grate on the sand! Mohammedans enter Spain.

The crescent waves in Europe, Asia, Africa. The Arabs are first among the mighty of the earth.

The clock of history strikes seven.

Tick tock—a century goes by.

Tick tock—two centuries go by.

Tick tock—three centuries go by.

A lean, plainly-dressed horseman appears upon the sand. He rushes over the wilderness, with fellow-horsemen clattering behind him. It's Alp Arslan, "the valiant lion," the mighty Mongol, the Turk from Turkestan. He rides into Arabia, hears the call to prayer, vows allegiance to the Prophet, picks up the banner of Islam that weak Arab hands are no longer able to carry.

The Seljukian Turks are here. They knock at Europe's door. They capture the Byzantine Emperor, ride their horses into churches, start the long, long march to Vienna.

The clock of time strikes 1071. It strikes eleven; then twelve.

Ottoman Turks

Four thousand horsemen wander over high Asiatic plateaus. They lose their way. In fording a river their leader drowns. They decide not to return east to their homeland, but to ride on toward the Golden West, over the plains, over the seas, over the Alps, on one of the greatest of all history's adventures.

Their leader is Osman; these are the Ottoman Turks.

The clock of time strikes 13. It strikes 1326. Osman has finished his task. He

transmits his power to his children and children's children, to the mightiest succession of mighty monarchs that ever called one man their sire. The 4,000 wild horsemen have become an empire, before which Europe shall tremble for centuries.

The world of Osman is gloomy. Autumn is in the air. The weather is cold. Thick clouds cover the skies. The leaves of enlightenment, beauty, good-will are falling from all the trees.

Watch the film as it passes, dark and lurid. You see burned villages, ghost cities, charred remnants of churches, pillaged altars, fields filled with weeds, vast provinces silent as an inland sea.

For Alp Arslan has passed.

Genghis Khan has passed.

And Osman, also, has passed to glean the residue of spoils. But the gleaming is all too meager, so he goes on to Europe, resuming "the valiant lion's" march toward Vienna.

The clock of time strikes 1368. It echoes over the valleys, reverberates over the hills, leaps citadel walls, springs into fortress towers. It thunders in Belgrade, Sofia, Bucharest, Budapest, Warsaw, Vienna.

It's 1368, and the Turks cross the Hellespont. Proud waves Islam's banner on Europe's shore. Minarets mount on Thrace's plains. Mohammed calls Balkan Christians to prayer.

The clock strikes 1389. Serbia passes beneath Ottoman swords.

1444. The last vestige of Bulgaria disappears beneath Islam's flood, to remain submerged more than four centuries.

Rome's Adieu

1453. Constantinople falls. Adieu, Rome. The last relic of Caesar's work collapses. Rome that ruled the world has vanished. This part of the empire survived a full millennium after the eclipse of the city on the Tiber, but now it is also gone. And gone forever. By 1939 the very name Constantinople will have disappeared. Byzantium will have been forgotten. Over the last ruins of a ruined empire floats the banner of Islam.

But the drama is not yet over. The film rolls on unchecked. The greatest stars of all are just appearing. Osman's most magnificent sons now come on the screen, riding past all barriers and fortresses into the heart of Europe. Watch the horsemen advance. Half the Danube is theirs, all of Rumania falls, much of Russia is conquered, most of Hungary is seized, eastern Austria succumbs. A Sultan's red tent gleams through the trees above Vienna; the green flag of Mohammed floats higher than the tower of St. Stephen.

It's 1683. Islam, going west, is within 700 miles of the battlefield where Charles Martel, a millennium earlier, stopped Islam coming east.

And now it's stopped again—at

Vienna. Osman has reached his highest peak. He must go back home. It took him 315 years of incessant fighting to come, and it will require 230 years of constant fighting to drive him back.

It's 1686. Listen! Every bell in Europe is ringing; Budapest is freed. Liberty is moving down the Danube.

It's 1774. Look east. Valiant, pious, cruel Russia is taking all Eastern Christians under her protection.

It's 1804. Look at the Serbian swineherds. They're raising the banner of freedom and driving back their Moslem masters.

It's 1829. The forgotten shepherds of Greece have raised liberty flags on every hill.

It's 1878. Russia frees Bulgarian peasants.

Cycle of Empire

It's 1912. Even Macedonia arises and drives from Europe the last children of those children of Osman, who had landed there 544 years earlier. The Turks are back in Asia.

One gigantic roll of our super film is ended. Egyptian might succumbed. Arabia rose and fell. Persia lost its way. Rome was shattered. Much of Europe has paid tribute or served Osman as slaves; Greek temples became stables, classic statues served as barricades and learning's lights went out.

The cycle of Empire has completed its stupendous turn. The Turks who came from Anatolia have withdrawn to Anatolia. The Sultans have vanished. Constantinople is discarded. A new capital is built. A new day has dawned. A new Turkey is here. Cross and Crescent meet on no more battle fields. Europe and Turkey clasp hands. Kemal, the new and better Alp Arslan, enters as the hero of today.

R. H. Markham

Read On—

The Achievements of Atatürk—by Henry E. Allen in the Yale Review for March 1939.

Atatürk's passing marked an epoch in the history of his nation and spotlighted the reforms he had fostered.

The Transformation of Turkey—by Douglas Chandler in the National Geographic Magazine for January, 1939.

New hats and new alphabet pictured as best representing the swift national change that has been wrought in Turkey.

The Turkey of Atatürk—a book published this year by Donald Everett Webster.

A comprehensive study of the social process in the Turkish revolution by which Turkey is being democratized.

Inside Europe—by John Gunther.

Chapter 29, "The Turkish Colossus," reveals Kemal Atatürk before a professional candid cameraist.

Yugoslavia: Its New Unity Is Hope of Balkans

An informal group weighs today's news and its meaning. Chairman of the discussion is VOLNEY D. HURN, special writer and Director of Broadcasting for The Christian Science Monitor.

Your Chairman Speaks:

"Key to Italy's efforts to form a Balkan bloc to prevent German or Russian expansion into that area is Yugoslavia. The problem of the Balkans has been dissension—and Yugoslavia within itself is almost a whole Balkans, for its internal dissensions have long made major news.

"It is a case of inter-Slav differences. Here's an example. A year ago the Slovaks launched a crusade against the Czechs. That opened the way for the collapse of Czechoslovakia under German pressure. Since then there have been intense efforts to stabilize Yugoslavia so that it should not fall a victim to such 'divide and rule' methods. Made up of three Slav branches, the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes, Yugoslavia is vulnerable to that kind of politics."

Question: "Most of Europe's dissensions we have discussed have been found to be based on minorities, on different peoples being forced to live under other nations' domination. But here is a nation practically all Slav and still there is serious enough dissension to cause a break up of the state. How can you explain that?"

Answer: "Because the Slavs are notorious for not getting along with one another. There was the Czech-Slovak case we just mentioned. At that time the Poles, also Slavs, instead of supporting the Slav Czechs, actually jumped in to plunder them. And now you have just seen the Slav Russians help Germans destroy Slav Poland.

"This Slav weakness is the reason there have been so many foreign rulers over the Slavs. The Slavs wear themselves out fighting each other—then a foreign ruler steps in. Thus the first great rulers

of the Russians were Scandinavians. Another was German and even today the Russian ruler is not Russian or Slav at all but the Georgian, Stalin. Why, one of the commonest concepts of Stalin's foreign policy today is that, having learned this lesson of letting people wear themselves out so an outsider can step in and rule, Stalin is really urging Germany on to wear out itself, along with Britain and France, in a long war so he can step in and take control over them all."

Question: "As I understand it the Serbs are greatly predominant in Yugoslavia. Is there any hope of unity except through crushing domination by the Serbs?"

Answer: "Yes, indeed. The fact that the Serbs for years were not able to bring true unity despite their strength and energy showed the inherent will-to-survive of these smaller groups, the Croats and Slovenes. Much fighting and bloodshed resulted from the conflict. Attempts to use sheer force caused the formation of a dictatorship ten years ago. This in turn, led to the assassination of King Alexander and to the threat of a Croatian secession. Efforts to reach a compromise were happily expedited by the concern at Hitler's rapid spreading over Europe and last August the Croats were given a government of their own within the Yugoslav state."

Question: "Just how does that work out?"

Answer: "An area comprising somewhat over a quarter of the western part of the country and containing nearly a third of the population, Croatia will have a parliament of its own but at the same time will send representatives to a common parliament at Belgrade. It also shares with the rest of Yugoslavia a common dynasty and will support common ministries of defense and foreign affairs. There will also be co-operation in the fields of trade, com-

merce, industry and agriculture through a central bureau."

Question: "If this can be done within Yugoslavia, which is, as you say a Balkans within itself, doesn't it hold out hope for similar unity in the rest of the Balkans?"

Answer: "That is what makes Yugoslavia a sign of hope—and this Croatian solution one of the most important political events in years."

Question: "I understand that our friends, the Bulgarians, to whom you introduced us last week, are practically identical with the Yugoslavs. Is this true? If so, why shouldn't these two countries merge as the first step in further Balkan unity?"

Answer: "Let us take your questions in order. The Bulgarians' language is very similar to that of most of the people in Yugoslavia, is written in the same characters as that of Serbia. The Bulgarian form of Christianity is identical with that of Serbia. Traditions, ways of living, the economic status and many of the folk songs, ballads and costumes of Bulgaria and Serbia are almost identical.

"But as to unity, the time is not ripe. Many sincere workers have sought it but most of the Bulgarians prefer to remain independent for the moment. This apparently is a good thing, because of the question of harmony within Yugoslavia. Until complete internal accord is reached in that state, the addition of Bulgaria would only add to the confusion, making for further Balkan instability. However, with such common bonds and very friendly relations, Serbia and Bulgaria are already making a fine contribution to Balkan unity and harmony."

Question: "Could you have Mr. Markham tell us something about the characters and natures of the Yugoslav peoples?"

Answer: "With Yugoslavia as our topic today, Mr. Markham was ready for a 'command performance.' You'll find him on Fireside page 127."

The Melting Pot That Is Yugoslavia



Paula; Wide World; Pix; Central Press; Pilschke from Gendreau

Land of Conflicting Races, Religions, Imperial Interests

Vagabonding through Yugoslavia: (1) View of Herzegovina along the blue Adriatic. (2) King Peter, boy King of the Balkans, with Prince Paul, Regent. (3) Sarajevo, where the shot

was fired starting the World War. (4) Croat folk-dance musicians. (5) Yugoslavian peasant girls. (6) A city father of Trebinje, Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia: Where East Meets West

By R. H. Markham

Across Yugoslavia runs the line that for centuries separated the eastern from the western world. On the one side was Byzantium, on the other Rome; on one side was the Empire of the Sultans, on the other that of the Hapsburgs; on one side is Eastern Orthodox Christianity, on the other Roman Catholicism. In Yugoslavia you find the place where the Balkans begin, and where Europe begins.

It is also intersected by racial chasms as well as by historical ones. If you should imagine its 95,558 square miles of territory assuming the form of a pie, and cut into six pieces, you might call one a Serbian piece, and the others Croatian, Slovenian, German, Hungarian, and Albanian pieces. In reality, these ethnological areas are not at all equal. The biggest is that of the Serbs. These internal divisions, many of which are deepened by historical traditions and the rivalries of neighboring powers, determine the mold in which the new state of Yugoslavia must develop.

Unifying Force

But there are forces tending toward unity as well as disunity. One of them is the fact that most of the people in this country are Slavs. Yugoslavia means the land of South Slavs. A Yugoslav is simply a South Slav. Of the 14 million people in the country, more than 12 million are Slavs, namely, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. However, this does not mean as much as it might appear to, for Slavs are notoriously discordant.

During the first decade of its existence this state was called "The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes." That was the name many of the people preferred. The groups didn't wish to lose their identity in a new union. Only after the royal dictatorship of 1929 was the word "Yugoslavia" imposed.

Of the three main South Slav groups the Serbs comprise somewhat over seven million people,

the Croats three and a half, and the Slovenes one million.

Speaking broadly, Yugoslavia's line between East and West separates the Croats and Slovenes from the Serbs. The first two groups are Roman Catholic, the third Greek Orthodox; the first two were long a part of the Hapsburg Empire, the third of the Turkish; the first two groups are European, the third Balkanese. The standard of culture, civilization, and general progress steadily falls as one passes from West to East in Yugoslavia, so the Slovenes, occupying the extreme northwest corner, are decidedly the most advanced.

The Slovenes

This tiny people, indeed, is one of the most advanced in all Europe. In most respects, it may be ranked with the Swiss, Danes, and Swedes. Like most Yugoslavs, the Slovenes are principally engaged in agriculture, though they have a steadily growing industry and derive a good deal of wealth from forests and coal mines.

But they haven't very much flair. They're solid and stolid, like the Swiss. It's the Croats who have flair. They carry romance into every aspect of their lives. It's a colorful, but tragic, romance. The Croats are always in trouble. They're rather like the Irish. They are ever protesting, hoping, dreaming, singing. For centuries they wanted to be freed from the Hungarians and Hapsburgs; now they want to be freed from the Serbs and Karageorgevitches.

They live east and south of the Slovenes, occupying Central Yugoslavia. Four-fifths of the Croats are peasants, as a rule excellent ones. Both work days and holidays they wear bright and beautiful hand-embroidered costumes. They do more singing than most European peoples, and have a more advanced culture of a purely peasant character than any other nation. Their chief city, Zagreb, is probably the most beautiful in Yugoslavia.

It is the Serbs who constitute

the backbone of Yugoslavia—often a very bristly backbone. They call themselves the Piedmontese of Yugoslavia; others compare them to Prussians. They are Balkanese, backward, crude, strong. They are filled with energy, are brave, aggressive, self-reliant, ambitious.

Many are tall, long-faced, brown-haired, blue-eyed. The men are often strikingly handsome; many of the women are beautiful. In a way they are "wild westerners." They like open spaces, daring exploits, personal prowess, swagger. Some of them wear magnificent folk costumes. They are lavishly hospitable, and as a rule, very friendly.

The Serbs have a tradition of loving freedom and have often fought for it with astounding bravery. Their social system has been based on a simple patriarchal democracy, and they have a true attachment to equality. They were under the Turks for 400 years and during all that time they sang about the fateful battle of Kosovo, that brought them into bondage. Of all the Balkan peoples, the Serbs were the first to revolt against foreign masters. They began a struggle in 1804 that lasted until 1918. It is they who precipitated the World War.

Nationalism

Unlike most Slavs, they are not very mystical or religious. Their passion is Nationalism, rather than world reform, eternal peace, or universal brotherhood. They are not crusaders, except for Serbia. They are positive. They dominate Yugoslavia, because of all South Slavs they are the best soldiers, ablest politicians, most stalwart hustlers, and know what they want.

The creation of Yugoslavia was one of the good results of the 1914 war. Its preservation and consolidation will help stabilize the Balkans. Yugoslavia is one of the world's key states; it may be called a keystone in an archway of races, religions, and imperial interests.

A Serbian Guslar Sings His Song

Of all the nations, the Greeks had the best news commentator. His name was Homer.

Other nations, also, have had Homers, who usually told their stories in verse, accompanied by music. In Serbia they still exist and go from village to village, singing of world events. They play on little, primitive "guslas," and are called guslars.

One is singing this afternoon at Gornj Dub in a wild, lonely part of southeast Yugoslavia. It's where Macedonia, Albania, Montenegro, Bosnia, and Serbia, move toward one another. Mt. Shar rises, snow-covered, in the distance. Beyond the hills and valleys is the plain of Kosovo.

It is market day and the people, who came from far and near to buy and sell, have gathered in the square.

You see donkeys with a heavy bundle of wood tied on each side of a pack-saddle. Lean gray oxen, relieved of their yokes, munch hay before their small wagons of rye, apples, or black charcoal.

The Guslar

An old guslar has come into the square and sits on a crude three-legged stool. He is a welcome guest.

The gusla begins to screech, the guslar wets his lips, the grand march of the heroes begins.

"The Sultan came to Kosovo. Came with his hordes to Kosovo. He had soldiers as sands of the sea, horses as trees in the forests, rifles as stars in the sky. On his head the green fez of the prophet; on it a glistening crescent and a star like a diamond aflame.

"The Sultan has come; Moslem hosts have come, to subdue little Serbia, to tread on our cross, pillage our churches, ravage our homes. Turk regiments cover yon Kosovo as deep snow covers Mt. Shar.

"Down rushes Lazar to meet them. Good King Lazar, the Serb, riding on a milk white horse, saddle embroidered by Serb maids, maids with eyes like blue heaven and flowers in their soft hair. With Lazar come all the Serb heroes, pigherds from the hills, slayers of wild boars, defiers of danger, bridegrooms of peril, protecting the helpless, crushing oppressors, carrying the cross.

Lazar the Mighty

"Out moves haughty Sultan. Down sweeps mighty Lazar. Cross meets crescent. Defender faces invader. Mothers pray in churches. Children make the sign of the cross. Trembling grandfathers' hands fumble prayer beads. Europe holds its breath, as Lazar's heroes charge at Kosovo, fight Europe's fight at Kosovo.

The guslar went on.

"The sun rides in its chariot to the crossroads of heaven; the sun descends to its evening rest. The night brings

darkness to Serbia, brings black night to all of the Balkans.

"Good King Lazar is slain, Lazar's heroes are vanquished, Lazar's army destroyed."

"Islam is triumphant," sings the guslar, "the Turks all victorious. A yoke is placed upon Serbia, bondage settles on Serbian plains, oppression sinks into Serbian valleys.

"Shar," proud Serbian Shar, wreathes his head in clouds of sadness. The river Vardar, bounteous Serbian Vardar, weeps its way to the far off Aegean. Serbian maidens, venture not from your houses, Serbian heroes, win back your freedom."

Serbian Night

"My children, look at yonder sun. Tomorrow, at this hour, he returns. Watch his circuitous journeys! After King Lazar fell, one thousand times one hundred, and half as many again, he passed across our heaven as the Turkish yoke rested upon us. Darkness was deep on the land. Sultans' swordsmen held all our roads. Turkish warriors ruled in our strongholds. Serbians hid in high forest cabins, preparing for dawn.

Black George

"Then Black George arose. Black George, the chief of the swineherds, Black George a Serbian prince, the first of the Karageorge family. He had red silk pants, a blue woolen vest, and shiny black shoes from Vienna. Silver gleamed from his curved sword's hilt, and his steed had the speed of a whirlwind.

"The whole Balkans still sat in darkness; Islam's red banner mastered all bulwarks; Bulgar and Greek bowed to Sultans. But Black George rebelled, Black George was a knight and deliverer. His heralds blew on their trumpets, the call leapt over mountain and valley, swept into thickets and woodlands, entered cabins and half-hidden churches.

"Serbian shepherds assembled, Serbian peasants and shepherds, barefooted men and their children, with stout hearts but derelict weapons.

"They sang old Kosovo songs, vowed to bring freedom to Serbia, attacked the Turks in their fortresses and broke the yokes of four centuries. Serbia again took its place among the countries of Europe.

"But harvests came not with mere planting, fruit does not spring from a blossom.

"Slowly winds our Vardar to sea, long wander our paths o'er the mountains, wearily move our flocks to their folds. Equally slowly comes freedom.

Sarajevo

"Ten times ten long years passed, the free part of our land was still tiny, flowers blossomed another ten times, ten times snow lay on the meadows, while hosts of brother Serbs still sat in hard Haps-

burg bondage. Stamboul's domination was ended, but Vienna's continued unshaken. Serbian mothers sighed. The sons of Serbia plotted. A terrible deed was planned in dark mountain fastnesses. The oppressor came down to Sarajevo, displayed his power to his subjects. Boys, bent on freedom, met him and bombed the world into war.

"Horror then filled our land. Bondage came and not freedom. Those bombs wrought Serbia's ruin. Our light went out as a star falling down from the heavens. Serbian warriors withdrew, victorious rivals advanced, every Serbian fortress surrendered, enemy regiments marched on our roads. Kosovo came again, Serbia was erased from the map."

Serbia's Dawn

"Darkness lay on Serbian fields; winter covered its meadows. Ice stilled its saddened rivers, fog shrouded its sorrowful mountains.

"But Serbia had friends. Hearts beat in France for our Serbia. Hearts beat in England for Serbia. The United States' heart beat for Serbia."

"Hvala Bogu!" shouted the listeners, (To God be praise!).

"Dawn followed the night, spring followed the winter."

"Serbia leapt with joy. Shar shouted to Mt. Triglav; Belgrade to distant Cetinje; Sava ran with joy to the Danube, the Danube sang its way to the sea. All Serbs were free.

Yugoslavia Born

"The Croats also won liberty. And the Slovenes threw off their yoke. Yugoslavia was born. The fulness of time had come. Peace found its way unto us.

"But strife broke out among brothers. Serbs placed their heels on Croats, laid hands on Croatia's treasures. Croats hated us Serbians. Zagreb flamed with fire at our Belgrade. Civil strife was consuming our harvest, that we'd waited long ages to ripen. Violence raced down our valleys; Black George's grandson was murdered, a boy was left with the crown.

Co-operation

"Then out of the darkness came light; out of our fury came wisdom; understanding rose from our anger.

"As we went this year to cut our corn, and gather our grapes on hillsides, Belgrade and Zagreb consulted, Serbs and Croats clasped hands. Yugoslavia found union in freedom; we're all brothers in love, not coercion.

"The Kosovo epic is ended, all Serbia's yokes have been broken. South Slavs have found freedom together."

The little fiddle screeched no more. The guslar's voice was still. The crowd rose stiffly from their places. They reverently repeated, "Gospodi pomilui!" (May God give His blessing!) R. H. Markham

