a Polish fraud

From Zygmunt Nagórski
8, Abercromby Place,
Edinburgh.

Defence of Poland

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE.

18th August, 1945.

NEWS FROM POLAND.

During the debate in the House of Commons on Thursday 16th August, 1945 Mr. Churchill said:

"Guarded accounts of what has happened and what is happening have filtered through, but it is not impossible that tragedy on a prodigious scale is imposing itself behind the iron curtain which at present divides Europe in twain."

! It was about Polish deeds!

In view of this statement we think it may interest you to read the following account of the situation in Poland as it was given word for word by Pte P. Earle, a returned New Zeeland ex-prisoner of war.

x x x

"I was a prisoner of war of the Germans, working in the coal mines in Silesia. I escaped and was overtaken by the Russians in January of this year. I stayed in Poland until June 18th. During the last four months of that time I lived as a civilian, with Polish identity papers, teaching English.

My first and most striking impression was the constant fear in which the people lived of the violation of their homes by bandits or Red Army soldiers and officers. ROBBERY AND RAPE WERE EVERYDAY OCCURENCES. I was myself witness of these things.

THE FOOD POSITION WAS WORSE THAN DURING THE GERMAN OCCUPATION. Little more than bread was obtainable on a ration card, the bulk of the food had to be bought on the free market where prices were enormously high. The cost of living per head for a family was, at the meanest standard, three thousand five hundred zloty per month. A worker received no more than 400 zloty a month. A top grade salaried man had about 1500 zloty a month. THE PEOPLE HAD TO FILL THE GAP BETWEEN EARNINGS AND COST OF LIVING BY SELLING THEIR POSSESSIONS OR TO ENDURE A SLOW STARVATION.

Land workers were severely hampered by the fact that most of their DRAUGHT HORSES HAD BEEN COMMANDEERED BY THE RED ARMY. There was also a serious shortage of seed.

In Cracow I observed a TRAINLOAD OF MACHINERY MOVING EASTWARDS. Reports frequently reached me, particularly from the industrial cities of Silesia, Katowice and Sosnowiec, of the STRIPPING OF MACHINERY FROM FACTORIES.

Enormous quantities of COAL were also being TAKEN INTO RUSSIA. THE MINERS worked under very much the SAME CONDITIONS AS THEY HAD DURING THE GERMAN OCCUPATION. Failure to produce a daily quota was treated as sabotage. Many of the VOLKSDEUTSCHE who had supervised Polish labour under the Nazi regime WERE RETURNED TO THEIR JOBS after joining the Communist Party.

I stayed with people of all classes - a factory owner, a lawyer, a caretaker, a miner - and conversed with many people including peasants. I met only one man who supported the Lublin Government, and he was a Government servant.

The measures which the LUBLIN GOVERNMENT used to secure their position were marked by fierce suppression and rigid censorship. Immediately after the occupation of Western Poland they ATTACKED THE UNDERGROUND ARMY which had been the instrument of the Polish London Government. OFFICERS AND MEN WERE ARRESTED without justifiable pretexts. Many of them were DEPORTED. I saw a train in Cracow, in which THESE MEN WERE MINGLED WITH GERMAN PRISONERS OF WAR. I knew of cases of men who have been held in prison during the whole length of my stay without trial. Even after trial the Committee of Public Safety, through which worked the Secret Police N.K.V.D., had the power to suspend the verdict. Consequently EX-MEMBERS OF THE UNDERGROUND ARMY WERE FORCED TO FLEE BACK TO THE FORESTS or to live in SEMI-HIDING with false identity papers. I knew at least six who were afraid to sleep in their homes.

THE PRESS was rigidly CENSORED, in fact reduced to a GOVERNMENT MOUTHPIECE. THE ONLY FOREIGN press obtainable was RUSSIAN.

Listening to FOREIGN BROADCASTS was absolutely FORBIDDEN under pain of direct penalty. News and propaganda were disseminated through loudspeakers in public parks.

All normal communications across the border were severed.

As a teacher of English I was in a good position to observe the philosophy and feelings of the people. They had a tremendous SENTIMENT AND FRIENDSHIP AND ADMIRATION FOR ENGLAND AND AMERICA. This was clearly manifested in their magnificent treatment of British ex-prisoners of war, who were sadly neglected by the Russians. Already an impoverished people, they gave generously of things which they badly needed for themselves. There was tremendous enthusiasm for the English language. Certainly the people looked to the WESTERN POWERS for the ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRATIC SELF-GOVERNMENT WHICH THEY HAD BEEN GUARANTEED. They agreed as to the necessity of working harmoniously with Russia, but failed to see that their political ideology must be made to conform with the Soviet's and resented the attempt which was being made to do so."

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The Right Hon.
Lord Noel-Buxton.
~~House of Lords,~~
London. S.W.1

10 Lowndes Square

RELIEF OF EUROPEAN STARVATION

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

A recent appeal by the Bishop of Chichester and others called attention to the danger of mass starvation in Europe and in particular to the plight of the millions of Germans expelled from their homes in Eastern Germany and the Sudetenland, and asked all who shared their concern to signify their willingness "to have their rations cut, if thereby alone men, women and children of whatever nationality may be saved from intolerable suffering."

Many when responding to this appeal have pressed for the immediate organisation of a practical scheme on a voluntary basis. It is suggested, for instance, that depots might be set up in various districts to which people could from time to time send food and clothing parcels: or that they might cut out points, occasionally or regularly, and send them to a central bureau, where they might be amassed and their equivalent despatched to the worst centres of starvation, wherever these may be.

Clearly such a scheme, which might be operated through a Government department, the Red Cross, or other voluntary relief organisations, would have to be sponsored by the Government. A group of persons, including Dr. Sidney M. Berry, the Master of Balliol, the Rev. Henry Carter, Mr. Victor Gollancz, Gilbert Murray, O.M., Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., and Earl Russell, is anxious to explore this possibility without delay. In order that they may have the broadest basis, they ask all who are prepared to co-operate—all, that is to say, who will do their best to spare food or points, from time to time and as circumstances may permit, for this purpose — to send a postcard immediately to "Save Europe Now," 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C. 1, giving their name and address and expressing their general willingness, without, at the present stage, going into details. Those who responded to the main appeal should *not* send a second postcard.

It is pointed out that such an effort can, no doubt, do only a little to mitigate so vast a tragedy, but that it will be something to have saved even a few from the agony of death by starvation; and that the need is vividly brought home by the statement of a Berlin correspondent to a London newspaper a few days ago. "Faced with the prospect of a disaster overwhelming a whole nation", he wrote, "the Allied public health authorities are ordering burgomasters to take measures ensuring the easy burial of the dead in the winter. Graves are to be dug now which men debilitated by undernourishment will not have the strength to dig in a few months' time."

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APPEAL

by Dr. Sidney M. Berry, Rev. Henry Carter, the Bishop of Chichester, Victor Gollancz, the Master of Balliol, Gilbert Murray, O.M., Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., and Earl Russell.

Correspondents in Berlin have been sending to their newspapers a description of conditions in that city which must have been read by many with grave disquiet. Expelled from their homes in the Sudetenland, East Prussia and the whole vast region of Germany taken over by the Poles, sometimes at thirty minutes' notice and without the provision of food or transport, a horde of Germans is struggling daily into Berlin—and being turned away, because there is no food for them. The majority are old men, women and children.

Some of these persons, too weak to wander further, have been seen under the bomb-wrecked roof of the Stettiner railway station, dead or dying. "One woman," writes the reporter of a leading London newspaper, "emaciated, with dark rings under her eyes and sores breaking out all over her face, could only mutter self-condemnation because she was unable to feed her two whimpering babies. I watched her trying desperately to force milk from her milkless breasts—a pitiful effort that only left her crying at her failure." The correspondent of another responsible London paper writes that "at a conservative estimate —given me by Dr. Karl Biaer, anti-Nazi, now installed as head of Berlin's Social Welfare Committee—there are 8,000,000 homeless nomads milling about the areas of the provinces around Berlin. If you take in the Sudeten Germans expelled from Czechoslovakia and those on the move from elsewhere, the figure of those for whom no food can be provided rises to 13,000,000 at least. This proportion of Germany's population must die before winter if nothing is done."

If we call attention to this vast tragedy, it is certainly not because we fail to realise how grievously our allies are suffering, nor because we would wish any preference to be given to ex-enemy nationals. Nothing is more urgent than the speediest relief of Europe as a whole. "I believe," said Sir Arthur Salter recently in the House of Commons, "that if the lorries that we

and the American Army have near the spot where they are required were used quickly, the transport problem of Europe could be solved. I believe that if the reserves of meat and clothing which the Armies have were freed and quickly used, a great deal could be done to meet the other necessities of Europe." We wholeheartedly endorse this plea. But we are profoundly troubled by even the bare possibility that mass starvation cannot be prevented without some cut in our own rations, and that the authorities may hesitate to ask us, after six years of war, to make this sacrifice: and also by the fear that, amidst so much misery, the actual death by hunger of German nationals may be disregarded.

We do not think that the Government need feel such hesitation. It is not in accordance with the traditions of this country to allow children—even the children of ex-enemies—to starve. But we have reason to believe that in any case numbers of our fellow-countrymen would be willing to make some voluntary sacrifice in this cause. We ask, therefore, all who read this letter, and who share our concern, immediately to send a postcard (not a letter) to "Save Europe Now," 144, Southampton Row, London, W.C.1., giving their name and address and saying that they will gladly have their rations cut, if thereby alone men, women and children of whatever nationality may be saved from intolerable suffering.

Reprint of articles in the *News Chronicle* & *Daily Herald* of August 24th, 1945

25,000 seek food every day at the gates of Berlin

From NORMAN CLARK, News Chronicle Special Correspondent

BERLIN, Thursday.

UNDER the bomb-wrecked roof of the Stettiner railway station—the Euston or King's Cross of Berlin—I looked this afternoon inside a cattle truck shunted beside the buffers of No. 2 platform.

On one side four forms lay dead under blankets on cane and raffia stretchers; in another corner four more, all women, were dying.

One, in a voice we could hardly hear, was crying out for water.

Sitting on a stretcher, so weakened by starvation that he could not move his head or his mouth, his eyes open in a deranged, uncomprehending stare, was the wasted frame of a man. He was dying, too.

As I walked about the station a score of others came up to me, all ravenous and starved, for whom also, like those in the cattle truck mortuary, nothing could be done—until death.

Two women sanitary helpers did what they could in ministering to the small wants of the dying.

The train from Danzig had come in. It had taken seven days on the journey this time ; sometimes it takes longer.

5,000 "lost" children

Those people in the cattle truck, and hundreds who lay on bundles of belongings on the platform and in the booking hall, were the dead and dying and starving flotsam left by the tide of human misery that daily reaches Berlin, and next day is turned back to take train to another town in a hopeless search of food and succour.

Thousands more—up to 25,000 in a day—trek on foot to the outskirts of Berlin, where they are stopped and forbidden entry to the already overcrowded city.

Each day between 50 and 100 children—a total of 5,000 already over a short period—who have lost both parents, or have been abandoned, are collected from Berlin's stations and taken to orphanages or found foster-mothers in Berlin.

That is all that Berlin charity can do.

For this problem at the moment is the Germans' own; the Allies have made no move to render relief or even give the Social Welfare Organisation, with its staff of 33 and 220 helpers all told, any assistance whatever.

No central control

Without any central control (no telephone lines or cars are put at the organisation's disposal, and the only means of co-ordinating any plan, even if it existed, is by occasional cycle courier at the mercy of sympathetic military road controls) the Welfare Committees are trying to grapple with a problem that is beyond their powers.

Here in Berlin we are living under this shadow, not just of hunger and want, but of death, and epidemics on a scale that the world has not seen in recorded history.

The expulsion of Germans from Polish-occupied Germany east of the Oder, and the mass transfers of population into the provinces of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg and Saxony, are projecting a tragedy of the greatest magnitude. It is almost already out of hand.

At a conservative estimate—given me by Dr. Karl Biaer, anti-Nazi, now installed as head of Berlin's Social Welfare Committee—there are 8,000,000 homeless nomads milling about the areas of the provinces around Berlin.

Autumn famine

If you take in the Sudeten Germans expelled from Czechoslovakia and those on the move from elsewhere the figure of those for whom no food can be provided rises to 13,000,000 at least.

This proportion of Germany's population must die before winter if nothing is done.

This doubling of population in areas restricted in size by frontier adjustments, and with harvests interfered with by the war, with armies living off the land, is certain to bring famine on the acutest scale this autumn.

What is aggravating the problem beyond all solution is the continuation by the Poles of the ejection of German nationals from their homes, literally at a moment's notice.

Turned back

This is in direct defiance of the Potsdam Declaration, which urged that the transfers of population must be carried out "in an orderly and humane manner."

A woman I met at the Stettiner station had left Danzig on August 13—eleven days after the standstill order was made.

Now a new Allied order has been issued forbidding even a mother with a child, seeking to join her husband in Berlin, to stay in the city.

All roads lead to Berlin from Eastern Germany, because those evicted from the eastern provinces, for no matter what reason, expect Berlin, under Allied control, to have the only organisation capable of helping them.

Crying for food

Twenty-five thousand are entering Berlin every day, to be turned out of it again the next. The population of Berlin has

been fixed by the Control Council at 2,880,000—that is, the population for whom food can be found.

But already 3,550,000 ration cards have been issued.

Other things I saw when the Danzig train came in I am bound to record. Apart from the women rocking in tears and anguish, and the famished children asleep in their arms or crying for food, there was a group of young men—all Poles—who sat apart, waiting for the next train to go out.

Then they would board it, and going through the train, would force these unprotected mothers and women to give up any possessions of value, including watches and jewels.

Must be stopped

The guards on the train and at stopping places are shot if they attempt to intervene. These Poles, who have been thieves and tramps and outcasts since the Germans ruined their country, are wreaking vengeance in a horrible way upon the German women.

Whether or not all this happened before at the hands of the Germans in Poland, Russia, Belgium, the Balkans or Czechoslovakia, these excesses, wreaked only on the women and children of Germany, on families of the modest means of shopkeepers or small farmers, cannot be allowed to continue.

The Allied Control Council must intervene and enforce order at once.

RETRIBUTION . . it falls on women & children

by CHARLES BRAY

BERLIN, Thursday.

TO-DAY I have seen thousands of German civilians—old men and women and children of all ages—reduced to the depths of misery and suffering that the Nazis inflicted on others during their beastly reign.

I didn't like it. It gave me no satisfaction, although for years I have hoped that the Germans would reap from the seeds they had sown.

I saw at the Stettiner Station miserable remnants of humanity, with death already shining out of their eyes—with that awful, wide-eyed stare. Four were dead already, another five or six were lying alongside them, given up as hopeless by the doctor, and just being allowed to die.

The rest sat or lay about, whimpering, crying or just waiting, hanging on to the slenderest hope that something, somehow, sometime would be done for them. They are past helping themselves.

Homeless Hordes

THESE are some of the millions Mr. Bevin mentioned in his speech as milling around, forced evacuees from East Prussia and Upper Silesia.

They are the homeless hordes no one wants, and no district will take if it can help it.

They are arriving in Berlin at the rate of fifteen thousand a day. Eight millions of them have to be moved from the area Poland is to take over. In July 658,000 passed through Berlin, and in the first fifteen days of this month 287,000 have been received and passed on.

Passed to where? Already the normal population of Saxony, five millions, has been doubled. Mecklenburg's eight hundred thousand is now sixteen hundred thousand. Every district burgomaster outside the capital protests that not another one can be taken in.

A committee of Berlin magistrates attempting to handle the problem have submitted to the military authorities a long document pointing out the impossibility of dealing with these evacuees unless assistance is given.

Worker Victims

MEANWHILE the victims—most of whom are peasants, working families and the lower middle-class, the least deserving of the suffering, humiliation and starvation—are pushed from place to place, their condition getting rapidly worse every day.

All tell similar stories. Of husbands not heard of for months, of being compelled to leave their homes at half an hour notice and permitted to carry only a small handbag of luggage, much of which is lost or stolen on the way. Of not having eaten anything at all for days.

They have no money, no valuables, nothing with which they

can barter or buy a crust of bread. And the mothers' only thought is food for the children. I spoke to many.

One woman, emaciated, with dark rings under her eyes and sores breaking out all over her face, could only mutter self-condemnation because she was unable to feed her two whimpering babies. I watched her trying desperately to force milk from her milkless breasts—a pitiful effort that only left her crying at her failure. . . .

It Must be Told

SHE had been at a station for two days and nights, unable to get on the one train that had left for heaven knows where. She had not eaten for five days. What scraps of food she could beg she had given to her children.

In a closed cattle truck were the dead and dying, removed each night to make room for more who were certain to be on the next train to arrive.

This is not a nice story to tell, but it must be told.

The problem is, of course, an economic one. Berlin, overcrowded and already faced with the major problem of how to keep alive its own population, cannot accommodate any more. The same applies to every town for many miles around.

The flow of these miserable beings is far too great for the slender civil organisation. The Berlin committee asks that a central committee with representatives from every district in Germany shall be set up with authority to control movement and reception of refugees compulsorily so that a more equitable distribution throughout the country is achieved. . . .

The Potsdam Conference recognised that the evacuation of Germans from Poland, East Prussia and Czechoslovakia must be carried out, but stated that it should be done in an orderly and humane manner.

From what I have seen, it cannot be said that so far it is either orderly or humane. But, at the same time, the difficulties must be appreciated; and they are immense.

Not Even Rations

TAKE Berlin. Normally it could accommodate under pressure twice or three times its present population, but there is nowhere for additional people to live. The destruction is unbelievable. People are living in ruins, the water is contaminated and dangerous, very meagre rations are on the ration card, but not obtainable.

Few people have tasted meat of any sort this month. Only those who have a little ground and have been able to grow vegetables can get them. Even potatoes are almost unobtainable.

Civilians exist on soup made from a meal formerly given to pigs, black bread and a small amount of ersatz coffee that has no nutritional value.

Milk is given only to pregnant mothers during the two months preceding their confinement and two months after, and to tiny babies.

Probably no other big city in Germany is in such a bad state, but nowhere is there adequate food. How, then, can eight million more mouths be fed?

The German committee asks for camps to be built and ground to be given to growing more food, but where is the labour and the materials to build the camps?

Ex-Soldiers, Too

BESIDES the problem of the refugees is the problem of what to do with the returning German ex-soldiers also flooding back into Germany, themselves physical wrecks, to which Hitler and his régime reduced his much-boasted Master Race. Believe me, there is nothing masterly about them now. They are weak, servile, miserable specimens.

This is the aftermath of war, raising problems more difficult to solve than almost any that existed during it.

But if we are to prove to the German race that our methods, our civilisation, our creed were right and theirs wrong, and if we are to keep faith with those who died, were maimed and suffered intolerable hardship, then these problems have got to be solved and have got to be solved quickly.

Read again the appeal on page 1, and send your postcard immediately to 'Save Europe Now', 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1. Collect signatures from your friends! Show by an overwhelming response that Britain can give moral leadership to the world!

Publicity Arts Ltd., London

of the Channel. To tell you shortly about my sisters: the younger one Marie Krosigk is near Worms with her daughter who married Baron Heyl after he divorced my Hilda Marie. He is still under arrest, & indeed he was a leading Nazi. Elsa Rüxleben lives in a very small way at Sondershausen after being expelled from their home. Her husband & my brother Wilhelm had 6 weeks prison life & all four were forcibly sent to Rügen in an awful journey of 5 days & nights in the cold without any warm drink or food. They arrived so ill - that they were sent to a hospital & from there they bolted & escaped. All former proprietors are treated as criminals in that zone. They are still at Sondershausen because it being near their former homes they have friends in all classes, who help them in many ways. Almost all they possessed was stolen - Elsa's only son was killed. My brother has no children. Elsa writes often. Keep well dear Noel. We have continual rain. Karl is <u>much</u> touched by your wishing to send him vests! Affect. Yours Hilda.

Gräfin Bismarck-Osten

Where is your son Rufus?

WEST-BORDELUM bei BREDSTEDT, 12 Septr. 1946
(24) Schleswig

My dear Noel,

Your letter dated Aug 18. reached me Aug. 30 & I have thought much of you, parting from Colne Cottage, which I remember well. Indeed I am sorry that it was necessary & you thought it right to do so. I have been wishing that you would dictate your memoirs; I feel I ought to know more about you! I remember you as an early "reformer", eager about Kaiser, about workers' lives all over Europe, about the Balkans. / The Turk shooting at you: Carmen Sylva & the rumours of her poisoning the King - which here even diplomats believed! / Then your journeys & the political life at home. I have read her books, but I wish for something more personal. I think few people know - as I know - how true her idealism has been & I feel sure still is. Then there is the artistic side - her love of art & nature. So much seems shattered now that the tears come to my eyes — — But it is better on your side

Umeracam.

Ballymore. 11 August

Co Donegal 1918.

Dear Noel, I've a feeling of owing you a letter, though I'll not dignify yours to words on ½ a sheet of paper as a letter, only the shadow of a good intention! I think the laying down of their lives by these clean young things is for the redemption of the world in some way, and I like to think — & do — that they are called clear of the tangles and troubles, and rise back into the spirit, all the shadows fallen from them, and very quickly; the shadows have not had time to gather, & the worst ~~shadows~~ — (doubt and fear) never bound them. And I don't doubt they can help the world, as the world — all & any of us — can help them, by loving thoughts and a steady upholding in the light. But not at all ~~as~~ in the way of "Raymond" that's all wrong, I'm sure, they have done their work and should not be tied & held back to earth affairs like that. Ours & their ultimate life is in the spirit, & we can touch there safely, & not otherwise. There is an inside way to all knowledge & we've got to seek and find it, "in whom we live & move & have our being". It's good to have an anchor somewhere these times!

We are in the new cottage, it's lovely, we hang right over the sea, Jenny is on the point of going to France, Croix Rouge. Francis is there steadily. The other is here. All very well. Much occupied farming. Marble Hill let.

I hope the babes flourish. Yours S. Law.

Nonsense.

Totally yours. 11 August

Schooyol 1918.

Dear Saul, I'm a feeling glowing for a letter, though I'll not designify you to write on a sheet of paper as a letter, only the shadow of a good intention. I think the singing down of this line by these clear young minds for the rehumiliation of the world is some sure, and I like it think it to – that they are called clear of the tangles and troubles, and very quietly; the shadows have not had time to gather & the world shadows – (but out for) never hovered them. But I it but doubt they can hold the world, as the world – all is and – can hold them, by having thought and a steady upholding in the light. But not at all as in the sense of "far away" that all runners, I'm sure, they have done their work and should not be tied & but back & earth affairs like that. For a this ultimate life is in the spirit, & we can track these safely, & not otherwise. There is an inside sense & all [illegible] & we've got it said and found it, in which we have a more & have our being." It's good to have an outsider sometimes these times!

We are in the next village. We lovely, we long night over to see. Jenny is on the point of [illegible] home, Chris Twogg. Phemie is here studying. The other [illegible] here. All very well. Thank coming, Jenny, [illegible] Hill let.

I hope the baby flourishes. Love Gideon.

Refugees
BV

APPEAL

We watch with growing anxiety and concern the daily increasing campaign directed against aliens and the refugees in particular. While fully understanding the vital necessity in this country for the fullest precautions, we feel that this campaign is going to cause and is already causing endless suffering to the refugees who have already been through so much hardship. Only last week came the report of the suicide of a refugee in Bristol who had to flee from Germany, lived in Austria happily married to an Austrian Jewess, had to quit Austria with her when the Nazis marched in, and now felt that he could not bear the strain of still another campaign of hatred and suspicion as the one being built up now.

It should not be forgotten that the refugee who has found asylum here has no status, no other country to turn to for protection and support, because when he left Germany he renounced all the rights of a German citizen and is now wholly at the mercy of his country of refuge. This is a very different position from the one held by the Germans who were interned in the last war. They, after all, had their country, their relatives who via the Red Cross could keep in contact with them and send them comforts just as the British people send signs of their care and love to their own prisoners of war or internees in Germany.

If you cut off the refugees from their friends, if you surround them with the icy ring of suspicion , hatred and contempt, if you intern them, you will rob them of the last bit of secure ground on which they thought they stood, where they wanted to build up a new life; and the result is really the same sort of discrimination against a second race as is found in Germany - only against "the alien" instead of "the Jew and the Oppositional".

It does not help to assure the refugees that nothing will happen to them if they have done nothing. The most sweeping allegations are made against them by certain papers, and the public is being incited not to accept it as satisfactory if the police merely cannot find a black mark in a refugee's history.

If you allow this campaign to continue without interfering, a terrible disaster will befall the refugees. It hurts us deeply when we see how suspicion slowly creeps into the best friendships, when we observe how fewer and fewer people befriend the refugees, and how the growing loneliness casts a shadow on the lives of those who are still suffering from the blows experienced in Nazi Germany. Fear, terror, despair and suicide will be the results.

The vast majority of the refugees hardly know any English people they speak a very deficient English and they are bottled up in their hostels or quarters living on the goodwill of a guarantor or the allowance from a Refugee Committee, and have no chance whatsowever to endanger this country.

To endanger the last refuge of 50,000 people because of a few individual cases of spies who might be disguised as refugees is a tragedy which should be prevented by all means.

The friends of the refugees must become active mow, because the refugees are helpless and have no means of defending themselves.

Council of Austrians in Gt.Britain
126,Westbourne Terrace, W.2.

NATIONAL JOINT COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH RELIEF

4, GREAT SMITH STREET,
LONDON, S.W.1.

TELEPHONE: ABBEY 2565

2nd March, 1939.

Vandeleur Robinson, Esq.,
18, Cowley Street,
Westminster, London.

Dear Mr. Robinson,

Will you please thank Lord Boel-Buxton for sending us the letter enclosed. A copy of it (without names) has been retained, and will probably be very useful when we try to obtain support for these unfortunate refugees.

I note that you do not wish any names to be used should the letter be reproduced for public reading.

Yours faithfully,

I. E. Bafico

NATIONAL JOINT COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH RELIEF

CHAIRMAN: THE DUCHESS OF ATHOLL, D.B.E., D.C.L.

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DR. BETTY MORGAN.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY:
FELICE CLARK.

4, GREAT SMITH STREET,
LONDON, S.W.1.

TELEPHONE: ABBEY 2565

2nd March, 1939.

Vandeleur Robinson, Esq.,
18, Cowley Street,
Westminster, London.

Dear Mr. Robinson,

Will you please thank Lord Noel-Buxton for sending us the letter enclosed. A copy of it (without names) has been retained, and will probably be very useful when we try to obtain support for these unfortunate refugees.

I note that you do not wish any names to be used should the letter be reproduced for public reading.

Yours faithfully,

J. E. Roberts

ROSE FARM HOUSE · MAPLEDURHAM · OXON
KIDMORE END 136

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Hotel de France
Perpignan

Monday.
Feb. 13th
1939.

Dear Bishop Buxton,

I am writing at last to thank you for your letter, & your two kind gifts to the Emergency Fund. It is good of you to have sent all this, & also to have interested Lord Noel Buxton & others.

I hope that Mrs Cavanagh, who is at present running this special fund, with Mr Darling, has already sent you a receipt.

The reason you have not heard from me before is that we have been out almost all last week, & some nights - up on the Cerbere - Port Bou frontier, & along the roads - doling out hot milk, bread, & chocolate to the women & children refugees - & to some of the men - Most of these people had had no food for days & were literally almost finished. The roads were crowded, day after day, with these famished multitudes of people - & there seemed to be no end to them.

(1)

Hotel de Venise
Fuipiyan

Monday
Feb. 13th
1939.

My dear Faithfull Friends,

I am writing at last to thank you for your letter, I am too tired for the journey home. It is good of you to have sent all the stories which Mrs Tuckin & others collected about Mrs Cornwell, who is on point running the opposite fund with Mr Darling, was already sent you as receipt.

The reason you have not heard from me before is that we have been out almost all last week, & some night - up on the Gardens - Port Ian Fenton, & along the roads - starting out last week, trying to translate to the women & children refugees - & to some of the men - Most of the people has had no food & stop were literally almost finished. The roads were covered deep with the clamoring multitudes of people - other seemed to be no end to them.

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we spent one night up on the Spanish side above Port Bou – & made a camp fire – & gave hot milk to the people who had all got to wait up there for the night after the frontier had closed till the morning – The road for seven miles on the Spanish side was crowded with lorries & ambulances, guns, tanks, munition waggons, & farm carts – while thousands of others on foot were trying to sleep on the ground – Never have I seen anything quite so tragic – The wounded in the ambulances could not be looked after, & were dying – & being dragged out & buried by the road – mothers with shivering crying children were trying to get them to sleep huddled beside rocks – many were so exhausted they just lay by the road not caring what happened to them – we gave hot milk to as many as we possibly could – & also to many of the wounded – Nationalist planes came over us 4 times – they were bombing the road below us – but luckily they only turned round over us! Having been warned off by the frontier guns. we were very

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We spent one night up in the Pounds
hole where Pat Ben – I made a camp
fire – I gave Pat meat & the people
who had all gone towards up then if he
might after the parade had closed till the
morning – The road gt down into
or the Pounds hole was covered with bare
& sunburnt, gun, tanks, machine waggons
& farm carts – while thousands of other, see
lying asleep in the ground – Never have I
seen anything quite so tragic – The wounded
in the sunburnt could not be carried out,
& were dying – being dragged out & tossed
by the road – Nothing with shining eyes
chicken wire figs Pat then taking twelve
hands each – Never was so exhausted the
poor boy by the road but coming when topped
& then – We gave Pat meat & so moving
as we finally could – I also & moving if he
recovered – Naturally plans come one as
I then – They were throwing the road
below us – but luckily they only turned
round one or! Having been turned off
by the tanks guns. We were very

impressed by the courage & dignity of these Catalan peasants – They were exhausted, & really in despair, having been bombed day after day as they fled along the roads. But although they were famished, they always found the children first & helped us feed them before they would take anything – & however desperate they always managed to get up some sort of a smile – They were so gentle & good – I mean I never once heard bitterness, cursing, whining, or reviling – Really it was amazing – & people will call them Reds, & Bolshevists! When really they are the peasants of Catalonia – who believe in Democracy just like we British do.
If they are Bolshevists – then I have a very great admiration for Bolshevists!
We managed also to help lots of Mothers (who had already carried their babies for 20 or 30 miles, & their luggage too!) by carrying the babies for them down over the frontier into Cerbere when they were allowed to pass over – We staggered down in the dark – in a struggling mass

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of women & children dragging all their worldly goods with them – Every hundred yards or so we were stopped by French police, & searched! No good saying we were English – he would in the next, & who knows if we hadn't got revolvers hidden up our sleeves – even if we were carrying a baby! Later we managed to get the car to the top, & brought it down filled with babies & luggage. All the way down were pathetic groups of those who could go no further – & piles of bundles & suitcases abandoned by the road –

Down at the station at Cerbere were over 2,000 wounded – lying on stretchers – mostly in the open – & they were there for about 3 days before their wounds were dressed – The Red X doctor told me of the children who had been brought to the hospital that morning from a bombing raid – He seemed deeply moved as he told me about them – He said – "Ce ne sont pas des enfants – ce sont des pièces –"

When we motored back to Perpignan the next day we went for about 30 miles – & all the way were refugees – about 3 deep, being marched on to the concentration camps. There the situation seems even more tragic – because the French Govt. had literally nothing ready for them

(5)

of women & children dragging all their worldly
goods with them – Every household going to
the new shelter for Nottingham, Saturday! No good
saying he was English – he wasn't in the
Nottingham area of course. My mother thought
it was a terrible thing! He can't be left!
Little Ina managed to get the cat & the kitty!
& brought it down, tied with baby clothes, suitcase
all he was then was packed ready & piles of bundles
were carried by women & children – & boys of
seventeen entrusted by the people –

Then at the station at Carlisle were met by our
Nottingham – boys in station – marched in the open –
they were then & about 3 o'clock taken their
rooms were shown – The Pa & Ma & Ina
are of the children who had been housing in it
the hospital that morning – He seemed delighted
(you a bombing raid)
Mama as he after we arrived then – He said –
"I've lost pen the cupboard – & lost
the piece –"

When we reached Nottingham we
went by about 30 miles – all the way
were refugees – about 3 deep, being
marched in & the Concentration Camp. The
the railwaymen were very nice – because
the French girl had literally nothing such pitiful

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they were just put in fields surrounded by barbed wire, & guarded by Spahis — there was no food, no water, no shelter — they just went on shivering on the cold damp ground. The French authorities are overwhelmed by about 4 times as many refugees as they expected — & are only able at first to feed them about every 2 days — In fact their conditions in some of the camps is almost worse than when they were on the road — for there at least they could make a little fire. Add to this that mothers are separated from their husbands & no-one knows where their families are, & you will realise that in the camps now there is just as much misery as there was on the road. Gradually — very gradually — food & medical supplies are coming through, & conditions today are a little better — but some of the stories from refugees who have managed to get out — are really tragic — There is now no secret about the fact that refugees who say they will go back to Francos' side are immediately fed & looked after, & put in different camps which are luxurious compared to the others. — The policy

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seems to be to starve them into submission, in order to force them to go over to Franco.
Most of the special correspondents here have found out about this, & some of them are writing to their papers about it.

Mr Cavanagh, & Mr Darling, to whom you sent your donations, are doing splendid work & have already got several well-known Doctors, professors, etc: out of these awful camps — & are getting hospitality for them until they can go to Mexico, or America — We are fetching a world famous Doctor out of the Cerbere camps this afternoon. He invented something to do with blood transfusion.
The quakers & the Relief for Spain Committee, under whom we are working, are sending hospital supplies to the camps — & milk for the children — & are getting shelters of some sort where mothers & children can be washed.
One car is going up to one hospital they started this afternoon, & then on to Prats Molio where some last stragglers are still coming over the mountains
Tomorrow I am going back to Saint Raphael as I have developed an awful cold & cough. but my sister is stopping on with the car, for two or three days longer — by which time I think

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all the refugees will be in camps – either fed – or dead! & we shall be able to help them no longer – on the roads.

But Mr. Darling, Mr. Cavanagh, & one or two special people who are coming out from London – will be here to help get the intelligentsia out of the camps – in fact their work is only just beginning – if you know of anyone willing to offer hospitality in England or France, to any of these men – for a period of 2 months – will you let Mr. Cavanagh know? He will pay their fares from the fund. This will enable these men to have somewhere to go while they arrange their future work in Mexico, or America.

Thank you again, even so much, for your quick & wonderful help –

Yours sincerely

Margaret Travers

P.S.

Do you remember that very bumpy drive down to Beit Jibrin?

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ROSE FARM HOUSE · MAPLEDURHAM · OXON.

EDMORE 840 136

Sir, if nursing can well be in camps – either – or abroad ! I am afraid it cuts help from no longer – or the work.

For Mr Darby, Mr Cunningham, I am a too efficient people who are running our from country – will be less steep for the nitrogenous out of the camps – in fact this work is only just beginning – If you know I anyone willing to offer hospitality in England or France, I am if time – I expect I'll months – will you let Mr Cunningham know ? He will pay the fare from the fund. The will make the man it have arrangements to which he engage this future work in Mexico, or America

Thank you again, see so much, for your practical + sympathetic help –

Yours sincerely

Margaret F. Frank

P.S. You remember that you thought doing work in Serbia

CHURCH OF ENGLAND COMMITTEE FOR "NON-ARYAN" CHRISTIANS

20, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

THE CHRISTIAN OUTCASTS OF GERMANY

A Conference on the subject of the "Non-Aryan" Christians in Germany was held under the auspices of the Church of England Committee for 'Non-Aryan' Christians in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey, on February 1st, 1938. 70 persons from many parts of the country attended by personal invitation. The following summarizes the main points of the proceedings.

MORNING SESSION

The Bishop of Chichester in the Chair.

THE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER in opening the meeting said that, although by nature tolerant and opposed to all forms of persecution, English people were not very quick in picturing suffering which they did not see straight before them. The purpose of the Conference was two-fold: First, that those present might learn something of the character of the persecution which for nearly five years has been going on in a great neighbouring country; secondly, to bring home to English Christians, and especially to members of the Church of England, their responsibility towards the large body of their fellow-Christians who were suffering acutely in Germany to-day.

Immediately following the accession of the Nazis to power, and again in 1935, laws were promulgated which resulted in turning the Jews into outcasts. The Jews had been in Germany a long time, and had there made a notable contribution to culture and learning. His first word as a Christian in speaking to the Conference would therefore be an expression of real grief at the cruelty and injustice which they were suffering to-day. But he wished to speak of another section of the community - the "Non-Aryan" Christians - whose members, though Christian by faith, had one parent or grandparent of Jewish blood. Because of this fact they, like the Jews, were denied their place in society. Their position, with certain exceptions, was no better in law than that of the Jews: morally and spiritually it was worse. The Jews had behind them the support of world Jewry and he paid tribute to the remarkable work Jews from all countries had done for their oppressed brethren. But the "Non-Aryan" Christians, though they had often received help at Jewish hands, had no claim upon Jewry. It was to their fellow-Christians, in Germany and without, that they must turn. To his regret he was bound to say that the Christians were less disposed to help their fellows than were the Jews.

The National Christian Appeal for 'Non-Aryan' Refugees, launched two years' ago, had raised about £10,000; the Inter-Aid Committee for Children from Germany was doing excellent work for the education of children both Christian and Jewish. Now the Church of England Committee for 'Non-Aryan' Christians had been formed in the belief that much more was possible and that in the circumstances the most effective way of securing help for the

"Non-Aryans" was to interest a wide circle of people, and individual Church members, in their suffering rather than by aiming directly at obtaining large sums of money by general appeals.

PROFESSOR NORMAN BENTWICH, speaking on the legal position of the "Non-Aryan", explained that their plight arose from a fundamental dogma enunciated by the National Socialists as far back as 1920, which stated that only persons of "Aryan" blood could be members of the national community. No Jew could therefore form a part of it. From this premise arose the racial laws which not only debar Jews and "Non-Aryans" from all political rights, but exclude them (with certain exceptions now almost completely whittled down by party pressure) from all government, public or semi-public service, from entry into the liberal professions of which they formed in the past a substantial proportion, and from many other occupations as well. A "Non-Aryan" was defined as a person who had one parent or grandparent of Jewish race (though there are also Christians with 75% or 100% Jewish blood); freedom from such ancestry was the criterion in matters of citizenship and employment.

"Non-Aryan" children are not legally excluded from elementary schools, but often conditions render their school life intolerable. Racial instruction forms part of the official curriculum and in some communities a malice and cruelty is displayed towards the children which it is difficult to conceive. Secondary education, though still theoretically possible for the "Non-Aryan", in a restricted proportion of the whole school population, was limited only to very small numbers.

A grim factor in the lives of "Non-Aryans" was that, like the Jews, they are deprived of equality before the law, since it is the duty of judges to treat as offences acts 'not in accord with the true spirit of the people.' No political action seemed able to mitigate the treatment of the Jews and "Non-Aryans", the only hope being in the exercise of humanity by others better situated.

A GERMAN VISITOR said that, according to the Nazi conception, there are two main groups of people in the world, the "Aryans", (a term which generally, but not always, is made to mean Nordics), and a group opposed to them, symbolized by the Jews. According to Hitler and Rosenberg the conflict between the groups has been the basic theme of world history until now. In every relation of life stress is laid upon the superiority of the "Aryans" over the others; there can be no affinity between them and the members of the second group are not the children of God but of the devil. This is the new religion of Germany, according to Rosenberg.

To be a "Non-Aryan" Christian means that one is deprived of all status, with attachments neither to Germany nor to the Jewish community. Deprived of any past which they may regard with honour, the "Non-Aryans" are also people for whom there is no future and no hope. Their plight is a challenge to the Christian Churches in Germany and throughout the world.

ANOTHER GERMAN VISITOR stressed the solitary position of the "Non-Aryans". They had the fraternal support of the Confessional Church, but the Confessional Church was itself a suspect body to the Government. In their daily lives outside the Church the "Non-Aryans" remained alone with no one to turn to for support. They cried out for help and Christians outside Germany must not be deaf to their appeal.

MRS. ORMEROD (Society of Friends' Germany Emergency Committee) reminded the Conference that only patience was required from most of those present if they wished to help the "Non-Aryans". To the German visitors who had spoken it required courage as well, as only they could know. She asked the audience to put themselves in imagination in the place of a "Non-Aryan" Christian. "If you are a woman," she continued,"imagine that your husband has been deprived of his livelihood; if you are a man, that your life's work is cut short. If you are parents, look on your happy children and think that there would be no future for them either." It is such thoughts which give the patience to go on when it seems that so little can be done.

There is no future for "Non-Aryans" in Germany and one must endeavour to find them openings abroad. European countries are practically closed to permanent settlers, but for young people in their teens there are still occasionally opportunities abroad - in South America and the Dominions, for example. The Society of Friends, being a small community, could not hear of all the openings which occurred; much wider contacts must be established and this the Church of England and members of the public could help to do. She thought that small Committees should be set up in every city of Great Britain to deal with the question, and pointed out that most useful work could be done by parish priests getting into touch with "Non-Aryan" refugees already settled in their neighbourhood, who were often subject to the greatest loneliness. The Society of Friends could supply the addresses of many such people.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Brigadier-General Sir Wyndham Deedes in the Chair.

SIR WYNDHAM DEEDES, opening the session, confirmed that the position of "Non-Aryan" Christians in Germany was in some respects more difficult than that of the Jews. Yet the Jews, who had to bear the burden of their suffering communities not only in Germany but in Poland and Rumania as well, had, he believed, given more help in respect of Christian children from Germany than had the Christian community itself. What could be done to remedy such a situation? Foremost at the moment, he thought, was the need for much more information to be disseminated, and he begged all persons present to take back to their own localities the story that was being unfolded that day. He had been told by a "Non-Aryan" in Germany that one of their greatest needs was that which the Jews possessed among their own people: a kind of moral court of appeal formed by their co-religionists throughout the world. That court the Church of England could help to provide for "Non-Aryans". When in Germany he had come to the conclusion that little could be done for the adults, but it should be possible to salvage the lives of some of the children. He was frequently asked whether we had not sufficient troubles at home without looking for others across the Channel, but that was a very poor excuse: people living in relative prosperity and security could not compare their condition with those existing among the "Non-Aryans" in Germany.

THE REV. DR. J. W. PARKES said that, when he first tried to raise money in this country for refugees from Germany, he went to a Jew who asked how much was required for a start. "Five hundred pounds," answered Dr. Parkes, and then and there received a cheque for that amount. As he was leaving the Jew said: "Don't forget the Christian 'Non-Aryans' with this money; you will not find it so easy to get support for them." Only recently, he had been walking with a Jewish friend, by no means especially prosperous, who remarked: "You know, I really find I cannot meet my communal obligations" (he did not use the word charities) "with less than a third of my income." Of course there were Jews who had done nothing, but Dr. Parkes told these stories because there never had been a time when Jewry looked upon Christendom with so much longing and with so much contempt as to-day. "We send missions to convert the Jews" he added, "and we leave them to look after refugees who are members of our own faith." The Church of England Committee afforded what might be the last opportunity to re-establish the reputation of Christendom in the face of Jewry. He urged that something should be done to suggest that there is, after all, something real in our practical Christianity, for which we so constantly claim a virtue which others do not possess.

MRS. SKELTON (Inter-Aid Committee for Children from Germany) said that she would like to emphasize what Professor Bentwich had said of the disabilities from which Jewish and "Non-Aryan" children suffered. That a country could pass laws excluding children from participation in the innocent activities of their fellows seemed to many people a singular barbarism. But thus it was, and while it was true that there were still many teachers in Germany with the liberal and humanistic principles of their profession, who only with the greatest reluctance enforced the cruel and humiliating discriminations against these children, they were often powerless against pressure from the Party. The harm done to the child's mind and soul by such an atmosphere could not be exaggerated. The psychological distress was perhaps even greater for the "Non-Aryan" child who was the offspring of a mixed marriage than for a Jewish child. For while a Jewish child might have to endure moral - and even physical - ill-treatment abroad, once it was shut behind the doors of its own home it found love and unity in family life. But the "Non-Aryan" child might find the cruelty of the racial bar even within its home if the "Aryan" parent were ashamed of the Jewish mate - sometimes indeed of his or her own "Non-Aryan" children - or if divorce were demanded by the "Aryan" partner and the children of the detested marriage repudiated. Such things happened.

Speaking of the future of the children for whose education the Inter-Aid Committee had made itself responsible, she said that they had to prepare these young people to earn their living in some practical occupation. No intellectual nor academic education could be given to a young person, however brilliant, for the whole world now repudiated the humanities and sought only as citizens those who could provide the best cannon fodder, or technicians who could most effectively equip such cannon fodder. Reverence for learning which could not be made to serve some practical end was fast dying out of the world.

In conclusion, Mrs. Skelton asked the Conference not to let themselves be discouraged by the smallness of the numbers who could be helped, and she recalled the story of St. Paulinus of Nola, one of the greatest Churchmen and most brilliant figures of his day, who at the end of his life sold himself into slavery to redeem one single child from captivity.

MISS ROBERTS gave an account of the experiment which had been carried out in the diocese of Chichester. About a year ago the Bishop had asked her to try and arouse interest in "Non-Aryan" Christian children who were in need of urgent help. The plan was a modest one: to find support for the maintenance and education of ten children. In the event, she found the task was not difficult for she was received everywhere - by the clergy, the laity and the schools - with the utmost kindness. By means of the diocesan gazette people in the parishes were approached, and visits were paid to schools. Thanks to the generosity of the headmasters and headmistresses, four children were found free places in boarding-schools; in other cases only small fees were being paid. In one instance the Headmistress herself was paying for the child and the staff contributed in various ways. The children have all done very well in school and most of them are assimilating to English life with astonishing ease after the first difficulties of the change.

THE BISHOP OF GUILDFORD, at the conclusion of this meeting, said that he undertook that an attempt should be made in his own diocese to follow the example set by the diocese of Chichester.

SIR WYNDHAM DEEDES concluded the meeting, after several others present had spoken, by an appeal to the Conference to show that, as a Christian people, they were not indifferent to the sufferings of others. "Let it not be held against us" he said, "that we have remained blind to the tragic fate of those whose plight has been put before us to-day."

THE MOSAMBA was a member of the Xylophone Valon Ian Mbua
Mwiri, who in the closeness on Chinsenter. Upon a year ago the
climbers had gained her to try and arouse interest in "Ton-Hyan!"
Tonkinese soldiers who were in need of urgent help. The plan
was a modest one: to find support for the maintenance and edu-
cation of ten children. In the event, she found the task
not difficult for she was received everywhere - by the clergy,
the laity and the people - with the utmost kindness. By means
of the closeness mostly people in the neighbor were approached
and visits were paid to schools. Thanks to the generosity of
the businessmen and breadwinners, very sufficient were found
from closer in boarding-schools in other areas only small dea-
ny Tolerewin in the Phuhlyo the Lawyhuk-Chinsenter. The
Tonkinese was small, and the whole conference in Tonkinese was
the children are all doing very well in school and most of them
are wanting to English life with matchless ease after the
first difficulties of the change.

THE PRINCE OF CHINSENTER, in the conclusion of this meeting, said
that he wanted that as efforts should be made in his own dis-
ease to follow the example set by the diocese of Chinsenter.

THE VICAR GENERAL concluded the meeting, after several other
speeches and answers, by an appeal to the Generosity to show that
we a Christian people. They were not indifferent to the suffer-
ing of others. "Let it not be said against us" he said, "that
we were remained blind to the tragic fate of those whose plight
has been put before us to-day".

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

February, 1938.

T.N. - aged 13. Protestant.

The father, until 1933 a very successful artist, is an "Aryan" and a Christian, the mother is a Jewess. Since 1933, however, owing to his having a Jewish wife, he is not allowed to compete for any Government or municipal work, and no "Aryan" shop would be allowed to display or sell his pictures. Mr. N. served in the War for three and a half years.

Mrs. N. was trained as a doctor and succeeded in building up a very good practice. Since 1933, however, she has lost all her panel-patients and has now had to relinquish her work altogether.

There are three children and their future is extremely precarious, since being half-Jewish they cannot enter any profession, no municipal or Government employment, nor is it likely that any fully "Aryan" firm would accept them as employees. Furthermore, their present life is difficult and unhappy since the family has been ruined financially, and the children's life at school has all the disadvantages of the isolation and discrimination from which the "Non-Aryan" children suffer, particularly in smaller towns.

The contribution of the Church of England Committee of fifty pounds has enabled us to bring over the second boy. A further contribution of twenty pounds has also been received.

U.H. - aged 14. Protestant.

Her father is Jewish and her mother Christian. The father lost his position as a legal adviser in 1933, and is living with his wife in great poverty.

U.H. has been in England for 15 months and has been receiving free hospitality from a Christian family. The family who have been keeping her are unfortunately no longer in a position to do so, but her uncle who has now obtained a work permit in this country and is trying to establish himself, has promised to contribute twenty-five pounds a year towards her maintenance.

The Church of England Committee by contributing a further thirty pounds has made it possible to place this child in a boarding-school, since a small sum was already in hand for her day-school fees for this year.

A.K. - aged 15. Protestant.

She is the sister of H.K. whose case is given below. A.K. has been receiving free hospitality from a Quaker family and attending a day school. The Inter-Aid Committee is paying thirty guineas for the day-school fees and the girl is benefiting greatly by her stay. This family, also, as in the case of U.H. is unable to give the girl further free hospitality and the thirty pounds given by the Church of England Committee will, with the sum already set aside for her day-school fees, enable her to be kept in England and sent to boarding-school.

H.K. - aged 18. Protestant.

His father is a Jew and his mother of the Evangelical Faith. The boy has been brought up as a Protestant and was confirmed. The father, a partner in a bank, was dismissed because of the racial laws, and is now earning a precarious living as a casual labourer.

The boy ardently wished to become an engineer and had hoped to enter the Technical Hochschule, but had to give up the idea. He worked as a volunteer in an engineering firm, but can never be apprenticed in an "Aryan" firm or hope to complete his training in Germany. He has been told that he can never obtain work unless he is first received into the "Arbeitsfront", but the local head of that organization repeatedly informed him that he would not be admitted unless he first consented to be sterilized. This matter, and all his other experiences, have proved a great shock to the boy, and his one idea is to leave Germany.

H.K. came to England in July, but could not obtain a work permit here. The American Committee for Christian German Refugees decided to help him and hospitality was offered him in New York. The American authorities, however, refused him a visa and said he must apply from Germany, but many difficulties arise in doing that. The boy's permit to reside in England expired in September, 1937, and he had to go back to Germany.

Seventy pounds was given by the Church of England Committee for emigration and this was set aside for H.K., but have not yet succeeded in finding an opening for him to emigrate but we hope to do so this summer.

A.H. - aged 10. Protestant.

The father is "Aryan" and the mother Jewish. The father was imprisoned for two years on political grounds and has now fled the country and his wife does not know where he is. The mother found her life in Germany very difficult since she was visited frequently by the Secret Police seeking information about her husband and this had a deleterious effect both on her nerves and those of the boy. She also had an uncle who was a pacifist and was shot in 1929 so that she lives under the threat of police enquiries.

She came to England and took work as a housekeeper, but was not able to keep the boy with her. He was sent to a family in Doncaster and his mother contributed 5/- a week, but the family in Doncaster was poor and the child got ill and it was necessary to move him.

The fifty pounds given by the Church of England Committee plus ten pounds already received as a special gift for him will enable him to be placed in a boarding-school for this year.

J.W. - aged 15 3/4. Protestant.

His father is "Aryan" and his mother half-Jewish. His father was a Professor of Biology, but owing to the partly Jewish origin of his wife, was retired in October 1st, 1937. The boy's elder brother and sister had been educated in England, the father transferring money at great sacrifice to himself. The youngest boy, J.W., must leave Germany before June when he is 16 years old or he will not be permitted to leave save for total emigration.

It is hoped to obtain some academic post abroad for the father but the boy in the meanwhile could not live in Germany after June and is exceedingly unhappy in his school circumstances. The grant of seventy pounds from the Church of England Committee will enable us to bring him here and we hope maintain him in a boarding-school for a year.

4. Refugees.

The Assembly examined the whole problem, which has been made more difficult recently by the addition of German refugees, Jewish and others, by the progressive worsening of the position of Russian refugees (some 130,000) in China and Manchukuo, by the refusal at the eleventh hour of the Syrians to allow the Irak Assyrian refugees to be settled in their territory at Gharb. There are still no fewer than 700,000 refugees in the world. The Assembly urged Governments to adopt the Convention of October 28th, 1933, on the international status of refugees and the Provisional Arrangement of July 4th, 1936, for the status of refugees coming from Germany. The Assembly did not reverse the decision that the Nansen Refugee Office's work for the refugees must close by the end of 1938. Mr. Hanssen (Norway) was confirmed in his appointment as President till that date. Everything must be done before the close of 1938 to get the refugee problem into lines of a settlement which cannot be wholly discontinued when the League office closes down. But the 1938 Assembly will have the duty of seeing that there is continuity in any settlement of the problem as a whole.

A sum of 205,000 Swiss francs or some £8,200 at par was voted (half what the majority of the Assembly's Committee wanted, but there was opposition from the British and other delegations on the score that the League must not assume responsibility for any actual assistance or housing of refugees) for the Saar refugees in France, whom it is hoped to settle in Paraguay. A small Committee, one man and one woman is to be sent out to China to examine the situation of Russian refugees, particularly women, there. Though no plan for settlement of the Irak Assyrians is in view for the moment, the Irak Government has guaranteed

them their present position on the Kharbur River until such a plan is found. Money for this settlement is already in hand, Great Britain having paid £60,000 last year and voted, £100,000 for the present year. It is now a matter of finding the land and the country willing to accept new settlers.

The problem of the German refugees is difficult though soluble. Out of approximately 100,000 Jews and 15,000 other German refugees some 15,000 Jews and 2,000 others still need assistance. General Sir Neill Malcolm, who was appointed *full* League High Commissioner for German Refugees, reported that it would take at least two years to ensure their settlement. His business as High Commissioner till the close of 1938 will be to liquidate the problem with the assistance of Government and private organisations for emigration and settlement and to try and get a Government Convention on the status of these refugees.

5. The World's Health.

It has been another star year for the League's Health Organisation, which is taking a prominent share in the progress of ideas on social questions. Its work is "exercised in favour of healthy living, which is both cause and effect of social reform."

The League's health activities fall into two groups:

(*a*). PERMANENT WORK. Continuous advance of the work of the Epidemiological Intelligence Service, the Singapore Bureau, the Malaria Commission. At the Assembly the Indian and Holland Delegates expressed special gratitude for the life-saving work of the Signapore Bureau.

Two highly successful study tours were held in the U.S.A., November, 1935, and in Soviet Russia, June, 1936, to examine and compare notes on recent achievements in the field of public

TENSION EASED I SHANGHAI

STRONG JAPANESE WARNING

LANDING PARTIES REINFORCED

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

SHANGHAI, SEPT. 24

Last night's excitement in the Hongke district has calmed down, and the stree are crowded to-day with Chinese inte ested in visiting the scene where t Japanese bluejackets were shot and observing the Japanese sentry patrols a the mechanized military transport.

Although the senior members of t Settlement police had difficulty in getti through the cordon last night, th cooperation in tracing the assailants a in generally protecting Japanese residen was requested during a friendly visit t the Japanese Consul-General to the chai man of the Municipal Council, and th afternoon the Council's police appeare to be functioning as usual.

FLAGSHIP CONFERENCE

In an official communication the chai man expressed the Council's regret ar concern at last night's outrage. Leadir naval and other Japanese officials attende a conference this afternoon on board th flagship Idzumo, to which the Settleme Commissioner of Police was invited. N information has been disclosed, but th general impression is that the Japanese s far are not endeavouring to make capit out of the incident, though they evoked mild Chinese protest by sending marin into adjacent Chinese streets an examining passers-by.

The Japanese Consul-General als called on the Mayor of Greater Shangh and urged on him the necessity of th greatest possible precautions for the pr tection of Japanese subjects.

ADMIRAL'S WARNING

About 400 marines were landed to-da 250 of whom are to take the place of tho sent to Hankow, and the Japanese admi issued a proclamation warning the popul tion to keep cool and explaining that t measures were taken in self-defence f the protection of nationals.

Apparently the Japanese authoriti here are still without particular instru tions from Tokyo in regard to the late incident, which differs from its pr decessors because it occurred in th International Settlement and not Chinese territory. The local mon market is little disturbed by the incident

STERN WORDS IN TOKYO

NAVAL REINFORCEMENTS FOR CHINA

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

TOKYO, SEPT. 24

Before sailing this morning to atte the Army manoeuvres in Hokkaido (t most northerly island of Japan), whe he will remain for 18 days, the Emper received the Vice-Chief of the Na General Staff. Admiral Nagano, w intended to accompany the Emperor, w remain in Tokyo in view of the situati in China.

It is understood that further naval re forcements will be sent to China, but M Kawagoe, the Ambassador in China

Times 26/9/38

THE TIMES

700,000 WORLD REFUGEES

LEAGUE EFFORTS

"LACK OF JURIDICAL STATUS"

FROM OUR LEAGUE CORRESPONDENT

GENEVA, SEPT. 24

The work of the Committee set up by the Assembly to advise upon the various activities of the League began to-day. A sub-committee of the fixed committee, presided over by M. Motta (Switzerland), examined reports on the refugee problem, one by Hr. Michael Hansson, acting president of the governing body of the Nansen Office and another by Sir Neill Malcolm, acting High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany.

The Assembly has already passed a resolution that these offices should be liquidated by the end of 1938. Hr. Hansson points out that even if the Nansen Office is wound up, work will remain to be done far beyond that date. Moreover, during the period of liquidation—so far from expenditure being kept down—more money than ever will be required.

PARAGUAY SCHEME

On the basis of an inquiry into the statistics of various countries, it is estimated that the number of refugees in the world is no fewer than 700,000. The report goes into some detail as to the conditions under which they are living, and refers to the depths of their sufferings in some countries, though in certain others their situation has considerably improved. The refugees from the Saar are almost all in France, but are no longer concentrated in camps and have scattered throughout the country, living in more or less precarious circumstances. Attempts have been made to emigrate them to Paraguay at a cost of about £135 for a family of five. Hr. Hansson thinks that if 200 families could be sent to Paraguay the problem would be solved, but so far it has been possible to send out only 20 persons, with arrangements for another 22 to follow.

The Nansen Office finds the Armenian refugees one of its least difficult problems, one of the more pleasing characteristics being that they are hard workers with modest requirements, and that they soon begin to pay back the advances afforded them. Numbers of them are being settled in Syria and Soviet Armenia. Others remaining in Greece and Bulgaria are stated to be in a desperate situation.

RUSSIANS IN DISTRESS

The most serious problem is that of the Russian *emigrés*, mainly because they consist largely of intellectuals who have gradually lost their capacity for work. The Russian refugees in China and Manchukuo (who number about 130,000) are in the worst plight of all, and the Office, which can do nothing for them, has again pleaded for money to send out a commission to Shanghai to investigate the problem. The best feature of the Russian problem seems to be that in time it will cease to exist by the fact that the refugees who survive will be gradually naturalized and absorbed.

Discussing the arrangements for liquidating the Nansen Office the acting president says that for a long time the refugees' economic situation will be such that they will continue to need effective international protection and cannot be left to their fate.

GERMAN PROBLEMS

Sir Neill Malcolm in his report states that the problem of refugees from Germany, though difficult, can be solved. He reports that out of approximately 100,000 Jewish and 15,000 other refugees from Germany, about 15,000 Jews and about 2,000 others are still in a precarious situation and still need assistance.

The probability of a further exodus adds to the uncertainty of any forecast, but it is safe to say that there will be about 200 new refugees each month. In the absence of unforeseen circumstances it will take at least two years to reabsorb these refugees and ensure their settlement. He advises a plan spread over that period to be carried out by a League official under the supervision of the High Commissioner, who should report to the Assembly at its session in 1938.

The report will be submitted to the Assembly for decision on the points in question.

COMMODITY PRICES

A factor depressing values of wheat futures yesterday was the reported Italian prohibition of wheat imports. Raw sugar was quiet but steady. There was a moderate business in American cotton, again at lower prices.

	Jan. 29.	Jan. 28.	Month ago.	Year ago.
Wheat, per 100lb.:				
Liverpool futures	4/10⅛	4/10⅝	5/0	4/4½
Sugar, per cwt.:				
Cuban c.i.f.	4/3	4/3	4/3¾	5/3
Iron, per ton:				
Cleveland No. 3..	67/6	67/6	67/6	62/6
Copper, per ton:				
Standard cash...	*27/7/6	27/17/6	28/7/6	33/11/3
Tin, per ton:				
Standard cash	*232/10/0	231/15/0	228/7/6	226/10/0
Cotton, per lb.:				
Mid-American spot	7.01d.	7.05d.	7.21d.	6.17d.
Wool, per lb.:				
Tops 64's warp...	25d.	25d.	25½d.	40d.
Jute, per ton:				
First marks	17/10/0	17/12/6	17/12/6	16/0/0
Rubber, per lb.:				
Smoked sheet spot	6 1/16d.	6 3/16d.	6⅜d.	4 25-32d.
Linseed Oil:				
Per ton spot.....	23/10/0	24/0/0	22/0/0	21/0/0

* Unofficial close.

GRAIN MARKETS

MANCHESTER, TUESDAY.

WHEAT.—The tone of the market was steady but quite. In c.i.f. parcels quotations were about unchanged to 3d. per quarter lower compared with those ruling yesterday. No. 1 Northern Manitoba January shipment 31s. 6d., No. 2 30s. 6d., No. 1 Vancouver January 31s. 3d., No. 2 28s. 6d., No 3 afloat 28s. 1½d., No. 4 January 27s. 4½d., 64lb. Rosafe afloat 21s., 63½lb. January-February 20s. 10½d., April 21s. 6d., 63½lb. Barusso January-February 21s. 3½d., March 21s. 4½d., Western Australian afloat 24s., South Australian afloat, 23s. 6d. per quarter.

FEEDING STUFFS quiet. River Plate maize, ex elevator, 4s. 7d. per 100lb.

No change in other departments.

LIVERPOOL, TUESDAY.

WHEAT.—The c.i.f. market ruled quiet, with quotations favouring buyers. No. 1 Northern Manitoba (Atlantic) January sailing 31s. 4½d., No. 2 30s. 6d., No. 1 Northern (Vancouver) afloat sold 31s., January-half February offered 31s., No. 2 January-half February 28s. 3d., No. 3 27s. 9d., No. 4 27s. 1½d., No. 5 January 25s. 9d., Rosafe 63½lb afloat 21s., January-February 20s. 7½d., April 21s. 4½d., Barusso 63½lb. January-February 21s. 1½d., April 21s. 9d., Australian cargoes afloat Western 24s. 3d. to 24s., South 23s. 6d. A small cargo French (new crop) February sold Birkenhead at 18s. 6d. Spot parcels were about ½d. per cental cheaper, but there was a fair amount of interest. Graded wheat futures opened ¼d. to 3d. lower, following easier American markets, and afterwards ruled quiet, some small selling orders for different months, together with reports of Italian prohibition of imports of foreign wheat temporarily caused a further loss, but late advices from Argentina were rather better and steadied the market. The close, however, was quiet at ½d. to ¼d. loss. Sales 175 loads.

GRADED WHEAT FUTURES.

(Per 100lb.)

	Opening values.	Business done. Highest.	Business done. Lowest.	Closing values.	Previous closing values.
March.....	4/10¼...	4/10⅜...	4/10⅛...	4/10⅛...	4/10⅝
May.....	5/0¾ ...	5/0¾ ...	5/0½ ...	5/0⅝ ...	5/1
July.....	5/2⅝ ...	5/2¾ ...	5/2½ ...	5/2⅝ ...	5/2⅞

MAIZE.—C.i.f. parcels quiet. River Plate afloat due early February sold 18s. 6d., January quoted 19s. 1½d., February sold 19s. 6d. and 19s. 10½d., April 18s. 1½d., May-June-July 17s. 6d. sellers, African sorts unchanged. Spot parcels quiet. River Plate ½d. per cental lower.

BARLEY.—Shipment parcels nominally unchanged.

FLOUR.—A fair consumptive trade continues at about unchanged prices. Australian held for 6d. advance, with more interest.

WHEATFEED.—Supplies rather larger. Local bran steady, but thirds easier. Imported also easier. Demand on the slow side.

Quotations.

	s. d.	s. d.
Wheat (per 100lb.)		
No. 1 N Man. (Atlantic)..	6 11	—
No. 2 do.....	6 8½	—
No. 3 N Man. (Vanc'ver).	6 3	—
No. 4 Man'ba (Vanc'ver).	—	—
No. 5 do.....	—	—
Plate (upR'r)	4 8½	4 9½
Australian...	4 11	5 1½
Rosafe.....	4 11½	5 0½
Baril	4 10½	4 11
French.....	4 8	—
*Flour (per 280 lb.)		
Patents.....	22 0	25 0
Bakers.....	18 0	19 0
Straightrun	20 0	21 0
Australian...	20 6	21 0
Manitoba pts	26 0	28 6
...h.....	17 0	17 6
...at Feed (per cwt.)		
...an..	7 3	8 0
	6 6	7 0
		7

	s. d.	s. d.
Maize (per 100lb.)		
Dan.Gal.Fox	4 5	4 5½
R. P. Yellow	4 3½	4 4
Plate Cinq ..	5 4	5 4½
Plate White	—	—
Bulgarian W.	—	—
Brazilian.....	4 3	—
No. 2 White Flat Afric'n	5 0	5 0½
No. 4 Y'wAf'n	4 11	—
Beans (per ton).		
Madagascar (new crop)	£20	—
Rangoon h. p.	£9/15	—
Peas (per ton).		
Japanese.....	£15	£15/5
Dutch M'fat.	£22/10	£23/10
Dutch Blue.	£17/15	[illegible]
Oats (per 320 ...		
No. ...		

30/1/35

TO THE EDITOR

is exceedingly complicated. There are two categories of people wishing to leave the Saar at present which concern us—

(a) Those who left Germany for political reasons in the months following Hitler's accession to power, reached France (or another country), were expelled for one reason or another, generally because their papers were not in order, or left because they were not allowed to work. They took refuge in the Saar, where they have been leading a hand-to-mouth existence, and have no possibility of any financial resources whatever. These are estimated to be from 1,500 to 2,000, and are now refugees *in* the Saar.

(b) Those inhabitants of the Saar who voted otherwise than for Germany and whose opinions are known. These become refugees if and when they leave the Saar Territory, and for them France suggests that the League has a definite responsibility. The estimates of the number likely to fall into this category vary between 3,000 and 8,000, largely depending on the power of the German Government to keep its promises and restrain its followers from local reprisals.

Those in the first category are the most to be pitied, since they have been starved and chivied from one place to another for nearly two years. Their account of the fate of refugees should do much to discourage anyone who can possibly remain in the Saar from leaving it. A correspondent from Forbach writes that 95 per cent of those who are walking miles to obtain a permit, crowding into the barracks provided for them at the frontier and arriving absolutely penniless, are of this type.

For these refugees the League Assembly in 1933 appointed a High Commission, and it would seem that their care should be its responsibility and that funds should be provided by the Governments through it. Up to date no Government has been willing to take any action whatsoever to give financial support to schemes for the absorption of refugees. The French Government has, in fact, received thousands of francs from refugees and from relief committees in payment for the regularisation of papers of individuals and families.

The French Government is, however, now providing free transport and maintenance for some refugees, presumably those who voted for France or for the status quo, and the question of the Saar refugees is to come up at the next meeting of the Council in May. In the meantime the High Commissioner is unable to do more than make further appeals to private funds, and the refugees are unable to obtain permits to live or to work and must continue to do the only thing they are permitted—that is, to starve or to return to Germany, where concentration camps may await them.

Surely it is high time that the Governments who compose the League should assume some responsibility for a state of affairs which is a continuing disgrace to humanity and to civilisation.—Yours, &c.,

E. M. PYE, Society of Friends, Germany Emergency Committee.

Friends' House, Euston Road, N.W. 1, January 28.

CUTTINGS
...use, 32 to 34 Holborn Viaduct,
...d 3 St. Andrew Street, Holborn Circus, E.C.1.
Telephone: CENTRAL 3149 (Two Lines).

Manchester Guardian
3 Cross Street, Manchester.
Cutting from issue dated 13 NOV 1936

GERMAN REFUGEES IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Children Deprived of Their Birthright

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—I shall be glad if you will permit me to emphasise the deplorable plight, as depicted in your columns yesterday by Lord Noel-Buxton, of the 2,000 German refugees at present in Czecho-Slovakia. I, too, have recently had the experience of seeing several hundred of these refugees both in Prague and in the neighbourhood. Many of them have been in Prague since shortly after Hitler obtained power in 1933.

At one time there were as many as between seven and eight thousand. During the past two years some 5,000 have found it possible—under great difficulties—to get away to Palestine, Poland, France, South America, and other countries. There are still about 2,200 of these refugees in Czecho-Slovakia, of whom about 1,000 are in Prague. Their plight is tragic. The Czecho-Slovak Government places no obstacles against their coming into the country, provided they can prove they are bona-fide refugees from the Hitler persecution. Owing, however, to the prevalence of unemployment in Prague and the industrial provinces they are not allowed to do any work. They are, therefore, entirely dependent either upon such resources as they may have had when they escaped from Germany or upon such support as the five or six committees in Prague can afford them. These committees consist of resident Jews, Quakers, Social Democrats, trade unionists, and intellectuals. The Government does not make any contribution to the maintenance of the refugees, but it has permitted the use of more or less suitable buildings rent free. As the committees have been doing this refugee work for the past three years the difficulty of raising the necessary funds becomes more and more difficult.

The two most tragic aspects of this result of Nazi persecution seemed to me to be (1) the spectacle of hundreds of able, intelligent men—most of them skilled workmen in the prime of life, and among them doctors, teachers, and professional men—living in enforced idleness month after month, and indeed for two or three years; and (2) the hundreds of young children growing up without any security or certainty from day to day that a sufficiency of food will be available.

It may be wondered as to why these refugees do not go to countries where they may have the opportunity of work. The reply is that they have neither the means nor the passports to travel and settle in other countries. They are denationalised Germans with no legal right to go anywhere.

I shall not soon forget a visit which I made to a "collective" in the suburbs of Prague. Here were about seventy adult men and women with about a dozen children. This "collective" was supported mainly by the trade unions. These refugees were all either former skilled or professional workers. Among them were two doctors and an ex-burgomaster. All had the appearance of capable, intelligent men and women accustomed to taking a leading part in industry, education, and public life. But here they were in enforced idleness and without nationality or citizenship. Some of the younger single men and married couples were hoping to be able to raise enough money to enable them to emigrate to Brazil, which, I believe, is the only country which is now freely open to the victims of political and racial persecution.

It is true that we have our own unemployed and our depressed areas. These naturally have the first claim upon our consideration. But in the case of our own unemployed the Government can, whenever public opinion is strong enough, provide for them. The refugees from Nazism have no Government. They are without a country. The children who require milk and food are innocent victims. May I appeal to those who can afford it to give what help they can to the children who have been deprived of their birthright. The Save the Children Fund, 20, Gordon Square, London, W.C. 1, which has already done something to alleviate the tragic condition of these refugees, will be glad to receive donations from those disposed to help.—Yours, &c., BEN RILEY.

House of Commons,
November 12.

6/10½ 7/6 /9 /2¼ 6/9
East Daggafontein, 38/10½ /9 /10½ /9
Op. certs. 3/
East Geduld, 10½ 5/8 1/2 3/8
East Rand Con. 14/3 13/9 /9
E. Rand Prop. 76/71/2f /6 5/9f 6/6 /3 7/
Eastern Gold, 4/7½ 5/ 5/
Eastern Transvaal, 6/11¼ /11¼ /10½
Geldenhuis, 26/
Gen. Mining and Fin. 5 15/16f 27-32 29-32f 15
Gov. G.M. Areas, 38/4½ 9/6f /6f 8/5¼
/2¼f 8/¼ /1½f /4½ /4½f /6 40/ 39/
/9 /11½
lootvlei Prop. cum. opt. 6 1/16 1/16 3-32
Henderson's Ests. 7/6 /7½ /10½ /3 /6
/3 /6 /9 /5¼ /4½ /5¼ /10½ /11½ /
Holfontein T.C.. Gold Min. 15/6
Johanneburg Con. Inv. 90/ 89/ 90/ 1/
91/4½f 89/9 /10½ 91/6f 2/6f 89/4½
/4½ /6 /3¾ 89/ /6 90/7½f /10½f
91/7½
Klerksdorp, 6/10½ 7/. Op. certs. /7½
Klip Nigel, 2/5¼ /3 /6
Lace Prop. 48/11½ /9 /11½
Langlaagte, 23/9 4/7½f 3/7½
Libanon (f.p.) 27/6 8/ 7/6 /3 /3 /4½
Luipaard's Vlei, 22/6 /6 /3 /7½ /4½ 3
/7½ /9 /6f. 5½% notes. 132
Marievale Con. 24/6 /9 /3 /3 /11½ /4½
/7½ /9
Messina, 16/11½ /6 /11½ /9f
Modderfontein B. 16/3 /9
Modderfontein Deep, 5/10½ 6/0¾
New Cent. Witwater. 23f /3 /6 /3 3/ /3p 2/10½
/9 /10½ /9 3/11½ /4½f /11½ /4½f. Op certs.
br.) 13/ 13/ /3 12/6¾ 12/
New Era, 22/ /7½ /6 /6 3/f
New Kleinfontein, 69/0¾ /9 /9 /0¾ 8/9
New Modderfontein, 38/9 /9 9/ /0¾f 8/4½ 9/4½
/9 40/f 39/4½
New State Areas, 60/7½ 1/10½f /6¾
New Vaal River. 8/9
Nigel, 69/4½ 71/ 70/7½ /7½ 69/9 71/. New
(f.p.) 68/11½ 7/6 /9¾ 6/10½
Northern Minerals Transv. /8 /8½ /8
Nourse, 52/3 1/6
Oceana Cons. /6 /7½f /8¾
Oceana Dev. 12/6 11/10½ 12/6
Palmietkull, 22/4½ /3 2/6 /9f /9 3/ 2/9f /3 /6
/7½ /4½ /3 /9 /6¾f /7½
Phoenix Mining, 31/ /6 /6¾. 30/7½ /9 /9
Premier pf. (br.) 82/6 with coup. 52
Rand Leases, 46/9 /6¾ /6¾ /3 /9 /3 /2¼ 6/10½
/10½ 7/11½ 5/11¼
Rand Mines, 9 3/8f 7/16f 3/8 13-32 7/16 3/8f 5/16 5/16
Rand Selection. 47/9¾ 9/ /3 8/9 9/3f 8/4½ 9/0¾f
8/5¼ 9/8¼f 8/9f /3 /6 9/ 8/5¼ 9/3 8/6 /9f
/5¼ 7/9 9/0¾f 8/3
Randfontein Est. 79/3 8/6 9/11½ 9/ 8/9 /6 9/6f
/11½ 8/9 9/6f 9/ 8/10½ /7½ /10½ 9/3
Rietfontein, 14/ /3 /3¾ /3 14/ /11½ /11½
Robinson Deep B, 60/7½f 60/ 59/6 60/6 59/6
/8¼ 60/ /3¾
Rose Deep, 43/3
Simmer and Jack, 16/10½ 17/0¾ 17/ 17/ 16/10½
S. African Land, 79/0¾ /0¾
S. Af. Townships, 17/10½ 18/ /3 18/ 17/9 18/11½
/4½ /4½ 17/10½ 18/3 /11½ /7½f 16/9 18/6
/10½f
S.W. Africa, 41/3 40/7½ /7½ 1/3
Spaarwater Gold. 14/4½ /4½ 14/ /0¾ /3 /11½
/11½ 13/11¼ 13/10½ 14/11½f /2¼. Op.
certs. 4/ 3/9 4/11½
Springs, 44/4½f 3/9f /6 4/0¾f 4/f 2/6 3/9f 5/f
4/ 2/6
Sub Nigel, 13/1-32 1/16f 13 12 15/16f 13/3-32f 1/16f
13 3-32 13/31-32f 15/16f 13f 1/8f 3-32f 12 15/16 13/1-32
1/16f
Transvaal Con. Lands, 61/3f /3 60/ /7½
Van Dyk, 41/10½ 2/6 1/10½f 2/9 /6 3/
Van Ryn Deep, 41/10½
Venterspost, 42/6 /6 /3f
Vereeniging Est. 6% deb. 109½ 10¼
Vlakfontein, 46/6 7/2¼ 7/ /6 7/ /6 /3
Vogelstruisbult, 42/9 /9¾ /6 3/11½ 2/6 1/10½
2/9¾ /11½ 3/ 1/10½ 3/ /6 /3 /5¼ 1/6 3/11½
2/11½ /7½ /3 /7½ 3/6 2/9
Welgedacht, 36/3
W. Rand Cons. 41/6f 1/ /6f /9f /3 1/ /3 /4½
/6 /9 2/3f
W. Spaarwater, 4/6 /4 4/ /11½ 4/. Op. certs.
(30/9/37) /7½. (30/9/38) /10½
W. Springs, 46/4½ /3 /10½ /6¾ 5/7½ /11¼
6/10½ /9 6/ /9 /3 7/6
W. Witwater. 11/1-32 1-32 11 5-32 3/16f 11 11
1/16 1/16

Wampoe, 12/11½

Supplementary Prices

Aberfoyle, 4/2½ /3¾ /2½
Allagar, 3/8 1/9¾
Alor Pongsu, 2/8¼ /7
Amal. Finance, /9
Amherst, 2/4½ xd
Ampat, 1/11 /11¼ /10½
Anglo-Java, 1/2¾ /2 /2½/2½ /3 /2 /3 /4½ /11½
/3¼ /2¾
Asahan, 2/4
Badek, 28/3 7/6
Bajau, /5
Bandar, 14/6 14/
Bandarapola Ceylon, 27/f
Bangawan, /9 /9⅛. 6% pf. /10½ /10¾
Bantam, 3/2½
Batang, 1/5
Batavia (Kerkhoven) /10½ /11
Batu Kawan, 14/
Batu Matang, 2/0¼ /11½
Batu Tiga, 38/11½ 6/9 7/6 6/6
Beau Sejour, 1/3½ /4
Bekoh, 1/3½ /3½ /3½ /3
Bernam-Perak, 2/9 /9
Beverley, /6f
Bila, 1/11 /11¾
Biting, 1/10 /9½ /9¾ /10 /7½ /11 /10½ /101
/9½ /9
Bradwall, 23/6f
Br. Borneo Para, 5/7½
Broome, 3/9
Bukit Kajang, 26/9 xd
Bukit Mertajam, 4/11½ /1 /1 /3 /11½ /2¼
/2 1/24/ /2¼
Bukit Panjong, 1/9½ /10 /9
Bukit Pulai, 1/9 /8 /7½ /8½ /8 /9 xd
Bukit Seangor, 1/5 /4½
Burma, 15/3 /11½
Caledonian, 3/6 /6 /3 /5¼
Castlefield, 4/3 /3
Central Johore, 2/6⅜
Central Perak, 2/6 /6 2/7½ /7½
Ceylon Cons. /3 /2¾
Ceylon Timber and R. 2/5¼
Chembong, 1/4 /4 /4¼
Cheviot, 5/ /1 /2¼ /2¼ /11½
Chimpul, 1/5¼
Chipatoojah, 2/4½ /4½
Chota, 1/10½
Chungloon, 2/9 /9½ /9¾ /9f
Cicely, 4/7½
Clovelly, 3/6
Cluny, 15/ /6 /7½
Con. Malay, 4/6¾f /7½
Daejan, 1/8¼
Dahan, /11 /9¾
Dalkeith, 2/1
Daansara, 15/
Dargan, 1/0½ /11½
Devon, 8/6
Djapoera, 1/0¾ 1/ 0/11¾
Dutch Development (on certs.) 3/11½ /2¼ 3/

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE GERMAN REFUGEES IN PRAGUE

Lord Noel-Buxton's Account of Their Sufferings

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—Your reports on the visit of King Carol to Prague indicated the deep interest felt by the public of Czecho-Slovakia in the foreign relations of their country. I was in Prague at the time and can testify to the intensity of that interest. The King's progress through the town took place during weather of the most repulsive kind; but, in spite of cold, driving rain, the crowd along the route was such as to suggest that the entire population was present. There is something unusually sombre about the clothing of a crowd in Prague, and this increased the impression made by the marked silence of the people—a silence which seemed to indicate a great anxiety. Whether the King's visit indicated a movement to confirm the pact with Russia or, on the other hand, embodied a tendency in the opposite direction, on the lines followed by Belgium, was a problem sufficient to produce the solemnity which one felt in the atmosphere.

One cannot but sympathise with the anxieties of the Czechs, and no one can enjoy the privilege of a talk with President Benes without experiencing an increase of that sympathy; but there are other subjects of anxiety than that of high politics. While I was in Prague I inquired about one of these anxieties—a problem on a smaller scale but none the less urgent,—that of the refugees from neighbouring countries. Czecho-Slovakia has had a unique experience in this respect, for she has given refuge to fugitives from five different countries. First, there were the White Russians, now largely absorbed and, in other cases, happily returning in considerable numbers to Russia. Afterwards there were the Poles, Hungarians, Austrians, and Germans. Czecho-Slovakia thus represents, in fact, the right of asylum which we British were formerly proud to furnish. These refugees, whatever the merits of the cause for which they were expelled from their own countries, have found in Czecho-Slovakia a security from violence which constitutes a service to humanity. It is a service all the greater at a moment when the League of Nations threatens to abandon at no distant date its organisation for solving the refugee problem and to throw it upon the shoulders of private charity.

In this sphere the relief furnished from England has naturally gone mainly to Paris, where the body of refugees is larger, but the Save the Children Fund (among other funds) has been able to send a certain amount of money to Prague. On its behalf I saw large numbers of the most needy section of the refugees—that is to say, the Germans. In addition to Jews by religion, there is a large body of non-Aryans, some expelled on political, some on racial grounds; the latter are frequently Christians. One even finds among the refugees the offspring of a Protestant pastor who has the misfortune to be connected by family with Jews. The complications arising from the racial theory were illustrated by a peculiar case in which a German woman had adopted the Jewish faith but could not, as she wished, marry a Jew, for it would have been a serious crime for the prospective husband to wed a woman of Aryan blood. Having escaped to Czecho-Slovakia they were still unable to marry, because Czecho-Slovak legal practice in regard to the marriage of foreigners follows the law of each country of origin.

Different groups of sympathisers have their own relief committees—Jewish, Socialist, Democratic, Communist, non-party intellectual, and so on. I was taken to see samples of the different methods employed. We visited first what are called "collectives"—houses resembling a common lodging-house. Here we found a hundred or so refugees, mainly men, but with a handful of women and children, living in crowded and severe conditions. In one room forty beds were placed almost adjoining, like the improvised war hospitals of the Balkan War. Another form of provision is afforded by a sum of money which just enables the recipient to get a bed in a lodging nearer to the centre of Prague. Those lodgings which we visited were dark but clean. The lodgers paid the equivalent of threepence a night, leaving a margin for board, &c., of about two shillings a week at the present rate of exchange. We were also taken to see a group of refugees occupying a deserted country house about twenty miles from Prague. Here eighty persons were living in most chilly and dismal conditions.

The whole of this community of over a thousand people leads a life of hunger. But a feature which struck me as still more deplorable was that the men, mostly very capable workers, were living in enforced idleness. Even in the country community the work of the house and garden made very small provision for real employment. The chief demand of those who conduct relief is for permission to the refugees to take work, but the widespread unemployment in the capital has so far led the Government to refuse this concession.

Saddest of all is the condition of the children. Nothing remotely resembling a home can be provided. In the country settlement fifteen children have a room in which they are taught by a voluntary teacher; and some of them attend the village school, but as they know only German the privilege is hardly appreciated. The funds of the society are failing, and on the day of our visit the farmer who supplies milk had given notice to terminate the supply until his bill was paid.

The one bright spot in the refugee world was furnished by a kind of foyer, or free meeting-place, in which crowds were gathered in the evening to have a talk and a game of dominoes over a cup of cocoa. The cheering impression furnished by this scene was, however, marred upon our introduction, by the excellent lady who runs the foyer, to some of the persons present. One of these illustrated the trouble of the Stateless person, who has no papers with which to enter another country; the Czech Government will provide him with a passport to leave Czecho-Slovakia, but on condition that he does not return.

I also found an illustration of the problem so much debated by the Nansen Office of the League of Nations: that of the person who is charged with taking work without a permit, and after serving his sentence is expelled from the country. He then suffers the same experience in a second country, and repeats the process with a frequency which often adds to the vagrant and criminal classes of Europe. I saw at the foyer a decent-looking couple who had met with this fate no less than four times; it was a natural result of these vicissitudes that their two girls, perhaps eight and ten years old, were already suffering from tuberculosis.

The needs of our own country are imperative; yet I cannot but hope that among your readers who have further funds to spare there may be many who will enable the Save the Children Fund, 20, Gordon Square, London, W.C. 1, to send some help to these refugees from Germany.—Yours, &c.,

NOEL-BUXTON, President of the Save the Children Fund.

18, Cowley Street, Westminster, London, S.W. 1.
November 7.

POOR BOYS AND THE SCOUT MOVEMENT

Question of Cost

GOVERNMENT'S BACON POLICY

The Foreign Producer's Gain

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Mr. E. J. More says the bacon

1/9 2/7½ /9 /10½
0½
/4½ 2/ /3 /3 /6 /9
50/f /6 /3 1/10½
/9 /9. Pfd. 71/6f
70/ 70/f /3¾ /3f.
2 /4½ 7/. 8%
1½ /3. 5% deb.

deb. 40½
5% pf. 5/3

95/7½ /7½ 5/

/6 /11½ /4½

04 ½ ½

12/ 11/10½
/03¾ 11/93¾

/4½ /9 xd

½ 17/4½
3 /6 2/ /3

2¼ /11½
5% pf.

80½ 1 1
0½ 9/ 8/9

/
20/ 19/9

/3 /3 /4½
0/
8/9 9/ 8/9.
5/

9 /6

30/4½ /9

deb. 104¾

/10½ /10½

/6 8/ /6 8/ /3
/9 /8¼ /6 /6
3 /6¾ /5¼ /3.
6 /2¼ /4½ /3
0½ /4½ /4½
10½ 4/ 4/ 6/3
8/9 19/3 18/11½
6/3 5/7½ /9
¼ /7½ 9/11½
⅝ ⅜ ⅜ 1¼ ½
8f ¾
3/ /3 2/9 3/11½
/9 3/11½ 2/11¼
3f /7½ /6 /8¼.

3 /11½ /7½ /4½ /4½
/3f /3¾ 7/ 7/ 7/f.
Cum. pf. 28/10½ /7½
/9. 5½% deb. 104
4½ /4½ 3/ /6
4/3 4/ 3/10½ /9 4/3
23/9 4/11½

y Prices

deb. (p.p.) (cash) 73¼

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3/7½ 9/ 8/11½ /9 7/
7/3f 7/ /3f 7/ /3

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/4½ 6/6 7/6 /11½
/3

3/ 3/

/6
$9½
½ /7½ /9 /8¼ /6¾
/10½ /4½ /5¼ /4½
14/10½ /10½

s. 20/3 20/ 20/
3 /3

ew (p.p.) 23/3. 5%

3 /11½ /11½ /03¾
¾

5/ 4/7½. 5% pf.

% pf. 11/9 /6
0/9 1/ 20/6 /10½
¾ /3. 4½% inc.

if
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/10½
deb. 101 2

½. B. 17/10½
/11½ /3 17/9f

½
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pf. 21/ 1/

5/16 5/16 9-32
3-64 11-32

½ /9 /6
½ /4½

5. 5%

3-32
1-32
% pf.

2 /5¼
/4½ /6

18 15/16 19
¾ 3¾ 3¾
2 23-32

4 7/8 11

2/10½

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Con. Tin of Burma, 9/ 10/ /3 9/6 /11½ 10/3 9/9f 10/6 10/ 9/3 10/6 9/6 /7½ 11/ /6 11/ 12/
El Oro, 4/11½ 3/9 4/11½ /3 3/9 4/3 /11½ 3/6f /11½ 4/03¾
Electrolytic Zinc of Aust. 8% part. pf. 38/11½
Fabulosa, /3
Gabait Gold, 4/
Geevor Tin, 14/9 14/ /6 /6 /4½ /9 /3 15/11½ 14/3 15/3 /6
Geraldine Copper and Lead, /03¾
Gopeng, 48/9 50/ 48/9 9/4½
Hong-Kong Tin, 22/11½ 20/7½ 3/ 1/10½ /9 3/3 /6 2/9 /3 1/3
Idris Tin, 12/6 11/3 /10½ 11/ 10/10½ 11/6 12/6 11/6 12/4½ /3 /3 12/ /11½ 11/9 /10½ 12/ 10/6 11/ /3 /7½ /9 /7½ 10/9 11/4½
Indian Copper, 5/6 /4½ /4½ /3f /6 /8¼ /7½ /5¼ /4½ /4½ /6¾ /6½ /7 /7½ /5¼. 7½% deb. 215 14½ ½ 15
Ipoh Tin, 36/10½ /10½ /6 8/6 /6 8/ 8/ 6/ 7/ /3 7/ 8/11½ /11½ 9/ 8/3 7/3 8/9 7/6 /9 6/3 7/10½
Kamra, 3/4½ /4½ /4½ /9 /7½ /6 /9 /6 /7½
Kamunting Tin, 16/ 16/ 15/6 16/3 /3 15/6 16/11½ /6 15/3 /3 /11½ /7½ /9 15/
Kassala (Sulan) 1/93¼ /6¾ /6 /7½ /9 /9 /6 /3¾ /6½
Kay Tin, /5 /4½ /6
Kent Tin, 3/6 /6 /9 /3
Kepong Dredging, 20/7½ 19/6 20/ 19/3 /6 19/ 20/3 19/7½ 20/ /3 /7½ /10½ 1/ 19/10½ 20/6 /9 /10½ /9 /6 1/
Killinghall, 18/9 /9 17/9 19/ 18/6 19/7½
Kinta Kellas Tin, 6/10½ /9
Kinta Tn, 15/ 15/ /3 14/6
Kopaonik Mines, 12/6 /11½ /4½ /6 /7½ /7½ /10½f /11½ 12/ /3 /10½f
Kramat Pulai, 19/9 /3 18/9 /4½ 18/6 /9 17/6 20/ 20/ 18/3
Lahat, 12/
Malayan Tin Dredging, 38/ 8/ /11½ /6 7/6 8/6 7/ /6 9/4½ 7/9¾ 9/4½ 8/9 40/ 40/ 38/9 /3 /10½ 9/3 7/9 /3 /10½
Malaysiam Tin, 4/ /3 3/6 4/3
Marsman Inv. 36/9 /10½ 7/5¼ 7/5¼ 7/
Martha (Waihi) 16/4½
Mawchi, 51/6 /10½ 2/6 /4½ /3 1/6 /9 2/ /6 2/ 1/9 /3 2/3 /4½ /11½ /3 17/11½ /3 2/11½ 1/3f 2/4½ 1/10½ 3/
Mawchi new (p.p.) 34/6 /3 /3 5/3 4/11½ 4/ /6
Meru Tin. 1/6 /7½ /8 /8 /7¼ /6¾ /6 /5½ /4½ /6¾
Mex. Corp. 6/3 /11½ /4½ /6
Min. Separation, 6⅜ 5/16 ⅜
Min. Corp. Can. 9/10½ 10/ 9/9 10/ 9/9 10/11½ /3
Mining. Tr. 6/3 6/ /03¾ /5¼ /4½ /3 /4½ /11½ 6/ /3¾ /5¼ /9f /11½ 5/9f /10½f 6/6 5/6f
Molyneux Gold, 2/ 2/
Mt. Elliott pfd. 2/ 2/
Mt. Lyell, 28/11½f /11½f /9
Mt. Wellington, 1/3¾ /2 /3½ /6
New Broken Hill Cons. 16/6 /6 /4½ /2¼ /11½ 15/10½ 16/11½ /3 15/9 16/3 /11½f 16/ 16/ 15/9 16/4½ 157. (F.p.) 18/ 17/ /4½ /7½ /6 /10½ 18/3 18/ /3
New Gold Venezuela, 8/11½ /11½ /3 /3¾ /3 /03¾ /3¾ /03¾ /4½ /2¼ 8/ /2¼ /4½ 7/9f 8/6
New Guinea G.F. 3/9 /6 /10½
Noranda, $73¼ 4¼ ½ ½
N. Broken Hill, 9⅝ 11/16 21-32 ½ 11/16 21-32
NNundydroog, 62/6 1/10½f 3/9
Oroville, 17/11½ /3 /3 /6 /4½ 17/ /4½
Otavi, 21/f with coup. 11
Panama Corp. 2/
Pangnga, 11/6 11/ 11/ /10½
Pataling Royalties, 8/4½ /6 /6 xd
Patino, 69/
Pattani Tin, 8/ 7/10½ /9 /10½ 8/ 7/9 7/ /6
Pena Copper, 13/9 /9
Peruvian Assoc. Gold. 8/3 /9 /8¼ /8¼ /9
Petaling Tin, 22/6 3/ /11½ 1/10½ 3/11½ 1/10½ 2/6 20/ 2/ 3/9 2/3 /9 1/3 1/ 20/3 3/ 20/7½ 1/6
Pusing, 2/7 /6 /6¾ /7½ /6
Rahman Tin, 2/4½ /5¼ /9 /9¾ /7½ /10½ /4½ xd
Rantau Tin, 2/3 /7½. 6% pf. 3/ 2/4½
Rawang Concessions, 23/9 3/
Renong Tin, 43/9 2/9¾ /6 /6 3/11½ 2/9¾ 3/11½ /6 /6 /10½ 3/
Russo-Asiatic. /13⅜ /11½ /11⅛f
San Franc. Mex. 13/ /11½ 12/10½ 12/ 12/9 /9 12/ /3 /4½ 11/9 13/11½
San Nicolas Gold, 4/ 3/9¾ 4/
Selayang Tin, 10/
Siamese Tin, 25/ 5/ 6/3 5/11½ 6/3 4/10½ 5/9 4/10½ 5/9 6/3f 5/3 4/6 5/7½ /7½ /6 6/10½ 3/9
Sione Tin (F.M.S.) 19/9 19/ 19/ /11½
S. Amer. Copper, /4½ /4½ /3 /4
Southern Kinta. 17/6 18/ 16/10½ /3 /3 17/3 16/9 17/3 /6 /3 17/ /6f 17/ 16/6 /9 /6f 17/4½ 16/4½
S. Malayan Tin, 26/10½ /9 5/7½ 7/3 /3 7/ 6/9 5/6 4/6 /9 5/4½ /6 6/ 5/ /7½ 6/3 /6 5/ 4/4½ 8/ 4/6
Southern Tronoh Tin. 9/9 /9 /11½ 9/ /3 /6
Sulphide, 15/11½ /3 /11½ 15/ /6 15/ /6 /3 /4½ /4½. 10% pf. 24/9 /6 /3 /9
Sungei Besti, 26/3 7/6 /3 6/13½ 7/ 6/3 /10½ 7/3
Sungei Kinta Tin, 19/ 20/3 /4½

NITRATE

Lautaro 7% pfd. (br.) (1, etc.) 2/9 /6 3/ with cp. 67

OIL

Anglo-Ecuadorian, 38/6 /9 /5¼ /9 /9 /6 /4½ /6 /11½ /7½
Anglo-Iran, 95/11¼ /11¼ 6/3 /6¾ /6¾ /6¾ /3 /10½ /6 5/7½ 7/2¼ xd. 8% pf. 37/7½ /3 /6 /0¾ /11½ /0¾. 9% pf. 38/9 /7½ /10½ /6 /9 /6
Attock, 15/ /01½
Burmah, 5/17-64 19-64 19-64 5/16 9-32 ¼ £5/5/9 5/17-64 5/16 9-32 ¼ £5/6/ 5/9-32 17-64 £5/5/6 £5/7/f. 8% pf. 39/10½ /10½ 40/ 39/9 /7½ 40/
Can. Eagle, 19/7½ /4½ /7½ /7½ /4½ /4½ /6 /6 /5¼ /6 /3 /3¾ /3¾ /3 /8¼ /3¾ /6¾ /3 /6¾ /3 /5¼ /8¼ /9 /6½ with coup. 4. 7% pf. 14/11½ /11½ xd. Par. pf. 19/ 19/ with coup. 5
Kern River, 5/4 /4 /2¼ /3 /11½ /4½ /3 /11½ xd
Lobitos, 45/7½ /3 5/
Mex. Eagle, 32/ 1/9 2/3 /3 /6¾ /6 /4½ /6 /6 1/10½ 2/ /6¾ /3 /2¼ /0¾ /11½ /11½ /3¾ /5¼ /3¾ /7½ 1/10½ 2/5¼ /7½ /6¾ /2¼ /0¾ /6 /4½ /6 3/f 2/4½ /11½ /8¼ /11½f /11½ /8¼ /9 1/11¼ /11¼ with coup. 25. 7% pf. 9/2¼ /11½ xd. 8% pf. 31/3 /6 /3 with coup. 33
Phoenix Oil and Trans. (£1) 9/ 74½ 9/ /11½ /0¾ /0¾ /11½. (1/) 4/4½
Phoenix Oil Products 8% pf. 22/6
Royal Dutch, 45 3/16 ⅜ ⅜ ¼ ⅜ 9/16 5/16 1/16 1/16 with coup. 76
Shell (reg.) 6 6 5 13/16f 6/1-64 1-32 6 5/63-64 6/1-64 5/31-32f 6/1-64 5/63-64 ¾f 13/16f £6/0/6 5 15/16 15/16f 63-64 ¾f 6/1-32 5/31-32 6/1-64f 5¾f 13/16f 7⅜f 6f 1-32 5/31-32 6f £6/0/6 £5/19/6 £5/18/f 5/31-32f 15/16f £5/18/f £5/19/6. (Bearer) 6/3-64 3-64 1/16 1-32 1/16 1-32 1-32 £6/1/4½ 6 1/16 5-64 3-32f 5-64 3-64f 5-64f £6/1/7½ £6/1/9 6/1-64 £6/1/9 with coup. 64. 7% pf. 34/9 /10½ /10½ /9¾ /9¾ /9 /6¾
Spies Pet. /1⅝ /1⅝ /1¾ /1¾

RUBBER

Allied Sum. 21/7½ /9 /9 /4½ 1/ /9 /6 1/ /11½ /4½ /11½ /6 /4½ 1/ /6 /3 /7½
Anglo-Dutch Pl. 39/9 /11½ 40/3 39/7½ 9/ /3 8/10½ 9/4½ 9/ 8/6 9/11½ /9 /6 /3 /3 /4½ 8/9 9/7½ 8/10½ 9/10½ 9/ 40/ 39/4½ 8/6 /9 9/11½ 8/7½ /7½ 9/10½
Anglo-Malay, 19/3 18/9 /3f 18/f /4½
Anglo-Sumatra, 32/ xd
Ayer Kuning, 40/ 40/ 39/6 40/ 39/9 /9 /9 /2¼ 9/ /4½
Bah Lias, 33/9f
Batu Rata, 19/
Beaufort, 16/3 /3 /3 15/9 16/4½ 15/4½
Bertam, 4/9 /6f /8 /9 /6 /6¾ /10½ /8¼ /6 /7½ /7½ /6¾ /7 /10½ /6
Besoeki, 27/6

9/ /11½ /3 /11½ 8/7½ 9/ 8/7½ /10½. 4½% deb. 105½
Un. Castle 6% pf. 27/3

TEA AND COFFEE

Amal. Tea, 9⅝
Anglo-Ceylon, 24/3 /6 /6
Assam, 18/ /4½ /7½ 18/ /7½ /4½ 18/ 18/
Assam Con. 8% pf. 16/4½
Bengal Un. 5% pf. 24/3
Brit. Indian, 43/6
Budla Beta, 33/ 2/9
Cachar, 22/. 6% pf. 18/9 19/
Cambuhy 8% pf. 14/6 15/3 /11½ 14/10½ /10½ /6 15/ 14/9
Carolina of Ceylon, 23/ 2/6 /6 3/
Ceylon Tea Plant. 55/ 5/
Chulsa, 41/3 2/6f
Cons. Estates, 42/ xd
Cons. Tea and Lands, 20⅝ ⅛ £20/1/ £20/1/ 20⅝
Doloswella, 15/9
Dooars, 45/6
Eastern Assam, 19/9
Eastern Produce, 45/ 4/ /6 3/f 3/f 4/
General Ceylon, 19/6 19/ /6 18/9 19/
Imp. Tea, 24/6 3/4½ /9 4/ /6
Jetinga, 21/6 /6 /3
Jhanzie, 29/ /9 /9 /3
Jokai, 40/ 39/6 40/ 39/6
Jorehaut, 43/ 3/ 3/
Lungla, 11/2¼ /0¾ /4½
Nuwara Eliya, 70/ /7½ /7½
Rajawella, 9/7½ /6 /6 /7½ /9

TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES

American Tel. 186 6 8 ½
Anglo-Amer. 76f 5. 6% pfd. 129
Anglo-Portuguese, 26/3 /3 xd
Cable and Wireless 7½% A, 21¾ 2 15⅜ 3 17⅜ ⅜ 7⅜ ½ 5⅜ ¾ 2 2 17⅜ ⅜ 1 14 1⅜ 14 1 1⅜. B, 63¾f 7⅛ 63¾ 5½% pf. 102½f 1¾ 3 1¾ 23¾ ½
Gr. N. of Denmark, 46½ with coup. 71
Internat. Tel. Cap. 14 15/16 7/8 ½ ½ ⅞ ¾ 15 14⅞ 15 14⅝ ⅜ 7/16 ¾
Marconi Marine, 37/
Orient

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IS THIS THE ROAD TO PARIS?

How long? How long?

To the Editor of the News Chronicle

WE are gravely concerned with the plight of the German prisoners of war in this country. Although more than a year has passed since victory, they are told nothing about the date on which they may expect to be repatriated. But there comes a point beyond which men cannot live without hope.

Visiting ministers of religion and others report a very rapid spiritual deterioration in the camps during the last few weeks.

Men who might have gone back to Germany full of determination to build a more liberal society there are becoming hard and cynical: they say that our liberalism and Christianity are a pretence: and respect for the British people and British institutions is rapidly being replaced by indifference and even hatred.

There is a dangerous feeling that they can no longer hope for anything from us, and must look elsewhere.

★ ★

It is, above all, this uncertainty about their fate which is demoralising the prisoners: they feel that convicts are better off, for at any rate they know [illegible] their imprisonment will end.

[illegible]t other factors add to their wretchedness. [illegible] receive letters from relatives at home in the [illegible] distress, but are prohibited from sending [illegible] from their own rations.

[illegible]heir employers pay the Government the full Trade Union rate for their services, they themselves receive as a maximum a penny halfpenny an hour. Then there is the non-fraternisation rule, which by turning men into pariahs is an offence to Christian principles and is felt by the prisoners to be such.

★ ★

We therefore earnestly beg His Majesty's Government:

1.—To draw up a definite scheme for the release of these men, if necessary by various categories, at the earliest possible dates;

2—To announce this scheme to the prisoners with the minimum of delay since the certainty of release even at a relatively distant date would be less intolerable than the present uncertainty;

3—To pay working prisoners the rate for the job (less expenses for keep), part of the money perhaps being paid week by week and part being credited to them for their use after release;

4—To permit the despatch of food parcels, etc., to relatives;

5—To relax the non-fraternisation rule.

We make this plea for the sake both of our common humanity and of the British good name.

VIOLET BONHAM CARTER, HENRY CARTER, R. NEWTON FLEW, VICTOR GOLLANCZ, H. J. LASKI, LINDSAY, GILBERT MURRAY, MARIAN E. PARMOOR, R. R. STOKES

14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2.

PARIS, Sunday.

THE Paris Conference—"peace" conference is perhaps too optimistic a term for this gathering of 21 Allied nations, called upon to consider decisions reached earlier by the Big Four—will open tomorrow with two important absentees.

One is Mr. Bevin, grounded by ill-health at the last minute, and replaced as head of the British delegation by the Prime Minister. The other is Germany.

Germany is the crux and centre of any lasting settlement of European peace. At the very moment when this Conference opens, with the hopes and fears of a good part of the world centred upon it, the semi-solution for the German problem found at Potsdam is about to be torn up.

But Germany is not on the agenda tomorrow. Nor is Japan. Instead, the 1,500 delegates, who were settling into their 17 Paris hotels tonight, will consider only the draft decisions of the Big Four for five of Germany's former allies — Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland.

And tonight, after the Deputies of the Big Four Foreign Ministers had for two hours discussed whether the texts of these should be made public at midnight, as had been arranged, it was reported they could not [illegible]

TWO OF THE 2,000

the Children Fund.

Relief in Prague

x Calda?

		Comité Tschechoslovaque. X	Dr Kose
1934 Jan 3	Cheque		50 . .
May 8	"		50 . .
June 15	"		50 . .
Dec. 18	"		10 . .
1935 Mar 21	"		20 . .
Oct. 17	"		10 . .
Nov 5	"	10 . .	
Dec 6	"	50 . .	
18	"	20	
1936 Aug 6	"		10 . .
		£ 80	£200

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Export Institute,
Praha Vll.

Madame Smolka
Comité National Tchecoslovaque pour les
réfugiés provenant d'Allemagne
Jáchymova 3,
Praha V.

Noel Buxton

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THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND REFUGEES

A "DAMAGING" PROPOSAL

Lord Noel-Buxton, president of the Save the Children Fund, has sent to Mr. Eden and the Secretary-General of the League of Nations a resolution passed by the council of the fund urging the League of Nations not to sacrifice justice and humanity to political expediency by arranging for a progressive liquidation of the Nansen International Office for Refugees by the end of 1938 without substituting a central League organization for the protection of all refugees.

The resolution records that the fund has during the past 14 years expended £632,000 on relief and settlement of refugees. The council views the recommendations of the Committee on International Assistance to Refugees with grave apprehension. It considers the proposal for the progressive liquidation of the Nansen Office to be completed by December 31, 1938, extremely detrimental to the refugees and damaging to the great humanitarian work of the League, and also that the suggestions made by the committee contribute a means whereby the refugees (in this case Russians and Armenians) will be, in fact, handed over without appeal and without any kind of outside protection or interference to the petty tyranny and injustice of minor governmental and other authorities.

Further, the council welcomes the proposal that an international authority under the League shall be maintained to promote the relief and settlement of refugees from Germany; but it cannot understand how such a recommendation can be made in the one case, when, in the other, the protection to be granted to the German refugees is to be withdrawn from the Russians and Armenians. It views with grave suspicion the suggestion that the High Commissioner for German refugees should prepare and summon "an intergovernmental conference with a view to establishing a general system of legal protection for refugees from Germany and possibly for all refugees."

The inter-governmental conference of October 28, 1933, with the assistance of the experience of the Nansen Office, elaborated a Convention, which if implemented and carried out in its spirit would make the lives of the refugees tolerable. The council is of opinion that the summoning of another inter-governmental conference would be a waste of time and public money, when the 1933 Convention could easily be extended by a simple resolution of the Council of the League to German and any other refugees. The council views with grave anxiety the absence of any financial recommendations by the committee, and regrets that the suggestion, made in its memorandum submitted to the committee, for the raising of money by means of special issues of surcharged stamps was passed over.

COCKCHAFER left Shanghai (Jan. 20).
DELIGHT arrived Hong-kong (Jan. 20).
DUNDEE left Grenada for Barbados (Jan. 19).
ECHO left Malta for Alexandria (Jan. 19).
ELECTRA and ESCORT left Nauplia (Jan. 19).
EXMOUTH, ESCAPADE, ECLIPSE, and ESK left Piraeus (Jan. 19).
EXPRESS left Poros (Jan. 19).
FEARLESS and ST. JUST arrived Gibraltar (Jan. 19).
GRIMSBY arrived Batavia (Jan. 20).
LOWESTOFT arrived Gaalong Bay (Jan. 20).
SUBMARINES H.50 and H.34 arrived Portsmouth (Jan. 20).
VALIANT and SEAHORSE arrived Malta (Jan. 20).
VESPER left Portland for Chatham (Jan. 20).
WELLINGTON arrived Wellington (Jan. 20).

YOUNG MOTORIST ACQUITTED OF MANSLAUGHTER

JAMES KENNEDY, 19, who was indicted at the Dorset Assizes for manslaughter arising out of a motoring accident, was *Acquitted* of that charge, but found *Guilty* of dangerous driving. MR. JUSTICE HAWKE sentenced him to six months' imprisonment in the second division and disqualified him for holding a motor-driver's licence for three years. In passing sentence as stated MR. JUSTICE HAWKE said that he agreed with the jury's verdict. Kennedy had killed one cyclist and might well have maimed a second into whom he ran. It was a bad case and one which, despite Kennedy's age, he could not overlook.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTICES

HOUSE OF LORDS
AT 3
Swearing-in of Peers.

HOUSE OF COMMONS
AT 2.45
Swearing-in of members.

DISTRESS IN AUSTRIA.

CATASTROPHE FEARED.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE DAILY TELEGRAPH."

SIR—We desire to bring to the notice of the public the effect, as it concerns Vienna, of the Peace Treaty, which threatens to bring almost unprecedented disaster to this great city, in the hope that even now something can be done to avert it. The facts are as follows: The diminution of territory constituting the State of Austria leaves Vienna, with its population of two millions, the capital of an area containing only six instead of fifty-four millions of people. Such a city is out of all proportion to the size of the State, and a large number must either starve or go elsewhere. The separate provinces of German-Austria each have their own Parliament, and pay little attention to the desires or needs of Vienna.

The new States carved out of the old empire are inimical to the new Austria, and will not trade with her unless obliged to by the Entente Powers. To them belong the greatest part of the mines whence coal and other essential raw materials used to be obtained. Thus coal cannot now be supplied to householders in quantities greater than 30lb per week. This is hardly sufficient for cooking purposes, and the restriction means that the Viennese will not be able this winter to heat their living-rooms. The consumption of gas and electric current is already so restricted that only one or two rooms in the average house may be dimly lit for a couple of hours nightly.

The only hope for the city is that the Vienna section of the Reparation Commission will interfere before it is too late by inducing Austria's neighbours to provide her with the absolutely necessary minimum amount of coal and foodstuffs.

Unless arrangements be made by the Allied Governments for the provision of vital necessities, famine and chaos stare Vienna in the face, with results which cannot fail to be far-reaching. Already the conditions are most serious. So prolonged has been the under-nourishment that it is estimated that 60 per cent. of all the children have rickets, and 90 per cent. of the cases of children's illness are tuberculous. The births, which in pre-war days exceeded the deaths by 5,000 per annum, have, in the five years of war, been exceeded by them to the extent of 80,000, or an average of 16,000 p.a.

Help is being given by the American Relief Commission, which is providing one meal per diem to over 100,000 children. The British Food Mission, which has also been sending in supplies, is now to be closed down owing to the fact that the credit granted for that purpose is now exhausted. This withdrawal would be most serious, and we cannot plead too strongly that it shall not take place till such time as the Reparation Commission shall be able to exercise even wider functions, and we urge the necessity from every point of view of attempting to alleviate the present terrible conditions, more especially in order to save the thousands of children's lives, which will otherwise be lost or greviously and permanently impaired.—We are, Sir, yours faithfully,

THOS. BARLOW.
ARNOLD BENNETT.
BEAUCHAMP.
H. BENTINCK.
BUCKMASTER.
BURNHAM.
NOEL BUXTON.
JOHN CLIFFORD.
J. R. CLYNES.
LOUISE CREIGHTON.
CREWE.
A. RUTH FRY.
ARTHUR HENDERSON.
F. W. HIRST.
GILBERT MURRAY.
HORACE PLUNKETT.
J. C. WEDGWOOD.
H. G. WELLS.
EDW. WINTON.

The results for the first five months show a balance of revenue over expenditure of £12,183,934. The proportion of the guarantee for the same period is £21,226,600, and the deficit is therefore £9,042,666. Two important factors affect the expenditure for the whole year as compared with the first five months: The increased price of coal (which took effect on July 21) is not reflected fully in the August figures, whereas it will be a heavy item in the later months, and various concessions to railwaymen, not fully operative in the earlier months, will also in[illegible] It must further be borne i[illegible] portion[illegible] year. estima[illegible] in the [illegible] will i[illegible] years, and o[illegible]

An [illegible] resul[illegible] the I[illegible] cial [illegible]

Recei[illegible] Pul[illegible] Go[illegible]

Expe[illegible]

Ne[illegible] Oth[illegible]

Gu[illegible] Int[illegible]

Ne[illegible]

0 £40,000,[illegible]

Any improvement in the position [illegible]

(i) To the extraordinary increase in passenger traffic last summer, and

(ii) To the decision to apply, from April 1, 1919, to Government traffic the same rates of increase as have been made to the public.

The latter results in a credit to the railway account of about £5,000,000, but this credit involves a corresponding charge to other Government departments. It should be added that the present estimate of £45,000,000 as the amount of the deficit may prove to be inadequate

(i) If the drop from the summer level of passenger receipts is more marked than usual, as may well be the case in view of the unprecedented height attained, and

(ii) As a result of the dislocation of business by labour troubles.

On the other hand, no allowance is made for any growth of revenue from increases in goods rates which may become operative before the close of the financial year.

GRAVE SYRIAN SITUATION.

THE BRITISH WITHDRAWAL.

CAIRO, Oct. 22 (delayed).

A serious situation is developing in Syria. The preparations for the evacuation by British troops are proceeding apace. According to present arrangements our troops should be west of Aleppo on Nov. 11, and out of Syria by the 12th, but owing to difficulties of transport there may be two or three days' delay. We have informed the French that, having retired from any given point, *under no circumstances* will we move forward again.

The Armenian refugees who had been repatriated by our good offices in Mardin, Aintah, Ourfa, &c., some 3,000 all told, are being brought back to Cilicia, as they have been dependent on us for their supplies. We are leaving the rest of the population to fend for themselves, and a number of the Christians are com-

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MATTERS OF MOMENT.

OFFICIAL decisions on the Protocol in Great Britain are hanging fire considerably, owing to the decision of all the Dominions, except New Zealand and the Irish Free State, that it will be impossible in the near future to discuss the matter at a round table Conference. What the next step will be does not appear to have been decided so far. Any attempt to rush a final verdict would have unfortunate results. All the omens point to a continuance of general discussions in the Press and elsewhere, with the prospect of having the whole matter thrashed out afresh at the Sixth Assembly next September. This may very well be the best thing that could happen.

* * * *

Labour and the Protocol.

AN extremely important joint meeting of the Executives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International (the second International) was held at Brussels at the beginning of January. Various resolutions urging ratification of I.L.O. conventions were adopted, and perhaps the most interesting discussion, apart from that on the visit of a British trade-union delegation to Russia, took place regarding the Geneva Protocol. A resolution was adopted which, "while recognising the imperfections of the Geneva Protocol," declares the instrument to mark a definite progress in the cause of the peace of the world, and urges the entire Socialist and Labour movement of all countries to concentrate its efforts on obtaining the ratification of the Protocol and the convocation of the Disarmament Conference, since the only alternative appears to be an attempt to attain security through special treaties of assistance, which would lead to a system of opposing alliances, and increase the peril of war.

* * * *

Dr. Luther and the League.

THE new German Government will, if it lasts long enough, have to decide about applying for membership of the League. As a whole it must be reckoned less favourable to Geneva than its immediate predecessor, inasmuch as the Nationalists are directly represented in it. At the same time, Dr. Luther, Dr. Marx' successor as Chancellor, evidently desires to follow the late Government's foreign policy with few changes, and his references to the League in his opening speech to the Reichstag suggest that on the whole he is more in favour of it than not. One step already announced is the definite reversion to the eight-hour day, though that this decision was taken for internal reasons—*i.e.*, with a view to conciliating the workers—and for no others is clear enough. At the same time, the observance or otherwise of the Washington Hours Convention by a Great Power is a matter of importance to the whole International Labour Organisation. If Germany carries out her declared intention there will be less excuse than ever for the failure of this country and France to embody the provisions of the Washington Convention in our domestic legislation.

Germany and Article XVI.

ONE task that will devolve on Dr. Luther will be the handling of certain negotiations already begun between Berlin and Geneva. The German Note to States represented on the Council, asking whether they were in favour of Germany's being made a permanent member of the Council, have now all been answered, and all in the affirmative. A further Note has, however, been addressed to the Secretary-General raising the question of the obligations that might fall on Germany under Article XVI of the Covenant if she joined the League. The last German Government apparently took the view that it would be dangerous for Germany in her unarmed state to give passage to League troops sent (let us say) to support Poland against an imaginary war with Russia, on the ground that if such troops were unsuccessful, and Russia advanced westward, Germany's passive participation in the operations would bring on her a Russian attack, against which she would be powerless to defend herself. The danger seems remote, and there can be no serious question of putting Germany on a different footing from other members of the League in regard to Art. XVI. (Recognition of Switzerland's historic neutrality was hardly the same thing.) In any case, it is a matter with which only Assembly can deal. The Council has nothing to do with the admission of new members.

* * * *

A Long Rope for Opium.

EVENTS sometimes take strange turns, and it is possible that before this issue of HEADWAY appears the Second Opium Conference at Geneva may somehow have survived the crises which have threatened to submerge it. The belief that Lord Cecil, going out as first British delegate, might have a new policy in his pocket, was justified when at the opening meeting of the adjourned Conference he unfolded the Government's offer to end opium-smoking finally fifteen years after China had sufficiently cleared herself of poppy-growing to remove the danger of smuggling into British territories. What this means is that Great Britain, having pledged herself in 1912 by the Hague Convention to the "gradual and effective" abolition of opium-smoking in all her territories, decides in 1925 on a policy which may produce abolition by about 1945 or thereabouts, though even of this there is no sort of guarantee. The argument that opium cannot be kept out of places like Singapore while it is being produced wholesale in China, undoubtedly has substance. On the other hand, it is fatally easy for dependencies depending on opium for a large part of their revenue, and concerned lest its abolition should cause some unrest among their Chinese population, to throw up their hands and declare they can do nothing till China does. All that can be said is that if the process of abolition proves as effective as it is going to be gradual, our posterity may see the complete end of the evil.

* * * *

A Hint from Rumania.

AN interesting note from the Rumanian Finance Minister has been received at Geneva suggesting that the League might with advantage undertake on behalf of his own and other countries in Europe the same kind of financial operation as has proved so beneficial in the case of Austria and Hungary. The proposal opens up prospects of some importance. It is obviously something of an anomaly that the first and, apart from the Greek Refugee Scheme, the only, countries to benefit so far by the League's financial intervention have been two of the four States opposed to the Allies in the War. Many Allied States, notably Rumania, Jugo-Slavia and Poland, found it none too easy to raise needed loans on acceptable terms. The League could undoubtedly be of much assistance to them. The question, however, is whether such States would be prepared to accept anything like the kind of financial supervision which the League is exercising in the case of Austria and Hungary. It was that more than anything else which induced British and American investors to lend their money to those countries.

* * * *

Germany and the Saar.

CONSIDERABLE disquiet has been caused by a persistent rumour that it is the intention of the League Council at its March meeting to recommend the re-appointment of M. Rault as Chairman of the Governing Commission in the Saar for yet a sixth year. There could be no defence for such a decision. It has always been clearly understood that five years would be the extreme limit of M. Rault's tenure of this office. No criticism lies against M. Rault himself, but the whole purpose of the introduction of League government in the Saar was to ensure absolute fairness of treatment for the German population, and from the League's point of view it is essential not only to be fair, but to be seen to be fair. To retain the Chairmanship of the Commission in the hands of its one French member for five years is in itself a policy open to grave objection. To extend that period to more than five years would be to lay the League Council open to the most damaging criticism. The decision taken in December that the first Presidents of the proposed League Commissions on the disarmament of ex-enemy countries should, in the case of Germany, Austria and Hungary, all be Allies, has done much to alienate German opinion from the League. To take a false step in the Saar would still further stimulate anti-League tendencies in Germany.

* * * *

Senator Borah and the League.

THE fact that Senator Borah has now succeeded Mr. Lodge as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate lends considerable importance to a statement he has just made on the general question of world peace. Mr. Borah stands for a world conference to clear up economic difficulties, for the codification of international law and for a definite outlawry of war as a method for settling international disputes. What strikes one, of course, regarding the statement is that very little except inherent political preconceptions separates Senator Borah from the League of Nations. It is true that he considers even the Protocol falls short of his ideals, because, under certain circumstances, it permits war still to be waged. That is true only in the sense that the Protocol does provide for the use of collective force by the whole society of nations

Republicans to armed rebellion in March of last year, but was not sufficiently pronounced for General Condylis —more Royalist even than the King, whom he had consistently thwarted and opposed in 1923.

But the country was utterly weary of the intrigues of politicians and generals. After the ruthless suppression of the rebellion even the Greek love of politics died. The nation looked on with indifference, while Condylis's *coup d'état* in October was followed by a resolution of the "Rump" of the Assembly to recall the king and, on November 3, by a plebiscite so organised that its 97 per cent. vote for the monarchy was a foregone conclusion. Greece no longer cared; one Government was as bad as another.

It was the king himself who awoke his people from this apathy. His proclamation from London on November 5 contained a significant hint of "collaboration." After his triumphal entry into Athens on November 25 he demanded a general amnesty. General Condylis, who opposed it, tendered his resignation—as a matter of form. But the King accepted the resignation and the king-maker was not reinstated. Instead, the amnesty was declared, and Professor Demerdjis invited to form a temporary government of "neutral personalities," in order that elections might be held and the Constitution revised by a National Assembly truly representative of the nation. This assembly, elected on January 26, will meet on the 12th of next month.

It is interesting to look back at the impression made by this king during his brief reign in 1923 on Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission set up by the League of Nations:—

"I found the King to be a pleasant, but by no means imposing young gentleman. His pleasant smile and unaffected good manners were most attractive. He quickly showed, however, that he was not of kingly mould. The self-confidence of inward power was wholly lacking. Beneath his efforts at self-possession it was easy to perceive that he was a man of uncertain mind and possessed by fear."

A man "of uncertain mind and possessed by fear" could hardly have freed his country from the tyranny of politicians and military "putschists" and restored national unity in the two short months which have sufficed for King George of the Hellenes.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS

By C. CLAXTON TURNER

Who has been speaking in Hyde Park on the Union's platform every Sunday for the past three years.

THE full value of open-air meetings can only be achieved if organisers recognise that the normal procedure which is admirable in a hall or at a private garden-party is definitely adverse at street corners and in public places.

The chief advantage of an open-air meeting is that its message can reach the ears of sections of the public whom nothing would induce to enter a hall in which a "pacifist" meeting is being held. The major part of that advantage is forfeited unless casual listeners are so interested by what they hear that they will thereafter regard the League of Nations as an attractive subject instead of as the dull fad they had believed it to be. Otherwise, our indoor meetings will continue to attract merely the same converted audiences over and over again.

One of the commonest errors in the organisation of open-air meetings is to be found in the choice of the pitch. It should be obvious that, as conversion of the unconverted is the primary motive, the meeting must be held within easy earshot of casual passers-by, who have no desire to listen, but who may be induced by what they hear by accident to stop and listen to the remainder. I have frequently found, however, that organisers obstinately insist on holding their meetings in a local park or on a common, even though that place is normally deserted at the time of the meeting (so that none but ready-made supporters can reasonably be expected). The corner of a quiet turning, where the crowd passing along the main street could easily be intrigued, would be infinitely more productive of result, though possibly less æsthetic.

An important difference between indoor and open-air meetings lies in the duties of the chairman. In a hall, the chairman is a very important official throughout the meeting. In the open air, his duties are brief and defined—merely to persuade a nucleus of an audience to gather in readiness to listen to the speaker, and by their presence to call attention to the fact that the meeting is already in progress.

Although the task of the chairman is not showy, his work is most valuable, because it gives to the speaker the advantage of being able to plunge straight into his address without having to expend energy on obtaining his audience piecemeal.

There can be no hard-and-fast rule as to the point at which the chairman should make way for the speaker, but as soon as from thirty to fifty people have been attracted is a safe general assertion, for any speaker worthy of the name can obtain a large audience from such a start. If, however, a member of the gathering audience tries to put questions, that is definitely the precise moment, and the chairman should *in every case* leave it to the speaker to handle the questioner. *In no case* should the chairman indulge in attempts to eulogise the speaker or to recite the speaker's past history and attainments—open-air audiences do not care who or what he is; they can only be interested by what he has to say. Having called upon the speaker briefly by name, the chairman's duties are ended.

An open-air address should resemble one of those portmanteaux we see advertised—if the audience listens quietly, it can occupy half an hour or more; but if the audience be restive, difficult to interest or inclined to interrupt, it must be compressed into a quarter of an hour, or even less, without omitting any of the essential points.

Throughout his address, the speaker must watch for the slightest tendency for members of the audience to shuffle away, and on seeing such signs should at once invite questions as though his address were at an end. The omitted portions can always be incorporated in the replies to questions, and it is more useful to get the points heard in that way than to declaim them to an audience that has departed.

For that reason, the speaker must realise that interrupters, properly handled, are his best friends in spite of themselves. Even on a cold evening, an audience will remain to listen if there seems any likelihood of "fun," and a tentative dissolution of the audience can always be postponed by deliberately "drawing" a heckler into an argument.

A further important point is that no attempt should be made to propose a vote of thanks. When the

speaker feels that all his points have been made, he should close the meeting quietly but firmly, resisting any attempts to prolong the meeting. I have seen many meetings that have been well controlled and interested by the speaker utterly annulled by a well-meaning supporter getting on to the vacated rostrum, thus affording to hecklers, who had been kept in order by the speaker, an opportunity to turn the affair into a riot, merely because a comparatively easy victim had rashly offered himself. Similarly, if would-be hecklers find that the chairman is eager to interpose, they invariably redouble their efforts, in the hope of conveying to the audience the impression that the speaker is incompetent. It is sometimes difficult for a chairman or supporters to realise that a speaker must occasionally "play to the gallery" in order to retain an easily-dispersed audience, and that what may seem to be a piece of trivial byplay or careless handling is really open-air technique. The most essential traits of a successful open-air speaker are knowledge of his subject, a keen sense of humour, ability to sum up the sincerity of questioners and adaptability to the needs of the moment, and of these latter the speaker alone can judge.

As has been proved in Hyde Park, at Reading, and at Kingston-on-Thames, the best possible results are obtained by regular weekly meetings. Not only do audiences acquire the habit of attending with their unconverted friends, but in addition the speaker becomes closely acquainted with the personal methods of the hecklers, with the further advantage of knowing their motives for opposition.

It has often surprised me that seaside branches have not yet realised that meetings held on the beach on summer evenings near the promenade and pier would ensure huge audiences of potential new members in an excellent mood to be interested by a speaker who could combine amusement and interest with solid information.

In conclusion, and perhaps the most important point of all, the speaker must not allow himself in any circumstances or in response to any provocation whatever to "get rattled" or to lose his temper. Loss of self-control inevitably means loss of control over the audience.

SHELVING THE REFUGEES

READERS of HEADWAY are already familiar with the refugee question in its broad outlines. But before the report of the Committee of International Assistance to Refugees is considered, it is well to recall the situation with which that Committee was faced.

By H. P. S. MATTHEWS

The Nansen International Refugee Office is due to be wound up by December 31, 1938; the High Commission for Refugees coming from Germany, from which Mr. James McDonald resigned at the end of December, was not intended to continue beyond January, 1936. The Sixteenth Assembly decided to set up a body of five experts to review the problem and to make proposals for the future organisation of refugee settlement and relief. That committee has now reported to the Council of the League.

The refugees with whom the committee has been concerning itself are not, as so many people imagine, solely, or even primarily, exiles from Germany; 900,000 of them are Russians and Armenians; 80,000 are from Germany. Even if every Jew in Germany were to cross the frontiers they would still only number 500,000, or a little over half the number of the "Nansen Refugees."

The Nansen Stamps, by the sale of which funds for the Refugees are being raised. It is hoped that all Member States will issue similar stamps in the near future.

The committee was faced by two major difficulties. In the first place, it was bound by the resolution of the Assembly calling for the liquidation of the Nansen Office by the end of 1938. In the second place, it was aware of the Soviet Government's dislike of the Nansen Office, which it suspects of fostering White Russian propaganda. M. Avenol, the Secretary-General, impressed upon the members of the committee that Russia would oppose any continuance of the Nansen Office or of a League organisation designed to take over its functions. Possibly he was himself not unwilling that the Secretariat should be relieved of the responsibility for the refugees.

The committee, therefore, was well aware of the difficulties which stood in the way of a constructive plan for the refugees. The report begins with a very sympathetic review of the present situation; it pays tribute to the past achievements of the Nansen Office; it recognises the paramount necessity of co-ordinating the work of Governments and charitable organisations. But the proposals in Part III fail lamentably to make any concrete recommendations for carrying on the work for the "Nansen Refugees" when the office shall have ceased to exist.

The proposals of the committee fall into two halves. The first half deals with the temporary measures for carrying on refugee work until the September meeting of the Assembly; the proposals in the second half relate to a "subsequent organisation."

Under Part (1) an "eminent personality" is to be asked to act as President of the Nansen Office—the post has for some time past been vacant. He would hold office only until September, and his task would be to prepare for the winding up of the Nansen Office in a "constructive manner." A second "personality," not specifically "eminent," would be invited to carry on the work of the High Commission for Refugees from Germany for the same period. It would also be his duty to convene an inter-Governmental Conference to consider the legal status of German refugees, and possibly also of the other categories of refugees.

In its recommendations for the future, the committee differentiates between the older categories of refugees

For Nansen (non-Jn) no plan for future after 1938

who are at present under the Nansen Office and the German refugees. For the refugees from Germany a permanent organisation would be set up and would have financial assistance from the League.

It would consist of representatives of Governments and of charitable organisations, and a person might be appointed as President of its Governing Body, possibly with the title of High Commissioner.

For the Nansen refugees, on the other hand, no permanent arrangements are contemplated. For the three years of life which remain to it the Nansen Office is to prepare to "die constructively."

The office, which was created because it was found quite impossible for Governments and private charities to deal adequately with the refugees, is then to hand over its work to Governments and private charities. The report frequently speaks of the necessity for co-ordination. But it makes no provision for any body to co-ordinate refugee work after 1938.

The experts who appeared before the committee have emphasised that only some central organisation, backed by the authority of the League, would be capable of undertaking the multilateral negotiations with Governments which are necessary if large-scale schemes of emigration are to be arranged. Only a central body could negotiate the loans necessary to finance emigration. Even in the days when millions were being subscribed for refugee work the private charities found the task beyond them. To-day, their resources are, in comparison, negligible. The fact that there are thousands of unemployed refugees congregated in certain countries makes it inconceivable that Governments, unaided, would be capable of conducting their absorption "*in situ*."

Why has the committee discriminated between its treatment of the German refugees and of those under the Nansen Office? Their problems are practically identical—the main difference being that the problem of the Nansen Refugees is considerably more difficult of solution. The answer has been suggested at the beginning of this article.

THE CATHOLIC TRADITION*

By Professor GILBERT MURRAY

THIS important book, published for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace under the auspices of the Catholic Council for International Relations, has been a labour of love, involving much scholarly research and the skilful arrangement of a very large mass of material. It is not only a valuable restatement of one element in Catholic doctrine, but, as the preface says, "a reminder to Catholics of their duty . . . to translate into action the principles of international justice laid down by successive Popes." And without doubt it makes a great, though of course a different, appeal to the interest of those who "do not share the spiritual allegiance of the author."

The course of history has recently brought the Catholic Church into a position of conspicuous importance in world affairs. In proportion as nationalism has become more and more extreme in its claims and its violence, the great non-national, ultramontane, œcumenical Christian society has become more and more the natural exponent of the moral law that is above nations. As the State usurps the place of God, the Catholic Church becomes the most obvious centre of international protest against "that blood-stained idol, the Moloch of our time." The Vatican becomes a protector of liberty. It was, of course, very different in the middle of the nineteenth century, when nationalism was in the main an effort to attain liberty and the Church its determined opponent. It was still more different in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when each Christian church or society was a centre of war. For the present generation at least, while the old habitual champions of justice and freedom, the parties of the Left, the Rationalists, the Quakers, the Liberals, are all with diminished powers doing their best in various separate countries, the Catholic Church stands out as the one fully organised international body which must by its very nature refuse to bow the knee to Baal.

The growth of Catholic doctrine from the early Church, through Augustine, Aquinas, the great casuists, like Suarez, on to Taparelli in 1846, and the Letters and Allocutions of the more recent Popes, especially Benedict XV, forms an impressive historical study. Soldiers are by no means condemned in the New Testament, so long as they oppress no man and are content with their pay; Tertullian thought differently. In the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, again, soldiers may be admitted to baptism, which is denied to actors and actresses, musicians and the like. Yet there is a general sense of the wickedness of war. A ninth century Pope holds that it is "always satanic in origin." It is only right when "fought at God's command," a point somewhat difficult to ascertain. Aquinas insists on three tests: the authority of a legitimate prince, a just cause, and a right intention in those who make it. Vittoria, again, while protesting against the absolute pacifism of Tertullian and Luther—who seems to have condemned even resistance to the Turks—considers that "if a subject is convinced of the injustice of a war he ought not to serve in it even at the command of his prince."

From discussions like these a mass of coherent doctrine is gradually formed. Suarez recognises "a general society of peoples"; war is an offence against this society, and it has the right to punish. Taparelli develops the idea of an "ethnarchy" or Society of Nations, and regrets that their normal peaceful relations with one another are so few. (He did not foresee how immensely they would multiply.) The more recent utterances of the Holy See have developed the idea of a positive and active peace, and repudiated the Bismarckian dicta about man being "a fighting animal" and war a normal and proper activity of nations. It follows that an "armed peace" is not a natural state, but unnatural and abnormal. "There is only one absolute in sociology," says Mr. Eppstein: "the relation of brotherhood existing among men, arising from the unity of their nature and the Fatherhood of God."

Neither nations nor individuals nor even churches can be expected always to live consistently up to their principles, but it is an achievement of real international importance to have put before the world this body of noble and closely reasoned doctrine wrought out by generation after generation of great Catholic thinkers and theologians.

* *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations*, by John Eppstein. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1935.)

THE DEMAND FOR COLONIES:

By H. D. DICKINSON
(LEEDS UNIVERSITY)

AGGRESSIONS such as those of Japan in Manchuria and of Italy in Abyssinia are often justified on the grounds that the aggressor nation has within its own territory insufficient natural reserves (minerals or fertile agricultural land) for the requirements of its own people, and that consequently it must obtain additional territory, either for colonisation by an expanding population or as a source of raw materials, or as a market for domestic manufactures. Countries that, like Germany and Italy, lack fertile colonies are contrasted with those possessing large colonial empires as "proletarian" nations, destined, unless they, too, can acquire territory, to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the richer countries.

This view rests upon two assumptions. One is that a people is poor because it lacks minerals and fertile agricultural land. The other is that military conquest of mineral-bearing or fertile land will remedy such poverty. It is necessary to examine carefully these two assumptions.

I.

The poverty or wealth of a people depends on a number of factors of which natural resources are only one. As important as natural resources is the manner in which they are used. The example of countries like Norway, Denmark, and Switzerland shows what can be done by a vigorous and efficient people without valuable minerals and with land of low natural fertility.

The factors on which the standard of living of a community depends may be summarised under five heads; personal efficiency; organisation; mechanical equipment; the mode of distribution of wealth; and the relation of population to natural resources.

(1) Personal efficiency is a vital factor in the establishment of a high standard of life. The people of countries which have endured the discipline of modern industry have learnt habits of punctuality and reliability and have become mechanically minded, which raises their productivity and hence their real income. Education, both general and vocational, is one of the best investments that a nation can make. The peoples of Western Europe, North America and Australasia owe much of their prosperity to their public educational systems. (2) Efficient organisation of industry and agriculture enables the best use to be made of available resources by applying the principles of standardisation, of specialisation, and of adaptation of the producing unit to the most economical scale of output. In industry, large-scale enterprise and vertical integration; in agriculture, co-operation for the processing and marketing of products are examples of this. Thus the Danes have compensated by efficient agricultural organisation, as well as by applied science, for the poverty of their soil.

(3) Mechanical equipment is one of the factors governing the standard of life. The people of the United States have at their disposal more than twice as much power per head as the people of Great Britain; this is one of the most important causes of their higher real income. The Norwegians and the Swiss, lacking coal, have developed their water power and established new industries on this basis, thereby raising their standard of life. The application of scientific knowledge in other ways, such as the breeding of new varieties of animals and plants and the control of diseases and plant pests, comes under this head. How much Canada owes to the discovery of Marquis wheat or tropical America to the control of yellow fever!

(4) The more equally income is distributed, the higher the standard of living of the great majority of the population. Hence the appearance of general well-being that characterises Australia and New Zealand. The presence of a class of rich men, whether landowners, mortgagees, industrial capitalists, fundholders or sinecurists, generally implies poverty at the other end of the scale. Here also we may refer to unproductive use of national wealth; a nation which squanders its resources on armaments and futile colonial wars does so at the expense of its standard of life.

(5) Natural resources must not be taken absolutely; it is the relation between natural resources and population that counts. Below a certain density of population communications are costly and the overhead costs of civilised existence amount to a large sum per head; above a certain density the necessity of having recourse to inferior grades of soil and minerals reduces the average level of well-being. There is thus, for any country with given natural resources, organisation, mechanical equipment, education, scientific knowledge, etc., a certain range of numbers within which the people can enjoy the highest standard of life attainable for them. No people, however well organised or personally efficient, can avoid a fall in its standard of life if it multiplies indefinitely in a given space. Neither emigration nor territorial expansion is a cure for this. These only enlarge the scope of the problem for the nation when it exports its population also exports the habits which make poverty inevitable.

It thus appears that a people need not be poor even if it lacks natural resources. Italy has already done much in the way of developing water-power and of agricultural co-operation. It still has much to do in the way of education. If the Italian government refrained from excessive military expenditure and ceased to encourage the very growth of population that menaces the Italian people's standard of life, there is little doubt that the prosperity of the country would increase without any need for colonial adventures.

II.

We must now examine the contention that the standard of living of a people, whatever it may be, can be raised by the conquest of territory. Territory so acquired may be utilised in five ways: settlement by

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

CHAIRMAN: MAJOR VICTOR CAZALET M.P.
VICE-CHAIRMEN: LORD MARLEY, H. GRAHAM WHITE, M.P.
HON. SECRETARY: MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P.

Ack

50 Romney Street
S.W.1.
12th Sept 1940.

Dear Miss Murray,

Miss Rathbone asked me to send you the Dominions Circular after she spoke to you on the telephone last week. However it was some time before this could be completed as we were unable to get news of the arrival of the Australian ship (until it was reported in the Press!). I now enclose a copy, together with a copy of Lord

Marley's first letter from Canada. We have since had two later letters from him & we have been able to summarise the chief points in these and the Circular letter.

Yours sincerely

Doris N. Hardman

Secretary

Miss Murray
Secretary to Lord Noel Buxton
18 Cowley Street
S.W.1

18, Cowley Street,

Westminster,

London, S.W. 1.

August 21st, 1940.

The Alien Problem.

Dear Sir,

May I suggest that the feeling of uneasiness caused by the secrecy which still surrounds the question of enemy aliens would be allayed by an official assurance that the policy laid down in the White Paper is being carried out without delay? It has been admitted that mistakes have been made. The public would like to receive an assurance that - where possible - they are being remedied. So far, the only assurance received is that where the services of an alien can be of proved utility to the country, use will be made of such services. What, in this policy, becomes of the British tradition of protection to the victims of political persecution?

Now that the Home Office has taken over the care of refugees, could it give us an authoritative statement on the following points:-

(1) Have effective steps been taken to reunite families? Have husbands and wives been allowed to be interned in the same camp? Have husbands or children sent overseas in error been returned to their families?

(2) Have those who had built up businesses over a period of years, and whose loyalty to this country was well known, been allowed to return to their businesses?

(3) Have those who were mistakenly interned been released?

(4) Have the incredible delays in regard to correspondence at the internees' camps been obviated?

(5) Has the stigma on the integrity of our news services been removed by allowing internees access to newspapers and to B.B.C. news without restrictions?

(6) Have the conditions in the camps, as regards food, hygiene and equipment, been brought up to a reasonable standard of decency and sufficiency?

The answers to the above questions will not give information to the enemy except to emphasise that this country is governed, not by panic legislation, but by its slowly evolved traditions of justice and reason. It has not failed before to give protection to the weak and sanctuary to the persecuted.

Yours truly

(Signed) MONI-BUXTON.

The Editor,
The Manchester Guardian,
40, Fleet Street,
E.C.

no opportunity of making the necessary arrangements for its continuance or winding up.

(3) The prolonged prohibition of letters to and from interned persons. The restrictions, delays and losses would sound incredible were they not well known facts.

(4) The absence of newspapers and means of hearing B.B.C. news in the internment camps. What becomes of our pride in the integrity of our news services?

(5) The waste of skilled labour, of many artists, technicians and other qualified workers, and of the considerable volume of less trained, but equally willing, labour, which could be utilised.

If the newly formed Committee on Welfare of Internees and Prisoners of War is in a position to deal promptly and efficiently with these questions, and is doing so, a statement from the Government to this effect would put an end to many disquieting rumours. Confidence is not engendered by ignoring reasonable requests for information. In a country which is fighting for liberty public feeling is not indifferent to the protection of the weak.

Yours faithfully,

The Editor,
The Times, E.C. 1.

One wonders at times if the people who hold the financial destinies of the schoolmasters in their hands are aware of the facts. Presumably the Civil Service salaries are a guide as to what the Treasury considers reasonable pay: if so, then it appears that schoolmasters are rated, consciously or unconsciously, between the General Clerical Class and the General Executive Class; and, if the chances of promotion are taken into account, very much nearer the former than the latter!

One point touched upon by "Public School Headmaster," though a minor detail, is not without significance. Teachers, when their salaries were cut (for the third time), were forced to pay Income Tax on their uncut salary. This was a somewhat striking contrast to the subsequent treatment of holders of War Loan at the time of its conversion. Rightly or wrongly, a cynical interpretation has been put on the sweet reasonableness displayed in the latter case; and it is contrasts of the kind indicated which generate in the schoolmaster's mind, the suspicion that he is selected for special victimization, and that his part in the nation's life is unduly depreciated. The loyalty and devotion of the teachers, as I believe every headmaster will testify, has remained unimpaired, but it could hardly remain so if this suspicion hardened into conviction.—I am, Sir, &c.,

UNIVERSITY TRAINED HEADMASTER.

PAGANISM IN GERMANY

[*To the Editor of* THE SPECTATOR.]

SIR,—In his interesting article on "The Nazis and the Churches," on March 16th, Mr. Greenwood remarked that few Nazis "took the attempts to build up a new Nordic religion seriously, and there were not many uniforms at a German Faith Movement demonstration addressed by Professor Hauer." He also seems to imply that this movement exists to put forward "absolute dogmas" "on the matter of the Aryan race."

While agreeing that this new "Deutsche Glaubensbewegung" has only a limited appeal, I should, as one who has studied Comparative Religion under Professor Hauer at Tübingen, like to protest against any implication that he stands for any narrow anti-Semitic racialism. It is precisely these tendencies which he has attempted to resist: only recently he issued a spirited defence of liberalism, and he has always stood for freedom in questions of religious belief. The emphasis in "German Faith Movement" is on *Faith* (as opposed to dogma) not on "German," though it is true that his tolerant attitude towards religious belief includes a certain amount of the "nature-worship" associated with the old Germanic religion.

This aspect of religion is one which the Lutheran Church (in which Professor Hauer was formerly a missionary in India) tends to neglect; and by its insistence on a rather exclusive dogmatism it has perhaps driven him to react more strongly against organized Christianity than might have been the case in this country. Unlike the German Christians, he does not attack the Old Testament, nor does he seek to eradicate "Jewish" elements from the New. In many ways it would not be fanciful to regard his position as a *via media* between Lutheran conservatism and the perverted modernism of the German Christians. At any rate, whatever be the beliefs of some of the German Faith Movement, Professor Hauer must be included among the many Germans who are *not* "orthodox" about the Aryan race.—I am, Sir, &c.,

Exeter College, Oxford. H. P. KINGDON.

CONDITIONS IN VIENNA

[*To the Editor of* THE SPECTATOR.]

SIR,—May I call the attention of your readers to the subject of British relief work in Austria, in connexion with which I have just visited Vienna for the Save the Children Fund? To meet the emergency two main agencies are at work. The Dollfuss-Initzer Fund is doing work of which Mme. Dollfuss showed me an example in the soup kitchen at Semmering, one of the poorest quarters. Here, as at many other places, food and parcels are distributed. A long queue of destitute-looking women were waiting their turn. It was pointed out that the vast majority of the recipients were suffering from distress not in any way caused by the recent disturbances—a fact which confirmed the view that victims of the fighting are often afraid to resort to unsympathetic quarters for help.

This fact illustrated the necessity for the other main agency of relief, that of the Society of Friends, which has received official recognition. It has already ascertained that some seven thousand families require assistance, apart from the unascertained number of those dismissed from their jobs.

I accompanied one of the workers to the homes of recipients in some of the battered blocks of dwellings, the courts of which were crowded that afternoon with visitors surveying the shell-holes and bullet marks, so that this famous municipal enterprise became, in its bombarded condition, something of a popular resort. A typical case in the worker's round of visits was that of a woman with a sick child. The husband, when the firing began, thought that his wife was in another block, went out to find her and was shot dead by a stray bullet.

This, and similar cases, have, up to now, been aided by the Quakers with small sums of money, but it is intended that relief shall in the main be by parcels of food, or orders for food purchase, with financial aid for payment of rents.

The Save the Children Fund, which works for children abroad as well as at home, practises another method which it has used in Vienna ever since the War. It arranges for the "adoption" of an individual child, chosen from among orphans or those in peculiar need, by one of its subscribers, English or other. For £5 or so a child is in this way assisted week by week for a year.

I cannot too strongly emphasize the value of gifts to this fund, which is dividing its resources between the Quaker relief, Mme. Dollfuss's Fund, and its own adoption system.

It would be easy to make a harrowing picture of the conditions of mental misery and economic distress which are the lot of thousands of families. What is not so easy is to dissociate the problem of relief from the whole question of political conditions, of the policy of force pursued by organizations other than the armed forces of the State, and of the underlying responsibility attaching to the policy which reduced Austria to an uneconomic unit. But the real urgency is to deal with the situation as it is. It cannot be denied that, however we apportion praise or blame, a vast number of persons, of whom perhaps the majority are children, are suffering in a manner which has no reference to guilt, and which calls urgently for our sympathy.—I am, Sir, &c.,

40 Gordon Square, W.C. 1. NOEL-BUXTON,
President of the Save the Children Fund.

SWISS NEUTRALITY FOR AUSTRIA

[*To the Editor of* THE SPECTATOR.]

SIR,—The declaration of Dr. Benes in favour of Austrian neutrality guaranteed on the Swiss model compels both Britain and the United States to consider what responsibilities they will accept to help peace in Central Europe. Both the English-speaking Powers desire to avoid European discords and will prefer to act like the Priest and the Levite rather than like the good Samaritan, but Dr. Benes says that the neutrality plan is probably the only way to ensure peace. The problem is to prevent Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Italy or Germany from sending troops across the Austrian frontier.

Britain and the United States could both undertake a sea-boycott as follows: not to allow their merchant ships to visit the aggressor's ports, nor to carry the aggressor's goods, nor any goods to the aggressor, nor to allow the aggressor's ships to load or unload cargo at British or United States ports, nor to allow cargo coming from the aggressor country to be unloaded at any British or U.S.A. ports. That would encourage other guarantors living nearer to the guaranteed frontier to oppose the violation of Austrian neutrality.

Japan has dispelled respect for Geneva so we must fall back on the laws of neutrality set forth in the Hague Convention of 1907.

Neutrals cease to be neutral if they interfere with belligerents, so all neutrals should combine to protect all neutral rights, but should not expose themselves or other neutrals to attack by a belligerent.

No neutral should supply war material to an aggressor, for the Austrians would be rightly aggrieved if people sitting in comfort and protected by the laws of neutrality should

be making profit out of the continuance of hostilities against a fellow neutral and we still all agree that it would be reprehensible and intolerable if Austrians were shot down by British cartridges and guns while Britain was bound by treaty to uphold Austrian neutrality.

—I am, Sir, &c., R. C. HAWKIN.

THE AMERICAN LATCHSTRING

[*To the Editor of* THE SPECTATOR.]

SIR,—The English traveller in the United States seldom hears a pleasanter remark from any friend, new or old, than "The latchstring is out," meaning, of course, that one is welcome at any time. In my article on the "Last of the Longfellows" the word by some mischance became "latchkey," which, besides not making sense, spoils a delightful traditional phrase.—I am, Sir, &c., S. K. RATCLIFFE.

Whiteleaf, Princes Risborough.

THE CASE AGAINST A RODEO

[*To the Editor of* THE SPECTATOR.]

SIR,—The National Sporting Club intend to hold a Rodeo in London during this summer, and the R.S.P.C.A. intend to do their utmost to prevent such an unsporting exhibition from being held. A Bill which, if it is passed, will have this effect has been introduced by Sir Robert Gower, M.P., and it comes up for second reading on April 13th.

When the R.S.P.C.A. protested against the holding of a Rodeo in 1924 the producer accused the Society of being "unsportsmanlike and un-English," and said that the show would appeal to the best sporting instincts of a British crowd. At the second performance a steer had a leg broken. There were shouts of protest, and the audience demanded that the performance should be stopped at once. It was stopped, and that particular part of it—steer roping—was not repeated.

At subsequent performances there were other unfortunate "accidents." In bull dogging (or steer wrestling) two steers had their necks broken (one after it had been thrown several times), horns were broken, steers bled from the nostrils, and so on. R.S.P.C.A. inspectors were not allowed to examine the animals. Eventually the R.S.P.C.A. summoned the promoter of the Rodeo and some of those who took part in it. The case came before a Bench of eleven magistrates and, by a majority of one (six to five), the summonses were dismissed.

Commenting on the result, the *Solicitors' Journal* of July 12th, 1924, said: "This case stands to the credit of the R.S.P.C.A., and on the well-known facts as to the Rodeo Exhibition there is no doubt the summonses would have succeeded had the justices applied the law." Thus, although the law was not applied as it should have been—according to this expert opinion—five out of the eleven magistrates were ready to apply it.

Cruelty was certainly apparent to the spectators. One paper said that the Rodeo sailed as near as it could to a bull-fight without actually being it. Another paper, after describing bull dogging as "a heart-rending stupidity," added: "The same degree of cruelty towards his moke would have landed any coster in London in prison." That was quite true.

The *Sporting Life* said: "It is not sport . . . The lassoing and throwing of domestic animals more or less tame in a comparatively confined space like the Wembley Stadium, big though it is, is comparable with the coursing of rabbits in a field in which all the bolt-holes are stopped—the kind of 'sport' which is forbidden by law in this country."

Such is the exhibition which the National Sporting Club proposes to present in London this summer. Since the policy of the R.S.P.C.A. is to secure fair play for animals, the Society will try, to the utmost limit of its powers, to prevent the holding of a Rodeo anywhere, at any time, by anyone and, with that object in view, appeals for help to the animal-loving public. Copies of the petition in support of Sir Robert Gower's Bill may be had from the R.S.P.C.A., 105 Jermyn Street, London, S.W. 1.—I am, Sir, &c.,

FERGUS MACCUNN,

R.S.P.C.A., 105 Jermyn Street, S.W. 1. Chief Secretary.

Music

Passion Music

THERE was a time when Good Friday in this country was ruled and regulated by Handel's *Messiah*. Except for Stainer's *Crucifixion* (which still enjoys a hole-and-corner existence), no other work was likely to become a rival. Then the Wagner group began to make its claims and *Parsifal* was admitted to the field. Handel was no more the man for this group than Wagner was for the other. But, for the majority the chief item in Good Friday's established ritual is still the singing of *Messiah*, either to take part in it, or, if the voice is not what it was, proudly to follow it with the family vocal score in hand. Their numbers are many. There is no danger that *Parsifal* will usurp *Messiah's* dominion over the English Good Friday. During the interval of a *Parsifal* concert in the Albert Hall, when, according to custom, choralists join their friends in the audience, I once overheard a remark of one of the singers. "I say it's unhealthy music," she declared, and then, by way of corollary, added: "There's nobody like old Handel after all."

There is no need to read any profound meaning into those words. The simple expression was doubtless intended to convey a simple meaning, as who should say: "*Parsifal* is unhealthy because it is not the kind of music which normally appeals to normal English folk." And the afterthought can be interpreted: "Whereas Handel's music is." The motive of Wagner's sacred music-drama is the rapture of pain. Even when Gurnemanz points to nature's reawakening as a sign of the world's gratitude for redemption, the thought is turned to increase the Knights' burden of sorrow. Yet, for all its preoccupation with pain, Wagner's last work does not lift us to any plane whereon, perhaps, we could begin to perceive, however dimly, the mystery of suffering. It is not purely spiritual enough for that. The poignancy of the utterance turns to pierce again; and we are made to suffer for suffering's sake. That choralist spoke well: there is no health in this music.

The B.B.C.'s choice of Bach's *St. John Passion* instead of *Parsifal* this year was an admission that another group had become articulate. Perhaps the hint was taken from the Promenade Concerts where Bach's following is at least equal in strength and calculated zeal to Wagner's. Moreover, Bach's Passions give us the best of two worlds, the theological world which Handel, admittedly, fills with sublime eloquence, and the psycho-analytical world which Wagner invested with something like luxury. In Bach's arias the sinner does not luxuriate, but he does know the deadliness of human sin and hopes for regeneration *durch Mitleid wissend;* and the chorales in the *St. John Passion* lead from this consciousness (as in No. 7, "O mighty love") by way of a personal adoration (No. 27, for example, "O King of Glory") to the exultant faith of the final hymn.

The first lines quoted above are taken from Sir Ivor Atkins' edition, for which Dr. T. A. Lacey provided new translations. But last week either the B.B.C. or Sir Henry Wood decided to use Troutbeck's text. It was perhaps a pity to forgo the advantages of the other edition which was successfully put to the test five years ago at the Worcester Meeting of the Three Choirs. The editor's aim was to settle by arbitration the relation between Bach's declamation and the English language. His solution was serviceable in that it gave offence neither to musicians nor to theologians. In addition it conferred a benefit by restoring the phrasing indicated in the Bach-Gesellschaft full score.

The work is so beautiful in its depth of expression that every care should be taken to make clear its original conception. Not that it is easy for an audience sitting in a present-day concert-hall invaded by radio appliances, to recapture the austere devotion of a Lutheran congregation in St. Thomas's, Leipzig, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. But the direct simplicity of the music can be conveyed, and this was the virtue of Sir Henry Wood's performance, in spite of the swollen numbers of his forces, and thanks to the spirit of the Philharmonic Choir and especially to Mr. Eric Greene, the narrator. BASIL MAINE.

Current Literature

THE HUMANE ART

Horace Walpole. By R. W. KETTON-CREMER. *Duckworth.* 16*s.*

If at this moment there is little chance of re-reading the sixteen volumes of the Paget Toynbee edition of Walpole's letters, while the prospect of possessing the magnificent Yale edition where all the letters are to be printed with all the answers, becomes remote, this sound and sober biography of Horace Walpole by Mr. Ketton-Cremer may serve at least to inspire some random thoughts about Walpole and the humane art which owes its origin to the love of friends.

But, according to his latest biographer, Horace Walpole's letters were inspired not by the love of friends but by the love of posterity. He had meant to write the history of his own times. After twenty pages he gave it up, and decided to write another kind of history—a history ostensibly inspired by friends but in fact written for posterity. Thus Mann stood for politics; Gray for literature; Montagu and Lady Ossory for society. They were pegs, not friends, each chosen because he was "particularly connected . . . with one of the subjects about which he wished to enlighten and inform posterity." But if we believe that Horace Walpole was a historian in disguise, we are denying his peculiar genius as a letter writer. The letter writer is no surreptitious historian. He is a man of short range sensibility; he speaks not to the public at large but to the individual in private. All good letter writers feel the drag of the face on the other side of the page and obey it—they take as much as they give. And Horace Walpole was no exception. There is the correspondence with Cole to prove it. We can see, in Mr. Lewis's edition, how the Tory parson develops the radical and the free-thinker in Walpole, how the middle-class professional man brings to the surface the aristocrat and the amateur. If Cole had been nothing but a peg there would have been none of this echo, none of this mingling of voices. It is true that Walpole had an attitude and a style, and that his letters have a fine hard glaze upon them that preserves them, like the teeth of which he was so proud, from the little dents and rubs of familiarity. And of course—did he not insist that his letters must be kept?—he sometimes looked over his page at the distant horizon, as Madame de Sévigné, whom he worshipped, did too, and imagined other people in times to come reading him. But that he allowed the featureless face of posterity to stand between him and the very voice and dress of his friends, how they looked and how they thought, the letters themselves with their perpetual variety deny. Open them at random. He is writing about politics—about Wilkes and Chatham and the signs of coming revolution in France; but also about a snuff box; and a red riband; and about two very small black dogs. Voices upon the stairs interrupt him; more sightseers have come to see Caligula with his silver eyes; a spark from the fire has burnt the page he was writing; he cannot keep the pompous style any longer, nor mend a careless phrase, and so, flexible as an eel, he winds from high politics to living faces and the past and its memories—"I tell you we should get together, and comfort ourselves with the brave days that we have known. . . . I wished for you; the same scenes strike us both, and the same kind of visions has amused us both ever since we were born." It is not thus that a man writes when his correspondent is a peg and he is thinking of posterity.

Nor again was he thinking of the great public, which, in a very few years, would have paid him handsomely for the brilliant pages that he lavished upon his friends. Was it, then, the growth of writing as a paid profession, and the change which that change of focus brought with it that led, in the nineteenth century, to the decline of this humane art? Friendship flourished, nor was there any lack of gift. Who could have described a party more brilliantly than Macaulay or a landscape more exquisitely than Tennyson? But there, looking them full in the face was the present moment—the great gluttonous public; and how can a writer turn at will from that impersonal stare to the little circle in the fire-lit room? Macaulay, writing to his sister, can no more drop his public manner than an actress can scrub her cheeks clean of paint and take her place naturally at the tea table. And Tennyson with his fear of publicity—"While I live the owls, when I die the ghouls"—left nothing more succulent for the ghoul to feed upon than a handful of dry little notes that anybody could read, or print or put under glass in a museum. News and gossip, the sticks and straws out of which the old letter writer made his nest have been snatched away. The wireless and the telephone have intervened. The letter writer has nothing now to build with except what is most private; and how monotonous after a page or two the intensity of the very private becomes! We long that Keats even should cease to talk about Fanny, and that Elizabeth and Robert Browning should slam the door of the sick room and take a breath of fresh air in an omnibus. Instead of letters posterity will have confessions, diaries, notebooks, like M. Gide's—hybrid books in which the writer talks in the dark to himself about himself for a generation yet to be born.

Horace Walpole suffered none of these drawbacks. If he was the greatest of English letter writers it was not only thanks to his gifts but to his immense good fortune. He had his places to begin with—an income of £2,500 dropped yearly into his mouth from Collectorships and Usherships and was swallowed without a pang. ". . . nor can I think myself," he wrote serenely, "as a placeman a more useless or a less legal engrosser of part of the wealth of the nation than deans and prebendaries"—indeed the money was well invested. But besides those places, there was the other—his place in the very centre of the audience, facing the stage. There he could sit and see without being seen; contemplate without being called upon to act. Above all he was blessed in his little public—a circle that surrounded him with that warm climate in which he could live the life of incessant changes which is the breath of a letter writer's existence. Besides the wit and the anecdote and the brilliant descriptions of masquerades and midnight revelries his friends drew from him something superficial yet profound, something changing yet entire—himself shall we call it in default of one word for that which friends elicit but the great public kills? From that sprang his immortality. For a self that goes on changing is a self that goes on living. As a historian he would have stagnated among historians. But as a letter writer he buffets his way among the crowd, holding out a hand to each generation in turn—laughed at, criticised, despised, admired, but always in touch with the living. When Macaulay met him in October, 1833, he struck that hand away in a burst of righteous indignation. "His mind was a bundle of inconstant whims and affectations. His features were covered by mask within mask." His letters, like *pâté de foie gras*, owed their excellence "to the diseases of the wretched animal which furnishes it"—such was Macaulay's greeting. And what greater boon can any writer ask than to be trounced by Lord Macaulay? We take the reputation he has gored, repair it and give it another spin and another direction—another lease of life. Opinion, as Mr. Ketton-Cremer says, is always changing about Walpole. "The

from themselves, it is of little use making plans for stiffening the troops by an admixture of veterans.

The men of the International Brigades have declared many times that they cannot see in this war the aims for which we fought in Spain; we oppose this war as a method of making profits from the people. We shall continue to oppose this war, whatever the composition of the Government, while the class at present in power remains there.

International Brigade Association, 115 Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C.2. ALAN W. GILCHRIST, Secretary for the British Battalion

[Several of our correspondent's points are sound, but so were similar criticisms of the Popular Front Government in Spain—not to mention Chiang Kai-Shek's Government in China. The answer for us, and we suggest for Mr. Gilchrist, is that we must use the present opportunity, now that Labour is in the Churchill Government, to effect the social changes which must be made during the war.—ED., *N.S. & N.*]

THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

SIR,—Many observers must have noticed how the rank and file of the Conservative Party now look to the Socialist and Progressive members of the Cabinet to extricate the country from the result of years of Tory mismanagement.

There is now in Britain a willingness, almost an anxiety, to accept Socialist policy in all fields of action, both at home and abroad, and a desire for practical Socialism in the questions of production and national wealth.

May I use your columns to point out to those leaders of Progressive thought that by using this feeling when harnessing our strength for this war on Nazidom and Fascism, they will be laying the foundations on which a just peace in a Socialist Europe can be erected.

Victory and Socialism can be synonymous.

G. B. CROMPTON

"NATIONAL SOCIALISM"

SIR,—Is it not a misnomer to describe as national "socialism" the morbid, savage and aggressive "nationalism" or "racialism" which, under stress of past national humiliation and sense of injustice (rightly or wrongly felt), has for the time being infected the German people? Socialism, I believe, is as incidental to "Hitlerism" as it is to the policy of our own Prime Minister, who last week took powers to establish in this country a complete socialist state. A nation at bay cannot to-day afford the expensive luxury of private muddle and drift. Some of us still hope that, when the devil now raging in Europe has been expelled, socialism, or public control of economic power, will come to stay, and bring with it the solid foundation of a new world order.

BARBARA DRAKE

15 Sheffield Terrace, W.8.

REFUGEES

SIR,—In spite of vigorous action by the Government, we are aware that propaganda directed against aliens, and particularly against refugees, persists and even increases.

All must support the Government in its action designed to preserve the country from spies or traitors. But this propaganda causes needless suffering to people who have already been through terrible hardships.

The vast majority of refugees, being themselves the victims of the Nazi tyranny, are as hostile to this regime as we are ourselves.

We appeal on their behalf to all citizens of good will to check this cruel and ill-informed propaganda, while supporting the action taken for the national safety by the responsible persons.

33 Upper Richmond Rd., S.W.15.
WILLIAM EBOR, Archbishop of York
LYTTON
M. I. CORBETT-ASHBY
RICHARD ACLAND
A. D. LINDSAY
F. G. KENYON
JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD, P.C., M.P., D.S.O.
J. HOPE-SIMPSON

SIR,—I hope you will make some comment on Sir Neville Bland's anti-Fifth Column talk, given in the 6.0 o'clock news last Thursday, and quoted in the 9.0 o'clock news the same evening. Refusing to recognise, what even the Chamberlain Government recognised, namely the existence of *bona fide* refugees, and saying nothing of the activity of non-refugees and Dutch nationals in the conquest of Holland, he advised us to suspect anyone of German or Austrian connections. Such an exhortation must appal most of your readers in view of the suffering it is likely to cause to their innocent German or Austrian friends. But this is not the worst. Sir Neville's words are calculated to stimulate just that spy mania and panic atmosphere which more responsible speakers have been at pains to check. Why did the Ministry of Information allow such a talk to be given?

DUNCAN TAYLOR

"ArClar Guest House,"
Mount Ambrose, Redruth.

FRENCHMEN IN ENGLAND

SIR,—May I ask the hospitality of your columns to express the deepest regret that the National Defence Regulations now coming into force make no distinction between the French, twice-proved allies in our generation, and non-belligerents, neutrals or very recent allies?

They seem to order these things better in France. Quite recently, in a French broadcast relating to restrictions on aliens in military areas, it was stated that, even within such areas, the British were to have the same status as the French.

But for the purposes of our regulations French men and women, most of whom have relatives fighting in the Allied forces, are simply classed as "aliens" and, without a word of apology or regret (broadcast or otherwise) subjected to the same restrictions as any other non-enemy foreigners.

Everyone realises, of course, that amongst those holding French passports there may be some suspicious characters and that therefore the *bona fides* of French nationals need to be carefully examined—the French would be the first to recognise this themselves—but surely they should have been placed in a special category, assured that their cases would be quickly examined and that, where there was no cause for suspicion, the fullest exemption would be given.

K. T. BUTLER

Girton College,
Cambridge.

A DAY OF PRAYER

SIR,—I am sure all your readers thoroughly enjoyed, as much as you so evidently did yourself, the witty remark you report of the taxi-driver, who, on hearing of the Belgian surrender, observed that that was what came of a day of national prayer.

Curiously enough, another event that has followed that day of prayer has been the successful evacuation of the bulk of the Allied forces from Flanders, though, after the 9 o'clock broadcast on May 29th, some of us at least had almost lost hope.

Naturally I should not venture to suggest to you for even one moment that there is anything here but the most complete and utterly unrelated coincidence. I can hear the delighted chuckle of all your sophisticated readers at the mere idea of there being the remotest connection between our prayers and the safety of our men. A quaint and not uninteresting survival of superstition, your readers will smilingly say, even though prayer and rescue do stand to each other in a certain time relationship.

23 Nimrod Road, Streatham Park, London, S.W.16 E. R. PUNSHON

[Reference is made to this letter in the London Diary this week.—ED., *N.S. & N.*]

EVACUATION

SIR,—Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, far from having "misread the mood of the public," has read it with great accuracy.

As a social worker engaged on this problem in the L.C.C. area I am struck, and surprised, by the very definite and increasing feeling against evacuation. In September, 1938, there was an excellent response amounting in my area to about 90 per cent. In September, 1939, the numbers had much decreased, though they were still considerable. To-day the official figure of those registered is 11 per cent. of those eligible.

Schools have been kept open for registration at the week-ends with the most meagre results. At the school at which I was a registrar one woman presented herself during the whole of Saturday and Sunday, and I believe this was typical. Rightly or wrongly, working-class opinion is against evacuation.

G. R. EVANS

58 West End Lane, N.W.6.

[This letter suggests the need of an immediate campaign by local leaders to explain the facts to that part of the public which still does not realise the imminence of the danger.—ED., *N.S. & N.*]

THE GREAT C

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By **PHILIP GU**

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REFUGEES FROM CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—The British Committee for Refugees from Czecho-Slovakia has received a most generous response from the people of Britain to their appeals for hospitality for Czech refugees.

We are endeavouring to keep as few as possible in London, but there are certain people who must be here in order to help arrange for their fellow refugees, and we are now finding difficulty in obtaining free hospitality for these people.

If any of your readers are willing to offer temporary homes for a month or longer, either to men or married couples, within the area covered by the London Postal districts, we shall be very glad to hear from them. The men most in need of help were originally refugees from Germany or Austria, who had made Czecho-Slovakia their second home, but who are now forced to flee to this country. Most of them are professional people, the remainder being skilled industrial workers.

Any offers of homes for them will be gratefully received by us at the address given below.

Yours faithfully,

M. E. SETON-WATSON, Chairman of the Hospitality Sub-Committee.

The British Committee for Refugees from Czecho-Slovakia, 5, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.

Manchester Guardian
7 MAR 1934

RELIEVING DISTRESS IN AUSTRIA

"Adoption" Scheme to Help the Children

(From our London Staff.)

FLEET STREET, MONDAY.

Lord Noel-Buxton, who returned last week with Mr. Ben Riley from a visit to Vienna on behalf of the Save the Children Fund, was to have spoken to-day at a luncheon given by the fund, but could not attend as he is suffering from whooping cough, having caught the infection from his children.

The Chairman, Mr. H. D. Watson, read Lord Noel-Buxton's message to the guests, in which he said that the distress to be relieved in Austria was terrible. For years there had been unemployment, and recent events on top of that situation had produced intense suffering. The means of life had been removed from thousands of families hitherto self-supporting—those whose breadwinners had been killed or had disappeared or been imprisoned, and those who had worked for trade unions and political bodies now dissolved. "Ever since the days of its greatest work," Lord Noel-Buxton said, "the Save the Children Fund has maintained one special method of child-saving—the method of adoption. If we can send sufficient funds for a great extension of adoptions we shall have done much to save the situation."

Miss Mosa Anderson, who went to Austria on behalf of the fund a month ago and visited several towns that had been involved in the fighting, said she had been horrified to find much greater distress than she had expected. The fund's adoption scheme was excellent for the present need. The idea was that someone should take an interest in a special child, give £5 towards its relief, and continue to be interested in its welfare.

Distressed Families

Mr. Ben Riley said that the Save the Children Fund was non-political, but it was necessary to understand clearly the circumstances under which the situation had arisen. It had been brought about by the clash between the defenders of constitutional democracy in Austria and the forces of Fascism. "There was brutality at the beginning," he said, "but, as far as one can judge, it was confined to the first week, and then seems to have been discontinued. Apparently there is nothing in Austria like the brutality and violence that characterises the Nazi rule in Germany. For that first week the Heimwehr were in control, and then the official police took charge."

The Society of Friends, which is administering relief in Austria, made a fairly comprehensive register of distressed cases up to March 11. Taking the whole of Austria into consideration, it had a list of 7,567 families who were victims, and 2,527 of them were in Vienna. People might wonder how such an enormous amount of distress had risen out of events in which 300 people were killed on the Social Democrat side and possibly 1,000 were wounded, but the policy in Austria had been to suppress and arrest anybody who had any kind of official association with a great number of Social Democrat public and social institutions, for which Austria was famous.

No Prospect of Work

Out of the seventy-three Social Democrat deputies probably not more than half a dozen had been concerned in the fighting, but with the exception of the few who escaped from Austria they had all been arrested. Social Democrat councillors and council officials had also been arrested, and people associated with them. The decent, intelligent, working-class people of Vienna had built up the social life of the community in an astounding way. Their welfare organisations of all kinds, their swimming clubs and football clubs connected with Social Democrat institutions—everything had been swept away, and the people working them thrown on the scrap-heap or put into prison.

Sir Philip Gibbs, speaking of the enormous amount of distress in Vienna, said he had talked with young men, Social Democrats, who said they had been dismissed from their posts and that they would never again get work in Vienna or Austria. They had no idea how their families would keep alive when the help they were getting from their friends came to an end. He thought the best way to help these people was to bring pressure to bear on Dr. Dollfuss and his Ministry, urging them to adopt a policy of clemency.

MANCHESTER THEATRES AND FILMS

The Irish Players

"PAUL TWYNING" AT THE OPERA HOUSE

"Paul Twyning" is no doubt a good, engaging sort of a rogue, and one has to leave the Opera House glad to have met him and grateful to Mr. George Shiels, the author of the play, for putting him on the stage. How it could ever fall out that an itinerant plasterer could make and wreck two weddings and remake the one and add a third all within five days would puzzle most of those who have not seen Mr. Arthur Sinclair in the part, breathing out beautiful and powerful words, crossing, double-crossing, and treble-crossing and yet preserving all the blandness which one has seen elsewhere in the innocent Mr. Sydney Howard. Mr. Shiels has burlesqued his pleasant human beings more than a bit to make this all possible and comic, but still his play is reasonably enough like life to be funny in character and situation. Mr. Granville Darling, the substantial farmer, seemed a bit inclined to too much sound and fury, but had a fierce part to sustain, that of the old man narrowly escaping the adventuress.

Miss Maire O'Neill made the best out of the adventuress, showing much virtuosity, but it seemed that a great deal of one's pleasure came from subsidiary parts, from Miss Cathleen Drago as the publican's wife, a wonderfully complete caricature of country craft, from Mr. George Dillon as the publican, a shiftless, noisy creature, from Mr. Fred O'Donovan as the wretched younger son and slave of the strong farmer, from Miss Joyce Chancellor, who was extremely apt and graceful as his girl, both in speech and in carriage, and from Mr. Tom Warden, who represented her father, the sort of Irishman so litigious "he would send a writ to a rabbit for trespass." How the story goes it is impossible to relate. Suffice it to say that the magnificent plasterer departs from the scene leaving the delightful impression that every single person in it is now satisfied and, for the moment, at peace.

D. F. B.

THE REPERTORY THEATRE

"Cæsar's Friend," at the Repertory Theatre, is a straightforward play built round the betrayal, trial, and crucifixion of Christ. Its authors, Campbell Dixon and Dermot Morrah, have taken these tremendous events and used them, without preoccupation of any kind, as raw material with obvious possibilities for drama. They are neither pedantic nor illiterate. They have all but avoided sentimentality. Their treatment is objective and just alike to Romans, Jews, and Galilean. Though obviously its effectiveness, as a play, gains much from the significance which an audience reads into it, that particular reaction is not essential to its success. "Cæsar's Friend" can stand by itself as a piece with dramatic qualities that are unusual and a dignity which will avoid the giving of offence to any. A play with so great a theme which avoids the ills commonly attendant upon the presentation of religious subjects on the stage is a play to be marked, and above all, in the Repertory Theatre's beautiful production, a play to be seen.

Perhaps the most striking virtue of these two dramatists is their ability to "spring your imagination in a word." Sometimes it is literally one word only, as, for instance, at the very beginning of the play, when Judas is discovered bargaining with Caiaphas, and for some moments the only word spoken is the former's insistent "Thirty!" Sometimes it is a few short sentences, as those spoken by Pilate and Ballus at the end of the play in which they describe the thing that has been done on Calvary. The character of Pilate is something of a triumph too. He is drawn a true decadent, one who substitutes thought for action, a man full of doubts and self-pity, who has gone beyond the analysing of sensation indulged in by his Emperor Tiberius, the analysit himself, and his behaviour pitilessly and without hope. The contrast between Pilate, the tired, sensitive civil servant, and Balbus, secure in the insolence of his militarist caste, and between Pilate, the unready, and the Jewish leaders, subtle and determined, and between

PICTURE THEATRES

International Press-Cutting Bureau,
110, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Extract from
Daily Malta Chronicle

23 FEB 1934

AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT TO ASSIST REBELS' DEPENDANTS.

"THE UTMOST CLEMENCY"

London, February 22.

Lord Noel Buxton, who telegraphed to Dr. Dolfuss, urging measures of relief for innocent child victims of all parties in Vienna, has received the following message, signed by the Austrian Chancellor: "The Government is determined to show the utmost clemency. The future of the wives and children of the victims of the executive forces is assured by himself personally. The Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna and Madame Dolfuss have founded and started a vast relief work for the wives and children of all victims without exception".

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TELEPHONE : VALLET

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them to sign on at Labour Exchanges. This is at the expense of our own British unemployed, who are genuinely in distress. A side line is the sale of insurance stamps by aliens. With twenty stamps on a card, they can apply for unemployment assistance benefit, and with thirty stamps are eligible for standard benefit. When this is exhausted they automatically go on to the U.A.B. A matchbox full of stamps can be bought for half-a-crown in many districts."

Later pages, however, of the *Sunday Pictorial* make it clear that it is the well-to-do Jew here who is distressed at the idea that it is he who should be called on to maintain the refugee, not the British taxpayer or the man with charitable views. There is no doubt that the feeling is growing in the country that the Jews themselves can and should look after this refugee problem.

Economies of Refugee Problem.

Mrs. Charles Roden Buxton has written a pamphlet in which she argues the economic case in favour of a large-scale immigration to this country of German and Austrian Jews. The pamphlet is commended by Sir Norman Angell. In support of this proposal the statement by Sir Samuel Hoare, in the House of Commons on 21 November, 1938, is quoted:—

"While recently we had settled 11,000 German refugees in the country, 15,000 British workmen had been given employment as a direct result."

Mr. Tom Johnston, M.P., in *Forward*, in a criticism of the pamphlet, says of the Home Secretary's statement:—

"Now, if that statement can be substantiated, Mrs. Buxton's battle is won. Could she not induce Sir Samuel Hoare to produce facts and figures in its justification? If our unemployment figures are actually reduced by permitting German or Austrian workmen to be settled in occupations here, then for any sake let's have the evidence—and at once."

Mr. Johnston doubts this claim, and he objects to the refugees "subsisting upon the general taxpayer." He also raises the question of housing accommodation.

"Where are the new-comers to live? We are so short of houses in most parts of industrial Scotland that young couples cannot get married. Where, then, are the refugees to be housed?"

He also questions the possibility of finding employment for them "without some hardship to existing unemployed citizens," and he ends his criticism by saying:

"Let's have the detailed proof about the 15,000 new jobs created by the 11,000 immigrants."

Jews and the German Boycott.

Jews in the furniture trade in London are giving a very good example of the adequate cause that our own people have in their objection to this inflow of refugees. An association connected with the furniture trade has as a committee not one who has an English name, and on its letter heading it is stated that it is "affiliated to the Jewish Representative Council for the Boycott of German Goods and Services." In a letter which the secretary of this association has sent out, dated 28 December, 1938, the addressee is asked to obtain a guarantee from his "suppliers that all their products are absolutely free of any German ingredients," and the following is typed in red at the head of the letter:—

"By your acceptance of this order there is implied between us your express warranty that all goods supplied to us are neither manufactured in Germany or Austria nor produced elsewhere with German or Austrian materials."

There is here a dictation as to the direction of trade to which we are entitled to take the strongest objection. Aliens admitted here cannot be allowed to work for the embitterment of relations between the nations.

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sacred" in Germany ... , and a typical exam-
ple was in a letter to *The Times* of the 13th inst., from the Secretary of the Actors' Refugee Committee, which read as follows:—

Our attention has been drawn to the plight of seven German actors in Czecho-Slovakia who are in imminent danger of being extradited to Germany, where the concentration camp and probable death await them. Two are Jews, and all are German nationals.

A committee has been formed among members of the theatrical profession to guarantee the maintenance of these people, so that they may be granted visas to enter England until they can complete further emigration arrangements.

We should be very grateful if you could see your way to putting the matter before your readers, as they have been given only until January 21 to leave Czecho-Slovakia.

The following have already expressed their readiness to serve on the committee:—Godfrey Tearle, Felix Aylmer, Lewis Casson, Franklin Dyall, Gordon Harker, Leon M. Lion, Mary Merrall, Dame Sybil Thorndike, and Dame May Whitty.

There is something queer about such an appeal, as there seems no reason why death should await Germans who are being sent from Czecho-Slovakia to their native country. But when we remember that an artist like Mr. Gillie Potter never received one single engagement in an English theatre or music-hall in 1938 we can only marvel the more at it being considered necessary to bring more alien actors into this country. There can be little doubt that refugees are creating imaginary persecutions.

The Refugees.

The *Sunday Pictorial* is a paper notorious for the way it pushes everything Jewish to the front, and at first sight the following from its issue of 15 January seems significant:—

"European refugees are stealing jobs from Britons by the hundred every week. Many aliens are employed at £3 a week. Of this, the employer pays about thirty shillings, an office boy's wages. The balance comes from Woburn House, headquarters of one of the refugee funds, to which the average Englishman was a large and sympathetic contributor. . . . A long line of prosperous-looking refugees, queueing up to a Union Jack-draped table to receive money from the refugee funds to which Britons have so lavishly subscribed. In the foreground, hungry, taut and careworn, is the unemployed Briton with his harassed wife and unhappy children, looking enviously on. It is a true picture. . . . Hundreds of aliens are entering the country illicitly. . . . They will, if necessary, work for their bare keep until a year elapses, when they can acquire British citizenship through any of the numerous organisations. . . . Dock districts of every large port are packed with foreigners trying to earn enough employment stamps to qualify them for the dole and afterwards unemployment benefit. Those qualified for unemployment benefit work and still draw benefit. They accept a low wage on condition that they can have 'time off' twice a week to enable

residents to guard against this would involve elaborate and expensive precautionary measures out of all proportion to the risk of a direct hit, which is obviously infinitesimal.

FORWARD

German Prisoners

In a letter to the London "Times," Lord Noel-Buxton urges the Government to fix a date when the great majority of German prisoners still in this country can expect to return home.

He writes:—

"It is to be feared that the delay in repatriation is counteracting the admirable efforts made in the British Zone towards encouraging a 'good neighbour' spirit in the Germany of the future. Men who would have gone home keen to work in that direction are coming to doubt our humanity and to despise our claim to Christianity. They hear of relations and friends in grave distress, but may neither go home to them nor send them gifts from their own rations or earnings."

For over a year now German prisoners have been working on housing sites and on the land wondering when the time is coming for them to go home. How long can this continue?

Most of the prisoners have made up their minds that work under the Government schemes is infinitely preferable to being kept inactive behind barbed wire and have proved themselves good workers and responsive to decent treatment.

For a long time many of them received no letters from their relatives, who did not know whether they were alive or dead, while the prisoners were left in ignorance of what had happened to their families and homes.

Under the Geneva Convention prisoners of war are supposed to be returned within a year after the signing of peace, but as no peace has been signed, and as yet there is no German Government that can sign, many of the prisoners believe that they are to be kept in this country indefinitely—a slave labour army kept in prison camps separated forever from their homes and their wives and children.

This is one of the problems inevitable after a war which has caused such an upheaval in Europe but, as Lord Noel-Buxton points out, these Germans, many of them quite young, will be the citizens of the Germany of to-morrow and their attitude towards Britain will depend on the impressions they take away with them.

Ought everything not be done to speed up their return, and where this is impracticable to explain to them why this is so and when they can expect release?

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As indicated in the official statement published in last week's "Forward" the Scottish Nationalists decided not to contest the seat but it is now reported that "a fund is in process of being raised by Scottish Nationalist enthusiasts."

Six candidates have now been mentioned as likely to go to the poll.

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OF THE TIMES

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THE TIMES

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The Times

Printing House Square, E.C.4.

Cutting from issue dated.....14 APR 1938.....

IN AID OF THE PERSECUTED

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—Recent events in Austria have brought once more before the eyes of the world the plight of those who, for racial, religious, or political reasons, are unacceptable to the philosophy of the National-Socialist movement. What such "unacceptability" means in terms of human misery only those who have been in close and constant touch with the sufferers from the "racial" laws can know. The sudden extension to Austria of these laws and practices adds many thousands to the heavy toll of those whose plight calls for succour on the grounds of common humanity. To those who hear the accounts, which daily reach this country from reliable sources, of the condition of these people—of the sequestration of private property, of public humiliation, of dismissals, and arrests—it is abundantly clear that help from outside sources is urgent in the extreme.

This throws a grave responsibility on those overburdened organizations which were providing, and must continue to provide, help for those suffering from similar conditions in Germany itself. In face of this emergency, the non-political British bodies which we represent have resolved on the closest coordination to avoid any duplication of effort. Most of these organizations have had long practical experience of the complicated problems which arise in bringing help to the "outcasts" in Germany. The many persons who, moved by the distress in Austria, feel that "something must be done" to help, will therefore be glad to know that the machinery for giving such assistance already exists and touches every type of sufferer that can be reached.

Funds are required with desperate urgency to enable our organizations to give immediate relief and eventually to extend to Austria schemes for controlled emigration, education, retraining, and other forms of constructive assistance which experience has shown to be effective.

We beg for practical support in the faith that once again our countrymen will show that, whatever their political creed or their views on recent history, they are not indifferent to the plight of those who are oppressed.

Contributions to the funds of any of the organizations which we represent should be addressed to the societies individually at: The Westminster Bank, Tavistock Square Branch, Upper Woburn Place, London, W.C.1.

May we add the assurance that those participating in this appeal will take every opportunity of sharing in any international effort that may follow from the welcome initiative taken by President Roosevelt and Mr. Cordell Hull? But the American proposal implies that the burden of detailed assistance will fall, as it has fallen hitherto, on the private organizations. We hope therefore that the response to our appeal will enable us to discharge the moral obligation that rests upon us.

Yours truly,

Frederic G. Kenyon (Society for the Protection of Science and Learning), Sempill (Catholic Committee for Refugees from Germany), Reading (Council for German Jewry), George B. Jeffery (Germany Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends), Hilda Clark (Austria Committee of the Society of Friends), Ernest Barker (English Committee, International Student Service), Yvonne de Rothschild (Women's Appeal Committee for German-Jewish Women and Children), George Cicestr: (Church of England Committee for "Non-Aryan" Christians), Noel-Buxton (Inter-Aid Committee for Children from Germany (Save the Children Fund)).

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1,800 revolutio[illegible] as for the aero-engines, but engines of this kind are not expected to run continuously at the maximum power of which they are capable. The normal maximum revolutions at which these engines can run for short periods of time is 2,500, but engines were run satisfactorily at 2,600 revolutions a minute during some of the measured mile runs.

The engines were, of course, tuned, this being the normal procedure with engines of this type when it is desired to ascertain the best performance of which they are capable.

Brief reference must be made to the statement that an alleged incident at the works of another firm was reported to the Admiralty by the police, and that the person concerned was interviewed at the Admiralty. Full inquiry has been made both in the Admiralty and from Portsmouth. There is no trace of any communication having been made to the Admiralty or to the local naval authorities either by the police or by the firm in question.

It has been asked why the latest order, placed near the end of the financial year 1937, could not have been divided among several firms. It is clear from what has been stated above that, apart from the desirability of having flotillas homogeneously constituted, no other boat has as yet passed out of the experimental stage. While it is only fair that the original designer of this type of boat should have received initial orders proportionate to his enterprise and to the success of the design, it can be categorically stated that it is the intention of the Admiralty to invite competitive tenders for motor torpedo boats the moment they feel they are in a position to do so.

The Admiralty have followed their general practice, and have throughout maintained the position that the British Power Boat Company could not be allowed to consider themselves immune from competition. At the same time, this opportunity must be taken of stating that the Admiralty, which must be largely dependent on the initiative, resource, and inventive capacity of private firms, are highly appreciative of these qualities as displayed by the British Power Boat Company; and are gratified that a new company, which can supply essential Service requirements, has thus been started in this country.

In conclusion, I should like to express my gratitude to the hon. and gallant member for Nuneaton for having brought to the notice of the House rumours which were both pre[illegible]ent and mischievous, and for having given me this opportunity of stating the facts. (Cheers.)

LABOUR AND A JUDICIAL INQUIRY

RIGHT OF FUTURE ACTION

Mr. ALEXANDER.—While we are obliged to the First Lord of the Admiralty for the [illegible]ment he ha[illegible] particularly for the

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THOUGHTS of a SICK DEVIL

by Reginald Reynolds

denly and without warning comes the First Night. Do we know our parts? And if we know the lines, can we act the roles assigned to us? It is very late in the day to talk of such things, but that is how it is with us—we are still unprepared.

Or perhaps I should speak for myself alone and say: "I am unprepared." I have known it for some little time of myself, but I feel that it is true of many others. So, when I came to the hospital where I now write I had in my pocket, very fortunately, the Journal of John Woolman.

Today I know from the reading of that journal some of the things that we need to ask ourselves; because Woolman, although he lived 200 years ago, was a very fine example for the pacifist in the modern world. He could speak hard truth with great gentleness, believed always in conversion by love and reason, and combined the greatest integrity in his own life with unbounded charity towards those who did not share that integrity.

Questions to face

THE Society of Friends has a list of "Queries" designed to provoke searching self-criticism among its members. I have formulated twelve queries for pacifists; but instead of asking what "you" do, like the original Quaker queries, these first questions of mine all ask what "I" do.

They are not intended to be shouted at other people from a public platform. They are questions which, I think, almost all of us could put to ourselves with some advantage . . .

1. Is my pacifism always the expression of a loving spirit, or does it sometimes degenerate into a mere code of outward behaviour upon specified occasions?
2. Does it find place in my dealings with less likeable neighbours and associates? Do I practise with them the same trust, forbearance and charity that will be necessary among men and nations if my ideals are to be realized?
3. Is there anything in my daily behaviour which would make anyone feel any increased confidence in the faith which I profess?
4. Are there not, on the other hand, many things which I say and do, which turn others away from my beliefs, because they do not see the fruits of that spirit in whose power I claim to live?
5. If I claim to forgive my enemies, could it be said that I do not always extend such magnanimity to my friends?
6. Does my charity reach out towards the "enemy" who oppresses me in my own country as readily as it does towards the foreign "enemy" against whom he would have me fight?
7. Is my object in passive resistance the mere obstruction of evil, or the conversion of those whose objects or methods I regard as misguided?
8. Am I quite so sure in either case that I am not sometimes something of a prig?
9. Have I been content to speak the truth about **things**? Could I have expressed it with more fairness to **persons** and to their motives? Have I given "the benefit of the doubt" to those whose motives could, just conceivably, have been honourable?
10. Have I fully considered that most motives of conduct are mixed, that all judgment of motives is a matter of mere probability, and that no man has a right to judge more than the **actions** of his fellows?
11. If I profess the second mile of charity, am I sure that I have yet achieved the first mile of doing bare justice? Do I get off other people's backs before offering to teach them how to walk?
12. Do I measure my pacifism merely by the things I will **not** do, or more by what I am willing to undertake?

I owe most of these thoughts to John Woolman, but Query No. 11 derives from reading Tolstoy. If you are interested and the Editor allows it, there is a great deal more to be said.

* * *

Afterthought: Apropos of Query 6, it is very hard to feel nicely about a gentleman I call the Minister of Slave Labour. . . . One of his men has just written me a silly letter (forwarded to me in hospital today) telling me to be a **hospital porter.** Pacifism, assisted by a sense of humour, has not prevented my blood-pressure from rising. . . . I asked a student here to test it, and find it's gone from 160 to 200.

This pacifism is a very difficult profession. What should one do? I've replied, but told the Exchange Manager that it would be injurious to my health and morals to risk further correspondence, so that future letters from him will be destroyed unread, though I bear him no personal malice.

.N. pamphlet for September

ginald Reynolds is the author of September Peace News pamphlet. led "The Fallow Ground of the " it is based on an address e gave to a recent conference d by the War Resisters' onal with the co-operation of onal Council of the Peace ion.

eported at the time, the atomic bomb was re- occasional deflections of from the programme this pamphlet records flections. There was that the message vailable to a wider

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WORDS OF PEACE

No. 142.

Besides Germany, Prussia, is not evil through and through. Her mood is now evil. But we reap what we have sowed. It is as with a child: if with a sullen evil soul one provokes an evil mood in the child, there is destruction. But no child is all evil. And Germany is the child of Europe: and senile Europe, with her conventions and arbitrary rules of conduct and life and very being, has provoked Germany into a purely destructive mood . . . The good will not be long in coming, all over Europe, if we can but trust it in ourselves.

D. H. Lawrence in 1915.

Buried in Berlin

"Berlin, Sunday.—Graves are to be dug now which men, debilitated by weeks of undernourishment, will not have the strength to dig in a few months' time."—News Chronicle, Sept. 10.

Here with our enemies in a nation's grave
Lie hopes of that world peace we thought to save.
One man's starvation is another's gain.
Am I my brother's keeper? Thus spoke Cain.

PHYLLIS VALLANCE.

PEACE NEWS

No. 483 September 14, 1945 2d.

WRECKING

THE accounts of the effects of the atom-bomb in Japan now being published are truly appalling. Apparently the intense radio-activity set up by the discharge sets in motion a delayed process of physical disintegration of the human body.

Victims who appeared out-

Feed Europe now - without regard to nationality

Drastic action must be taken immediately to feed the hordes of hungry people—millions of them wandering, homeless, in Germany—and they must be succoured according to their need, not according to their nationality.

This is the theme of an appeal sent to the Press at the beginning of this week over the signatures of the following eight well-known people : Dr. SIDNEY M. BERRY (General Secretary, Congregational Union) ; the Rev. HENRY CARTER, CBE ; Dr. GEORGE BELL (Bishop of Chichester) ; VICTOR GOLLANCZ ; Dr. A. D. LINDSAY (the Master of Balliol) ; Prof. GILBERT MURRAY, OM ; Miss ELEANOR RATHBONE, MP ; and Earl RUSSELL.

Their appeal, which we print in full below, concludes with a call to all who are willing for their rations to be cut to make the fact known by sending a postcard to the address which they give.

PRACTICAL GESTURE YOU CAN MAKE

CORRESPONDENTS in Berlin have been sending to their newspapers a description of conditions in that city which must have been read by many with grave disquiet.

Expelled from their homes in the Sudetenland, East Prussia and the whole vast region of Germany taken over by the Poles, sometimes at thirty minutes' notice and without the provision of food or transport, a horde of Germans is struggling daily into Berlin—and being turned away, because there is no food for them. The majority are old men, women and children.

Some of these persons, too weak to wander further, have been seen under the bomb-wrecked roof of the Stettiner railway station, dead or dying.

"One woman," writes the reporter of a leading London newspaper, "emaciated, with dark rings under her eyes and sores breaking out all over her face, could only mutter self-condemnation because she was unable to feed her two whimpering babies. I watched her trying desperately to force milk from her milkless breasts—a pitiful effort that only left her crying at her failure."

The correspondent of another responsible London paper writes that "at a conservative estimate—given me by Dr. Karl Biaer, anti-Nazi, now installed as head of Berlin's Social Welfare Committee — there are 8,000,000 homeless nomads milling about the areas of the provinces around Berlin. If you take in the Sudeten Germans expelled from Czecho-Slovakia and those on the move from elsewhere, the figure of those for whom no food can be provided rises to 13,000,000 at least. This proportion of Germany's population must die before winter if nothing is done."

★

If we call attention to this vast tragedy, it is certainly not because we fail to realize how grievously our allies are suffering, nor because we would wish any preference to be given to ex-enemy nationals. Nothing is more urgent than the speediest relief of Europe as a whole.

"I believe," said Sir Arthur Salter recently in the House of Commons, "that if the lorries that we and the American Army have near the spot where they are required were used quickly, the transport problem of Europe could be solved. I believe that if the reserves of meat and clothing which the Armies have were freed and quickly used, a great deal could be done to meet the other necessities of Europe."

We wholeheartedly endorse this plea. But we are profoundly troubled by even the bare possibility that mass-starvation cannot be prevented without some cut in our own rations, and that the authorities may hesitate to ask us, after six years of war, to make this sacrifice : and also by the fear that, amidst so much misery, the actual death by hunger of German nationals may be disregarded.

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We do not think that the Government need feel such hesitation. It is not in accordance with the traditions of this country to allow children—even the children of ex-enemies—to starve. But we have reason to believe that in any case numbers of our fellow-countrymen would be willing to make some voluntary sacrifice in this cause.

We ask, therefore, all who read this letter, and who share our concern, immediately to send a postcard (not a letter) to "Save Europe Now," 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1, giving their name and address and saying that they will gladly have their rations cut, if thereby alone men, women and children of whatever nationality may be saved from intolerable suffering.

An appeal to Americans

ON Tuesday, "Share the Food Day," Americans will be asked to eat typical menus of English people, Russians, Dutch, French, Chinese and so forth.

They are asked (according to Monday's Daily Express) to lunch off some such delicacy as potato-peel soup, and give the money they save to a fund to provide extra food for the undernourished abroad.

A recent poll of American women showed that 84 per cent. of them were willing to endure continued rationing to send food abroad. Those against it were for some reason nearly all women under 25.

"Save the children" again

"AFTER a day in Berlin, on his way to Moscow, Mr. J. B. Priestley feels that an international children's charter, on the lines of the Save the Children campaign after the last war, should be sponsored immediately by the Allied nations," reported Norman Clark, News Chronicle Special Correspondent, in that newspaper on Wednesday.

He quoted Mr. Priestley as saying :

"These children are guiltless—yet they are the ones who are paying the heaviest part of the price for Germany's guilt . . . .

"The tots of Germany are in the same plight as the children of Holland and France, Poland, the Balkans and Greece. But how can we, with any right, discriminate against them? If we do, we will be nurturing the seeds of hate again . . . . "

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INTERNATIONAL PRESS-
CUTTING BUREAU,
110, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4.

Manchester Guardian

20 MAR 1933

VIENNA'S HIDDEN TRAGEDY

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English Aid

Lord Noel-Buxton, president of the Save the Children Fund, returned to London yesterday from Vienna after a few days spent in investigating conditions, especially as they affect children and family life.

"I visited a number of families," said Lord Noel-Buxton, "which have been plunged into the greatest distress and indeed despair by the loss of the bread-winner. Sometimes the victims had no lot or part in the fighting. There was one woman whose husband had been killed by a stray bullet. He had been unemployed for some time, and his death means that the unemployment dole—the family's only source of income—has been cut off, and the widow and her sick child are left completely destitute. In another home which I visited, the husband had been imprisoned, although he had taken no part in the disturbance, and his wife and children were left without resources.

"Only impartial organisations like the Save the Children Fund and the Society of Friends can reach such cases," said Lord Noel-Buxton. "The latter is carrying out a very considerable relief work, and the Save the Children Fund is extending its system of 'adoptions' directed for many years past by its representative in Vienna, whereby a subscriber earmarks his contribution for the assistance of a specific child with whom he is put into personal touch

"Frau Dollfuss," added Lord Noel-Buxton, "is relieving some thousands of cases through the soup kitchens which she has set up, and the Save the Children Fund has made a contribution to this work."

"Many of the child welfare organisations, the municipal nursery schools of Vienna, and the famous school founded by Max Winter in the Schönbrunn Palace have been suppressed. But the great central clearing house for child welfare work, the world-famous Kinderübernahmestelle and the Jugendamte (youth bureaux) connected with it are still functioning, and many of the officials are engaging in unpaid relief work."

INTERNATIONAL PRESS-
CUTTING BUREAU,
110, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4.

Manchester Guardian

conditions. If they play as well next week, Hunslet will not have such a pronounced advantage forward as had been expected.

HUDDERSFIELD IN FORM

Excellent Dribbling

Huddersfield 16, St. Helens Rec. 5

Huddersfield beat St. Helens Recreation convincingly by two goals and four tries to a goal and a try at Huddersfield yesterday. Owing to the ground conditions this rearranged match was a struggle between the respective packs, as anything like concerted handling movements was impossible. Recreation were the better in the tight scrums, but the Huddersfield forwards were more effectual in the loose, particularly in dribbling; all the Huddersfield tries were the result of smart footwork by the forwards. Both full-backs, Scourfield (Huddersfield) and Barnes (Recreation), showed good judgment in catching and touch-finding. Huddersfield's tries were scored by Norcliffe, Markham, Talbot, and Darlisson, Bowkett kicking two goals. Barnes kicked a penalty for the visitors in the first half, and Bailey scored an unconverted try later. Owing to bad light the second half was restricted to thirty-five minutes.

HIGHFIELD BEAT BATLEY

Batley 5, London Highfield 7

London Highfield won by two goals and a try to a goal and a try at Batley. The game was played in almost continuous rain before fewer than 1,000 spectators, who included members of the French touring team. Although facing the slope Batley had wind and rain at their backs in the first half, and they did nearly all the attacking, but Highfield's defence was splendid. Adams kicked a penalty goal for Batley and Foley scored a try. In the second half Highfield quickly attacked, and Oakley soon kicked a penalty goal. Highfield were now adapting themselves to the conditions, and Welsh was prominent, but Batley followed [illegible]. Near the end Moloney [illegible] penalty kick and scored a try

Lord Noel Buxton

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British Weekly

St. Paul's House, Warwick Square.

Cutting from issue dated 23 JAN 1936 193

The Refugees

To the Editor of THE BRITISH WEEKLY.

DEAR SIR,—I should like to thank you for the very considerable space you have devoted to the Refugee question in to-day's BRITISH WEEKLY, and for the vigorous and apt character of your own notes on the subject.

It is a great encouragement to us to have your support in this matter, and I feel sure that your advocacy of the cause of the Refugees will have no little influence with those who are called upon to decide their fate.—Yours faithfully,

NOEL-BUXTON, President.

20, Gordon Square,
London, W.C.1.
January 16, 1936.

To the Editor of THE BRITISH WEEKLY.

DEAR SIR,—You will be very pleased to hear that we received this morning £20 from a reader (an anonymous donor) for our President, Lord Noel-Buxton's appeal in the current issue of THE BRITISH WEEKLY for our work in Abyssinia. Quick work! Would you kindly have this acknowledged?

Thank you so much for taking such a personal and practical interest in our work, and also for the kind and gracious way which you received my friend Mr. Fuller.

With every good wish for the year now entered upon for you personally as well as for THE BRITISH WEEKLY. Again a thousand thanks.—Yours sincerely,

CAPT. G. F. GRACEY, D.S.O.,
Overseas Delegate,
The Save the Children Fund.

20, Gordon Square,
London, W.C.1.
January 17, 1936.

College

Last week Professor R. T. Jenkins, M.A., of Bangor, delivered the first of a series of special lectures which he is giving at the North Wales University College, on "The Moravians in North Wales." Another eminent scholar—Professor de Burgh, late of Reading University—is to give a special lecture at the University College at Bangor this month on "Philosophy and Religious Knowledge."

Illness of Dr. Macdonald Webster

Dr. J. Macdonald Webster, the secretary of the Overseas Department of the Church of Scotland, in charge of the Colonial, Continental and Jewish missions of the Church, has been threat-

narrow. Or it may be they come upon the real difficulties of following Christ. The glowing ideal is met with the cold cynicism of the world. There is contempt or hostility in the air of the office or the factory. Worst of all, perhaps, is the chill of indifference. Faith is frozen in them. It withers like flowers in a winter wind.

It is not only in our youth that we are apt to give up. The biggest strain may come in middle life. We get caught in the pressure of work or business. The early ideals lose their urgency. We have ceased to hope for anything wonderful to happen. The strain of work and its anxieties wear us down. We begin to be kind to ourselves, and permit a certain amount of laxity. Enthusiasm fades. The voice of Christ sounds a little unreal and far-off. This tragic condition has overtaken many people. The result is sometimes seen in moral breakbreakdown or the loss of vital faith. Their staying power has gone. They could not withstand the wear and tear of life.

What is the secret of endurance? It is not merely in seeking God's power to meet a sudden emergency. It is in developing the inner resources that will be ready for the strain. One way of doing it is to keep firm and clear the great convictions of our faith. Only great beliefs about God and life will enable us to withstand the "world's slow stain." We must continually revive the great convictions of faith and keep them alive in our hearts. These have the power to put iron into the blood.

But the sure way is to have the inner springs of life continually renewed in prayer and honesty with God. We must keep life open to God day by day. The weeds of selfish desire must not be allowed to grow in the heart. The care of our inner life is like tending a garden. The jungle is always threatening to invade it. But if we keep life open to God, the first beginnings of evil will be checked. His Spirit will keep our heart renewed in faith and love. When the evil day comes we shall be able to stand, and having done all, still to stand.

we are more Greek than Hebrew. When God said "Let there be light," there *was* light. A "word" of God is not a mere command, which might or might not be fulfilled; it is a creative act. So when the Word came to the prophets, it did not mean merely that something was said to them, but that something happened to them, somethink which had life-changing effects; when God spoke, God came into the life of man, and things could never be the same again. The law or "Torah" was never to the pious Jew a mere collection of sentences; it was an act of God, a real coming of God into human affairs.

We should remember that the *new* element in the first verse of the Fourth Gospel is "the Word was God." We are nowhere told in the Wisdom-books or in Philo that either "Wisdom" or the "Word" was divine. I believe the explanation of the prologue should follow these lines: the universe came into being because God spoke and someone answered, in other words, by the obedience of the Son to the Father; there was Someone "with God" who obeyed His commanding word, and so life came into dead matter, the world was made. He was always in the universe, and the process of revelation took the form of a gradual concentration, first on one people, the Jews, called "His own" in the prologue, then upon a remnant of the chosen people. "His own" as a whole "did not receive Him," but there were some who did, and so were born by a kind of miraculous birth. We might call them "Christians before Christ"; they were the prophets. Last of all the word became "flesh," centred itself in one individual. "Grace and truth" came by Jesus Christ, grace the undeserved favour of God redeeming the souls of sinful men, truth the explanation of the universe to their darkened minds, the unfolding of the meaning of history. The "Torah" was not itself divine, as the Jews said; it was "given by Moses." "The Word" only became incarnate in the "Only-begotten Son." The philosophical language of the first verse ("word," "God," "with") is, with the coming of Jesus, translated into the language of human relations. For "Word" we have "Only Son," for "God" "the Father," for "with" "in the heart of." The world was created by the obedience of the "Word"; it has been redeemed by the obedience of the Incarnate Son. Another question about the Fourth Gospel I must leave for another article.

Didsbury College, Manchester.

Nansen's Great Work

The Nansen International Office, it must be explained, was set up by the Council in 1931 to continue the work of the former High Commissariat for Refugees, an office devotedly served by Dr. Fritjof Nansen during the latter years of his life and up to the time of his death. It is a comprehensive body representing Governments and voluntary international bodies like the International Red Cross, the Save the Children International Union and the International Relief Union, and organisations of the refugees themselves. It has rendered—to quote a recent resolution of the League Assembly—"humanitarian and economic services" to thousands of refugees and made an "important contribution to political and social stability."

The functions of the Nansen Office are of a varied character. To the general public it is perhaps best known as the authority for issuing "Nansen" passports, those substitutes for national identity papers which have been devised for stateless Armenians and Russians. There is a popular, but erroneous, impression that these Nansen passports have a much wider validity, but the unhappy fact is that there are many thousands of refugees in Europe to-day who, not coming within the limits of the Nansen Office scheme, are not only stateless but without those essential insignia of civilised life, official papers of identity. The effect is that the elementary right to maintain themselves by honest work is denied these people.

When, a few months ago, the Save the Children Fund sent a representative to France to inquire into the refugee situation, he discovered that whereas formerly 75 per cent. of the Armenian and Russian refugees had work, the growing incidence of unemployment among French nationals was now causing the authorities to withdraw *permis de travail,* even from those who had held them for so long as ten years. The unfortunate refugees were thus being stranded, without work, without sustenance, and, owing to lack of papers, without means of access to another country. The seriousness of the position is aggravated in many cases by the fact that the refugees have young, dependent children. Moreover, the practice of many countries to expel refugees for trivial offences or for reasons beyond the refugees' control is growing, to the embarrassment of the neighbouring countries to which they drift. To attempt to meet these twin problems, the Nansen Office took action by drafting a Convention on the Interpoint—without detriment to any other category of refugees.

There is, indeed, a certain danger that the vivid disclosures made by Mr. McDonald of the persecution and suffering which have been the lot of the refugees from Germany may divert attention from the long-continued agony of the far greater number of Armenian and Russian refugees. The League Council will have to consider the future of the Nansen Office, and it is understood that the recommendation of the Committee of Five is that the Office shall be wound up by the end of 1938. This would mean that, failing the creation of some new omnibus organisation such as the Save the Children Fund has suggested, the Russian and Armenian refugees who have been the special charge of the Nansen Office would be left without protection. Such action would be a personal disaster to every one of these men and women and children, who are subject to the same needs and have the same legitimate desire for security and opportunity as we ourselves. To abandon them, stateless and helpless, would be, as Dr. Sidney Berry has said, the betrayal of a great trust, and it would be viewed "with the gravest concern" by the Christian public of this country. These people are, as he says, "entitled to a fair deal in the name of our common humanity, which is summed up in the injunction, Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."

There is a further point, aptly emphasised by Mr. H. Martyn Gooch, of the World Evangelical Alliance, in a letter in *The Times.* If the League, by winding up the Nansen Office and providing no substitute, leaves the Armenian and Russian refugees unprotected, there is, as Mr. Gooch says, "every probability that the German refugees would in their turn be treated in the same way if and when Germany rejoins the League, and this would be a triumph of political expediency over justice."

For many years the refugee problem has been left unsolved in the hope—vain as it has proved—that, given time, it would solve itself without the intervention of the League or of Governments. This hope was finally killed by the economic crisis which intensified the sufferings of the refugees and increased the embarrassment of their unwilling hosts. The problem is now clamant for settlement, and it is earnestly to be hoped that, on January 20, the League Council will take action which will result in a righteous and effective solution.

Times
Dec 17 1938

CHILDREN OF "NON-ARYANS"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—In the article which appeared in your Saturday's issue on the subject of the "Non-Aryan" population in Germany, you called attention to a problem which cannot leave unmoved anyone who cares for the happiness and well-being of children. Your Correspondent emphasizes the fact, too little known in this country, that not only are children of Jewish blood and faith subjected to cruel disabilities, but many professing Christians come under the racial ban because one parent or grandparent is of Jewish stock.

The Inter-Aid Committee for Children from Germany exists for the purpose of helping children of "Non-Aryans," whether Christian or Jewish. It seeks to give them an opportunity of growing up in an environment free from that continuous fear and tension which the discriminatory laws and propaganda make inevitable. It is impossible to relieve all "Non-Aryan" children, but the aim of the Inter-Aid Committee is to assist those whose burden seems heaviest by placing them in English schools or homes, where they may enjoy the freedom and companionship which are here regarded as the right of every child. What such a return to normality may mean, even for a brief period, is shown by the change which is apparent in children who come over for no more than a few weeks' holiday.

The political aspects of the question are not the province of this committee: we are concerned solely with a humanitarian issue. This transcends all distinction of creed or race, and for this reason a number of people, Jewish and Christian, have come together to try by a concerted effort to lighten the burden of fear and hopelessness which lies upon so many children in Germany, innocent of all save their birth. Many of these people are representative of bodies, such as the Jewish Refugees Committee and the Society of Friends, which have already been working in this field, but separately. They now feel that, in view of the stringency of the conditions to which the "Non-Aryan" children are subjected, the time has come to make a united appeal to all people of humane mind in this country.

To those who ask how they can help, we would suggest these ways:—(*a*) By paying the fees, either wholly or in part, for a child's schooling in England; (*b*) by offering facilities for post-school training in occupations which do not compete with the British worker; (*c*) by offering (in the case of school governors, headmasters, and headmistresses) places in schools free or at much reduced fees; (*d*) by taking a child into your home; (*e*) by sending a contribution. If you can make yourself responsible for the maintenance of a child for a year, please do; if you cannot, please remember that the very smallest contribution will help.

Letters should be addressed to the Save the Children Fund Inter-Aid Committee, 20, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

We are yours truly,

NOEL-BUXTON (President, Save the Children Fund); WYNDHAM DEEDES (Chairman, Inter-Aid Committee); ISHBEL ABERDEEN AND TEMAIR, SYDNEY M. BERRY, MAX BONN, HUGH CECIL, GEORGE CICESTR:, HERBERT DUNELM:, OSMOND E. D'AVIGDOR GOLDSMID, EVA HARTREE, GEORGE LANSBURY, J. SCOTT LIDGETT, SIMON MARKS, EVA READING, REBECCA O. SIEFF, NINA K. WOODS (Members of Advisory Council, Inter-Aid Committee).

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THE MANCHESTER

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE GERMAN REFUGEES IN PRAGUE

Lord Noel-Buxton's Account of Their Sufferings

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—Your reports on the visit of King Carol to Prague indicated the deep interest felt by the public of Czecho-Slovakia in the foreign relations of their country. I was in Prague at the time and can testify to the intensity of that interest. The King's progress through the town took place during weather of the most repulsive kind; but, in spite of cold, driving rain, the crowd along the route was such as to suggest that the entire population was present. There is something unusually sombre about the clothing of a crowd in Prague, and this increased the impression made by the marked silence of the people—a silence which seemed to indicate a great anxiety. Whether the King's visit indicated a movement to confirm the pact with Russia or, on the other hand, embodied a tendency in the opposite direction, on the lines followed by Belgium, was a problem sufficient to produce the solemnity which one felt in the atmosphere.

One cannot but sympathise with the anxieties of the Czechs, and no one can enjoy the privilege of a talk with President Benes without experiencing an increase of that sympathy; but there are other subjects of anxiety than that of high politics. While I was in Prague, I inquired about one of these anxieties—a problem on a smaller scale but none the less urgent,—that of the refugees from neighbouring countries. Czecho-Slovakia has had a unique experience in this respect, for she has given refuge to fugitives from five different countries. First, there were the White Russians, now largely absorbed and, in other cases, happily returning in considerable numbers to Russia. Afterwards, there were the Poles, Hungarians, Austrians, and Germans. Czecho-Slovakia thus represents, in fact, the right of asylum which we British were formerly proud to furnish. These refugees, whatever the merits of the cause for which they were expelled from their own countries, have found in Czecho-Slovakia a security from violence which constitutes a service to humanity. It is a service all the greater at a moment when the League of Nations threatens to abandon at no distant date its organisation for solving the refugee problem and to throw it upon the shoulders of private charity.

In this sphere the relief furnished from England has naturally gone mainly to Paris, where the body of refugees is larger, but the Save the Children Fund (among other funds) has been able to send a certain amount of money to Prague. On its behalf I saw large numbers of the most needy section of the refugees—that is to say, the Germans. In addition to Jews by religion, there is a large body of non-Aryans, some expelled on political, some on racial grounds; the latter are frequently Christians. One even finds among the refugees the offspring of a Protestant pastor who has the misfortune to be connected by family with Jews. The complications arising from the racial theory were illustrated by a peculiar case in which a German woman had adopted the Jewish faith but could not, as she wished, marry a Jew, for it would have been a serious crime for the prospective husband to wed a woman of Aryan blood. Having escaped to Czecho-Slovakia, they were still unable to marry, because Czecho-Slovak legal practice in regard to the marriage of foreigners follows the law of each country of origin.

Different groups of sympathisers have their own relief committees—Jewish, Socialist, Democratic, Communist, non-party intellectual, and so on. I was taken to see samples of the different methods employed. We visited first what are called "collectives"—houses resembling a common lodging-house. Here we found a hundred or so refugees, mainly men, but with a handful of women and children, living in crowded and severe conditions. In one room forty beds were placed almost adjoining, like the improvised war hospitals of the Balkan War. Another form of provision is afforded by a sum of money which just enables the recipient to get a bed in a lodging nearer to the centre of Prague. Those lodgings which we visited were dark but clean. The lodgers paid the equivalent of threepence a night, leaving a margin for board, &c., of about two shillings a week at the present rate of exchange. We were also taken to see a group of refugees occupying a deserted country house about twenty miles from Prague. Here eighty persons were living in most chilly and dismal conditions.

The whole of this community of over a thousand people leads a life of hunger. But a feature which struck me as still more deplorable was that the men, mostly very capable workers, were living in enforced idleness. Even in the country community the work of the house and garden made very small provision for real employment. The chief demand of those who conduct relief is for permission to the refugees to take work, but the widespread unemployment in the capital has so far led the Government to refuse this concession.

Saddest of all is the condition of the children. Nothing remotely resembling a home can be provided. In the country settlement fifteen children have a room in which they are taught by a voluntary teacher; and some of them attend the village school, but as they know only German, the privilege is hardly appreciated. The funds of the society are failing, and on the day of our visit the farmer who supplies milk had given notice to terminate the supply until his bill was paid.

The one bright spot in the refugee world was furnished by a kind of foyer, or free meeting-place, in which crowds were gathered in the evening to have a talk and a game of dominoes over a cup of cocoa. The cheering impression furnished by this scene was, however, marred upon our introduction, by the excellent lady who runs the foyer, to some of the persons present. One of these illustrated the trouble of the Stateless person, who has no papers with which to enter another country; the Czech Government will provide him with a passport to leave Czecho-Slovakia, but on condition that he does not return.

I also found an illustration of the problem so much debated by the Nansen Office of the League of Nations: that of the person who is charged with taking work without a permit, and after serving his sentence is expelled from the country. He then suffers the same experience in a second country, and repeats the process with a frequency which often adds to the vagrant and criminal classes of Europe. I saw at the foyer a decent-looking couple who had met with this fate no less than four times; it was a natural result of these vicissitudes that their two girls, perhaps eight and ten years old, were already suffering from tuberculosis.

The needs of our own country are imperative; yet I cannot but hope that among your readers who have further funds to spare, there may be many who will enable the Save the Children Fund, 20, Gordon Square, London, W.C. 1, to send some help to these refugees from Germany.—Yours, &c.,

NOEL-BUXTON, President of the Save the Children Fund.

18, Cowley Street, Westminster, London, S.W. 1,
November 7.

STATE TRADE
TION PLAN

o Sail to Dublin

LORD MAYOR TO
LEGATION

that faciltiies will be provided by the Manchester Ship Canal Company, and I propose sailing at a convenient date from the Port of Manchester to Dublin Bay, with a shipload of friendship. This gesture, I am certain, will receive ready response on the part of the people on the other side, and I trust will do something to relieve unemployment. Until unemployment is relieved the ratepayers in this city cannot expect any reduction in their rates.

"Here I would again draw the attention of the Government to the lead given by the Manchester City Council for years ago when we asked for the equalisation of the public assistance rate. Again I would remind the Government how unfair it is to leave a national responsibility as a local burden. It is as unfair to ask the great industrial centres with so many poor inhabitants to keep the poor, whilst the great residential districts do so little, as it would be to ask the people of Aldershot to pay the whole cost of the army and the people of Portsmouth the whole cost of the British navy. I am hopeful that this year something will be done to impress again upon the Government the serious importance of this matter, because in my opinion it will be an ever-recurring issue.

The Coronation

"During the coming year one of the greatest events in the history of the world will take place. I refer to the coronation of King Edward VIII. I appeal to all citizens to make the Coronation celebrations the greatest the city has ever known, for we shall be rejoicing not only in the crowning of a young King, but rejoicing in the liberties we hold in this country. In passing, may I say it is a remarkable fact that to-day it is chiefly in those countries where kings reign that the people have most freedom.

"I rejoice to think that this municipality has decided to pay wages to all its employees on Coronation Day, and to grant an extra allowance on that day to the unfortunate people in our institutions, as well as giving treats to the old folk and children. I would make a special appeal to all private employers to pay their workpeople for the Coronation holiday, and where they cannot give them a holiday to give them an extra day's wages. Having lived in a workman's cottage I know how difficult it is to rejoice in anything on a day in midweek if the table is to go short of necessaries at the end of the week. I well understand the difficulties of employers, but I would ask them to strain every nerve to make the Coronation of King Edward one of the happiest events in the lives of their employees."

Tributes to Retiring Lord Mayor

The most cordial thanks of the city council were extended to the retiring Lord Mayor (Alderman T. S. Williams) for his services during the year on the motion of Councillor Isaac Floyd, seconded by Councillor W. P. Jackson, and supported by Councillor H. Quinney. All three spoke in admiration of Alderman Williams's close application to the duties of the office, and of his dexterity in managing the council at "explosive moment"—a dexterity which, as Councillor Quinney said, was not always obvious at the time, but only became apparent afterwards. All three, too, spoke warmly of the motherly sincerity with which the retiring Lady Mayoress had discharged her duties.

The Lord Mayor, who added his testimony of admiration, revealed the fact that Alderman Williams had defied his doctor's advice in attending the meeting that day.

Alderman Williams, expressing his thanks, said he had been splendidly supported by the members of the council and by all the officials, from the town clerk and other chief officials downwards. He wished to acknowledge also the splendid help he had received from the press. The past year had been a happy year for his wife and his [illegible]

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OUTCASTS OF THE NATIONS

SHALL THE LEAGUE DESERT A MILLION REFUGEES?

By the Right Hon. LORD NOEL-BUXTON, P.C.
President of the Save the Children Fund

THE refugee problem is one of the most sinister legacies of the World War and the political disturbances which have succeeded it. Ruined cities have been restored, the wilderness has blossomed again, industry has been revived, new nations have arisen out of the ashes of old—but the hearts and lives of over a million of our fellow men and women are still desolate. They have been forced to leave the lands of their fathers, hallowed by religious associations and tradition and all that means "home" to a people, and to seek refuge in alien lands where life is at best precarious for the immigrant, and where it may be a long-drawn experience of penury, misery and fear.

The greater number of these refugees are of the same household of Faith as we ourselves, members of sister Christian churches—800,000 Russians, 170,000 Armenians, and between 15,000 and 40,000 Assyrians. There are also some 80,000 refugees from Germany, mostly Jews, and it is the suffering endured by them and the persecution which caused their flight and, in its persistence, threatens to augment their numbers, which, culminating in the resignation of Mr. James G. McDonald from the office of High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany, has thrown the spotlight of public attention on the refugee question.

It is well that this is so. On January 20 the Council of the League of Nations will meet, to consider, among other matters, the future of the League's responsibility for refugees. The Council will have before it Mr. McDonald's letter of resignation—that moving document in which he emphasises not only the "portentous fact" that "more than half a million persons [in Germany], against whom no charge can be made except that they are not what the National Socialists choose to regard as 'Nordic,' are being crushed" and that the problem arising "constitutes a danger to international peace and a source of injury to the legitimate interests of other states," but that it is the business of the League to find a solution to the problem. The Council will also consider the cognate question of the future of the Nansen International Office for Refugees.

national Status of Refugees (which has not yet been ratified by the Governments) and by appealing to Governments "in the interests of the refugees, as well as in loyalty to other members of the League, to refrain from expelling a refugee until he has obtained formal permission to enter another territory."

Pari passu with such diplomatic activity, the Nansen Office helps refugees on to their feet by granting loans and by giving equipment and tools, and it is the authority responsible for the settlement of Armenians in Syria, a task in which British charity has borne no unimportant share through the Save the Children Fund and its associated organisation, the Armenian (Lord Mayor's) Fund.

To avoid the risk of veto by Germany—at that time an active member of the League Council—the Nansen Office was not given responsibility for refugees coming from Germany, and the separate High Commissionership now being surrendered by Mr. McDonald was set up. Mr. McDonald makes it clear that the effectiveness of his efforts as High Commissioner was weakened by this limitation, and he takes the view that the work of assisting the refugees could be better carried forward by an organisation directly under the authority of the League.

A Million Pounds for Relief

The Save the Children Fund—which may claim authority to speak, by reason of the fact that it has spent, in conjunction with the Lord Mayor's Fund, little short of a million pounds on the relief and settlement of refugees and studied the question intensively and extensively—takes a view which accords with Mr. McDonald's. We were invited to submit evidence to the Committee of Five appointed by the Assembly of the League last autumn, whose report will be submitted to the Council on January 20, and in our conclusions we expressed the view that a single central organisation should be set up, within or under the authority of the League of Nations, to deal with all categories of refugees as defined, or to be defined, by the League. We recommended that the competence of the Nansen Office should be extended to deal with German refugees, but—and this is an important

staying power. Think of what it must have meant to find Himself thwarted more and more every step of the way. The religious leaders were His enemies. His own village rose up against Hi His family did not unders His disciples began to till only a handful these were very unstable. Disappointment and the bitterness of failure hung over the road like threatening clouds. But He never faltered. He went right through to the Cross. He endured to the very end.

It is this staying power that the Christian way asks of us. There are times when it will not be easy to keep our faith and to hold the road. Let us face that fact. To be forewarned is to be forearmed. There are places where faith asks of us the calm cold-blooded obedience to what we know is His way. There are days when the service He asks of us will need the power to go on doggedly and undiscouraged. It is all part of the plan. There are qualities God can develop in us no other way. There are reserves that cannot be tapped till we are called on to endure. We must be ready to go on, when the light goes out of the sky, and the glow fades from the heart.

There are many occasions that test our staying power. A big temptation will do it. A great misfortune or sorrow may bring the strain. Generally speaking, it is the humdrum road that tries our mettle. But there are times when we must be specially on our guard. One of them is when some exalted mood has brought us to a big resolve. Some young people begin the way of discipleship in a kind of glow. They go on for a month or two and then they fall back. The glory of Christ fades, and faith seems to have gone. The wave that had carried them along on its crest withdraws and leaves them in the trough. They do not understand what has happened. But every hour of emotion is followed by a reaction. It is then the peril comes. They have to hold on like a swimmer till the next wave.

Others break down when they meet the currents of life in the world. Pleasure or ambition attracts. They feel the pull of material things. The Christian way begins to look dull and

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF PROF. J. ALEXANDER FINDLAY

"THE WORD BECAME FLESH."

H. K. C. writes, asking me to explain what is meant by "the Word" in the prologue to the Fourth Gospel. Commentators used to say that the evangelist was indebted for this idea to Philo, a Jewish philosopher, who was teaching in Alexandria about the beginning of the Christian era. This view is discredited now, and scholars are inclined rather to look to the Old Testament for an explanation of the sudden appearance of the "Logos" conception in Christian literature. Dr. Rendel Harris thinks that the "Word" is equivalent to the "Wisdom" of God, spoken of in the 8th Chapter of Proverbs as having been His agent in creation. Originally the idea of intellectual beauty pervading the universe was Greek, and was the leading dogma of Stoic philosophy; it is expressed for us in the familiar lines:—

"A presence which disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts, a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man."

God, said the stoics, who infused into nature His "word scattered like seed," at the same time endowed man with a reasonable soul akin to and therefore able to discern the beauty which he saw in nature. With the conquest of the Near East by Alexander the Great, this doctrine captured the imagination of Jewish thinkers, and they made the "word" personal, calling it "wisdom"; it was the way of the Jewish mind to make abstract ideas personal and concrete. So we get the "Wisdom-conception"; the Jew saw not "something" but "Someone" shining through the beauty of nature. There is laughter, for "Wisdom" is ever "sporting" before God, but there is also tragedy behind the creation, for Wisdom is ever calling to the sons of men, and her call is unheeded by all but a few "friends of God and prophets." If this interpretation of the prologue to the Fourth Gospel is correct, Christ is thought of as the incarnate soul of the universe.

A different explanation points us back to an idea native to the Jewish mind, that of "the word of God" which came to the prophets. This conception is more difficult for us to grasp, for

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Cutting from issue dated 16 JAN 1936 193

Notes of the Week

The Plight of the Refugees

Alongside on this page we print an appeal by Lord Noel-Buxton on behalf of the refugees who, without home or country or individual status, are trying, though uprooted, still to live.

Refugees from Germany, from Russia, from Turkey; Christians, Orthodox, Catholic, Armenian, Reformed; Jews; Mahommedans; thousands upon thousands of them with their children all cast upon this terrible bank and shoal of time!

On Monday next the case of these stranded peoples is to come before the Council of the League of Nations. The purpose of the statement and appeal which we have printed, and our purpose in supporting it, is that the Council of the League of Nations shall take a firm and patient hold of the entire business, and shall so resolve, that, if their purpose should finally fail, the failure will not be due to any neglect or acquiescence on their part, but will be to the shame and discredit of us all.

Once Again, the League!

There is a danger, however. We are given to understand that, whilst the case of those who have fled or have been exiled from Germany may continue to be dealt with as best we can, the case of those others vastly more numerous, and their condition still more miserable and desperate, may simply be allowed, not willingly perhaps but inevitably, to fade from the memory and conscience of the world.

The Council of the League may protest with some justice that it cannot do everything. It might, therefore, suggest that the better course would be for Geneva to undertake one part of the problem with some hope of success than to fail in the attempt to do more.

We hope that the Council of the League will not take refuge in any such sophistry. For one thing, it sometimes happens that an appeal for a cause which is so great that it seems to be beyond us, succeeds where the appeal for a cause more manageable touches us only on the surface, provoking at most a reluctant and grudging support.

But there is another reason why the League of Nations, through its Council, should take a firm stand on the larger problem of the Refugees.

The Council's Task an Opportunity

In a word, this task is also an opportunity. Resolute action by the Council on this specific issue would do more than torrents of words, this way and that, to place the League of Nations where it truly belongs—as a necessary instrument for the transaction of matters in which there is neither "Barbarian, Scythian, Bond or Free," but only human beings.

Action of the kind—which at this stage involves the public, explicit adoption of the larger and containing issue—would commend the League to the world of thinking and sympathetic peoples. It would dissipate for many a day the idea, which is hold in astonishing quarters, and here in our own midst most powerfully and mischievously, that the League exists almost solely to encourage debates, to intensify grievances, which if only let alone would be forgotten!

Not one in fifty who know the League of Nations by name have any idea of the work it has done, and is doing, in the region of research, in economics, in social prospects and likelihoods, in the preparation for issues which may become acute, so that when the day arrives those who must decide shall have materials on which to form a judgment.

At Geneva

Strong action on this sad question of the Refugees might make friends for the League of Nations amongst multitudes of people in all lands whose minds have not yet been sympathetic.

Such a task is troublesome! Of course it is! But we are all of us arrived at a time when it will make our tasks easier if we once for all make up our minds that, for the next few years, we are not going to have any low leisure. We are *now* at war; not indeed with flesh and blood, but in the region of ideas as to what sort of thing human life is going to be.

fear,
But waking to a deeper cognisance
Of all that we have loved, and held most dear.

II.

Death is a door, through which our Loved have passed,
Left open—as we leave our babes' at night—
That they may know we are not far away,
But just as near, as though we were in sight.

III.

And when our footsteps reach the shining door
To pass through will be easy, for 'tis wide—
All fears forgotten, we shall surely find
A Loving Father waits the other side.

CHRISTOPHER FEARLESS.

Prayer

Unto Thee, O Lord, would we lift up our souls; do Thou by Thy good spirit sustain us in an unbroken sense of our dependence upon Thee. Thus may we be free from pride, and free also from fears or from sadness. Confronted with large affairs, teach us the way wherein we should go. If our confidence seems to us like to fail, may we seek the renewal of our spirit, not in some passing event, but in Thy greater nearness to us, and in that quietness and strength which Thy Presence brings.

We bless Thee for the deeper wisdom which these difficult days are fitted to bring to us all; grant, we pray Thee, that we miss not the lessons of such a season.

If it be Thy Holy Will, do Thou cause light to arise so that all who look to Thee may see Thee and rejoice; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

STAYING POWER

By Rev. JAMES REID, D.D.

Sunday, January 19.

"He that endureth to the end shall be saved."—Matt. x. 22.

No one could ever say about Christ that He got His disciples on false pretences. He issued no glowing prospectus. He told people frankly what they would meet with if they followed Him. He made them face the worst at the beginning. He knew that this would sift the wheat from the chaff. He knew, also, that this would be to good men the best attraction. It would make the Christian way a bracing adventure. So He told them that if they were to be successful as His followers, they must be ready to hold on and to go through. The finest kind of courage is not that which comes in the heat of a great crisis. It is the cold-blooded kind whose name is fortitude. "He that endureth to the end shall be saved."

In Dr. Fosdick's words: we need not only starting-power, but staying power. This is a commonplace of life. Anyone can start in a race but the man who wins must be able to stay the course. A book may secure our interest at the start. But if we are to get anything out of it, we will need to be able to keep at it when interest flags and the mind grows tired. Most unhappy marriages have started well. The glow of romance colours everything for a while. The humdrum difficulties of living together have not appeared. But when the glow fades, and husband and wife begin to see one another with clear eyes and faults begin to appear, the test will come. Have they love enough to see it through? Have they forbearance and understanding and the spirit of forgiveness? Real affection develops through the years of meeting trouble together. That affection is the rea fruit of married life. God never give us His best gifts on easy terms.

The best example of staying powe was Christ Himself. There is no singl quality in Him that we admire mor than another. For in them all, a every point, the Divine shines out. Bu there are some we are apt to mis And one of these is His fortitude, H

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rrent week are
105,000 bales,
year, and the
into sight is
bales, against

eported as follows:—

al Gulf	South'n Gulf	
Yest.	To-day	Yest.
40	56	44
22	22	24

Clear

pened irregular
points decline,
rbing December
n houses pur-
ons. A general
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scattered liquida-
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port and covering by
e session ending with
alues ranging from 1
points below previous

Association's Special
Report

York, November 26.
d very steady at 1 point
points decline.
fell 4 points to 9.04c.

TATIONS FOR MIDDLING

-day	Prev. day	Rise	Fall	Freights per 100lb
·52	8·51	·01	—	—
·65	8·65	—	—	—
·55	8·54	·01	—	—
·91	8·90	·01	—	—
·95	8·95	—	—	—
·04	9·08	—	·04	—
·59	8·59	—	—	—
·06	9·04	·02	—	—
·50	8·50	—	—	—
·35	8·35	—	—	—
·29	8·27	·02	—	—
·55	8·55	—	—	—
·29	8·27	·02	—	—

YORK FUTURES
sing Range of Calls

To-day	Prev. day	
8·69	8·69	8·68
8·49	8·49	8·49
8·47	8·46	8·46
8·45	8·45	8·44
8·35	8·34	8·34
8·25	8·25	8·25
8·13	8·14	8·14
8·02	8·04	8·04
7·91	7·93	7·93
7·81	7·83	7·83
7·70	7·72	7·72

Lowest

8·70	December	8·65
8·49	January	8·46
8·47	March	8·42
·26	May	8·21
	June	—
·03	July	7·99
·71	October	7·66

LEANS, NOVEMBER 26.
nd very steady at 1 point
nts decline.
pot was unchanged at

QUOTATIONS

S.L.M.	L.M.
8·15	7·50
8·14	7·50

ANS FUTURES
ange of Calls

	Prev. day	
8·79	8·80	8·79
8·56	8·55	8·55
8·36	8·36	8·36
	8·16	8·15
	7·82	7·82

Lowest

mber	8·75
h	8·53
	8·31
	8·11
	7·77

ROM AMERICAN
bales)

Same day st week		1937-8	1936-7
	14	34	48
—	—	1	1
17	14	35	49
17	14	34	48
—	—	1	1
17	14	35	49
2,399	2,310	4,417	4,008
226	202	490	448
2,625	2,512	4,907	4,455
4	7	—	—
2	12	4	5
—	—	—	30
—	—	—	—
6	19	4	35
4	7	—	—
2	12	4	5
—	—	—	30
—	—	—	—
6	19	4	35
210	197	749	445
853	827	1,425	1,085
348	324	163	669
135	125	125	111
1,546	1,473	2,462	2,310

NEW YORK, November 26.
otton-growing areas state that pick-
mpleted. The "Financial Chronicle"
owing weekly cotton statistics:—
ntation receipts amount to 95,000
000 bales last week, and 203,000
he quantity of cotton now on ship-
cleared, amounts to 89,000 bales,
bales last year. Of the current
s bales are for Great Britain, 4,000
19,000 bales for France, 49,000
the Continent, and 6,000 bales

makes the quantity of cotton
1 as follows:—

This year Bales	Last year Bales
2,450,000	4,697,000
275,000	358,000
1,867,000	1,990,000
1,572,000	1,680,000
*6,467,000	8,92[illegible],000
218,000	349,000
484,000	553,000

xcess Southern mill takings
197,000 bales last year

ON FUTURES

ciation Cablegram

AY, November 26.
cts
784lb.)

— Prev. day —	
12 30 p.m.	8 50 p.m.

engal

123	—
123¾	—
49¾	148
7¾	—
	160⅝
	162

LIVERPOOL COTTON

erican Spot Prices Reduced 2 Points—Middling American 5.20d.—American Futures Steady, 1 Point Higher to 1 Point Lower—Easy Sterling Exchange—Scattered Trade Calling—American and Other Growths Futures Neglected, 1 Point Higher to 1 Point Lower—No. 1 Giza 7 Quiet, 5 Points Lower—No. 2 Giza 7 Steady, 6 to 4 Points Lower—Egyptian Futures (Upper) Steady, 3 to 5 Points Lower—East Indian Futures Inactive, Unchanged.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26.

The market was very steady throughout the morning. Business was by no means active, but some covering was induced by the easier sterling rate and by the absence of offers.

Business in cotton on spot terms was quiet. The official spot quotations of American, Brazilian, Peruvian, and African were reduced 2 points, those of Giza 7 and Sakellaridis 3 points, and other Egyptian descriptions 2 points. Middling American 5.20d., fully good fair Giza 7 8.18d., fully good fair Sakellaridis 8.28d., fully good fair Upper and Zagora 6.39d., fully good fair Ashmouni 6.59d., and superfine C. P. Oomra 4.15d.

American futures opened at 2 to 3 points decline, but gradually improved 4 points from the lowest for the January position. Lower sterling exchange encouraged some local short covering and some trade calling found a market poorly supplied with contracts. A recovery was also seen in distant positions, Bombay buying being partly responsible. The close was steady, 1 point advance to 1 point decline.

American and other growths futures closed neglected, 1 point advance to 1 point decline

No. 1 Giza 7 opened at 5 points decline, closing quiet, 5 points decline.

No. 2 Giza 7 opened at 5 to 6 points decline, closing steady, 6 to 4 points decline.

Egyptian futures, Upper, opened at 4 to 5 points decline, closing steady, 3 to 5 points decline.

East Indian futures closed inactive at unchanged rates.

FUTURES QUOTATIONS

American, based on universal standards, basis middling (in pence per lb.)

	To-day's Opening	High.	Low.	Close	Prev. day
November	—	—	—	4·87	4·86
December	4·84	4·85	4·84	4·87	4·86
January	4·84-85	4·88	4·84	4·88	4·87
February	—	—	—	4·88	4·87
March	4·86	4·88	4·86	4·88	4·88
April	—	—	—	4·86	4·87
May	4·83	4·84	4·83	4·85	4·86
June	—	—	—	4·83	4·84
July	4·79-80	4·82	4·79	4·82	4·82
August	—	—	—	4·77	4·77
September	—	—	—	4·72	4·72
October	4·65	4·67	4·65	4·67	4·68
November	—	—	—	4·67	4·68
December	—	—	—	4·69	4·70
January	4·68	4·68	4·68	4·70	4·71
March	—	—	—	4·72	4·73
May	—	—	—	4·74	4·75
July	—	—	—	4·75	4·76
October	—	—	—	4·75	4·76

Business before 12 0: December 4.84* 5*; January 4.85 4* 5 6 7 8; March 4.86 7* 8; May 4.83 4*; July 4.79 80 2*; October 4.65 6 7; January 4.68*.
Value 11 30: November 4.85.

American and other growths, grades based on universal standards

	Close	High.	Low.	Prev. day
Nov.-Dec.	4·77	—	—	4·76
Jan.-Feb.	4·78	—	—	4·77
Mar.-April	4·76	—	—	4·77
May-June	4·73	—	—	4·74
July-Aug.	4·67	—	—	4·67
Sept.-Oct.	4·57	—	—	4·58

Value 11 30: November-December 4.75.
All grades neglected

No. 1 Giza 7, grown in Egypt and Sakellaridis grown in Egypt; also Sakellaridis or similar varieties grown in Sudan, basis F.G.F. Giza 7

	Close	High.	Low.	Prev. day
November	7·57	—	—	7·62
December	7·74	—	—	7·79
January	7·74	7·76	7·74	7·79
February	7·68	—	—	7·73
March	7·68	—	—	7·73
April	7·64	—	—	7·69
May	7·64	—	—	7·69
June	7·64	—	—	7·69

Business before 12 0: January 7.74 6*.
Value 11 30: November 7.58.

No. 2 Giza 7, grown in Egypt, and Sakellaridis grown in Egypt; also Sakellaridis or similar varieties grown in Sudan, basis F.G.F. Giza 7

	Close	High.	Low.	Prev. day
January	7·81	7·83	7·81	7·87
February	7·84	—	—	7·89
March	7·84	7·85	7·84	7·89
April	7·83	—	—	7·88
May	7·83	7·83	7·82	7·88
June	7·82	—	—	7·86
July	7·82	7·83	7·83	7·86
August	7·82	—	—	7·86
September	7·82	—	—	7·86
October	7·60	—	—	7·64
November	7·60	—	—	7·64

Business before 12 0: January 7.81 2 1* 2* 3 1*; March 7.84 5*; May 7.82 3*; July 7.83*.

Upper descriptions of cotton grown in Egypt, basis fully good fair Upper (in pence per lb.)

	Close	High.	Low.	Prev. day
November	6·26	6·27	6·27	6·29
December	6·28	—	—	6·32
January	6·28	6·29	6·28	6·32
February	6·29	—	—	6·34
March	6·29	6·30	6·29	6·34
April	6·31	—	—	6·35
May	6·31	—	—	6·35
June	6·33	—	—	6·37
July	6·33	—	—	6·37
August	6·33	—	—	6·37
September	6·33	—	—	6·37
October	6·24	—	—	6·28
November	6·12	—	—	6·16

Business before 12 0: November 6.27*; January 6.28 9* 8 9 8*; March 6.29 30 29.
Value 11 30: November 6.26.

East Indian, basis Liverpool standard superfine Central Provinces Oomra cotton (in pence per lb.)

	Close	High.	Low.	Prev. day
November	3·88	—	—	3·88
December	3·88	—	—	3·88
January	3·88	—	—	3·88

Value 11 30: November 3.86.
All grades neglected

* Denotes transactions of the minimum quantity allowed—viz., 48,000lb. American, 48,000lb. American and other growths, 24,000lb. Giza 7 and other descriptions, and 39,000lb. East Indian

SPOT QUOTATIONS
UNIVERSAL STANDARDS

American	G.O.	S.G.O.	L.M.	S.L.M.	Mid
American "Fair Staple."	3·65	4·00	4·45	4·95	5·20
i.e.	120 off	85 off	40 off	10 on	35 on

	S.M.	G.M.	S.G.M.
American "Fair Staple."	5·35	5·55	5·90
i.e.	50 on	70 on	105 on

American and other growths, grades based on universal standards; low middling (of not less than 7/8th Staple), middling of not less than 15-16th Staple.

	L.M.	Mid.
American	4·47	5·35
Argentina	—	—
Brazilian	—	5·15

Brazilian	M.F.	Fair.	G.F.	Good.
Pernam, Maceio &c.	3·95n	4·60	5·15	—
Parahyba, Rio, &c.	3·90n	4·60	5·15	—
Ceara, &c.	3·90	4·60	5·05n	—
Sao Paulo	4·50	4·95	5·20	5·60

Peruvian	M.F.	Fair.	G.Fair.	Good.	F.G.	Fine.
Tanguis	4·60n	5·20n	5·90n	6·55	7·75	8·75n

Egyptian	Fair	G.F.	F.G.F.	Good.	Fine.	Ex.Fine.
Giza 7	—	7·73n	8·18	9·08	Nom.	—
Sakellaridis	—	7·45n	8·28	9·82n	Nom.	Nom.
Upper Descr's	5·84n	6·34n	6·39	6·59	6·90n	Nom
Zagora	5·84n	6·34n	6·39	6·59	6·90n	Nom.
Ashmouni	5·99n	6·49n	6·59	7·14n	7·70n	Nom.

East African	Fair.	Gd Fr.	Good.	Fine.
(Uganda)	5·15n	5·50n	5·90	6·30

West African —Native Seed — Amer. Seed.

L.M.	S.L.M.	Mid.	S.M.	G.M.	S.G.M.
4·50	4·75	4·95	5·15	5·25	5·40

East Indian	G Fair.	F.G.F.	Good.	F. Gd.
S.G. Punjab/Amer.	—	—	—	—
R.G. Punjab/Amer.	—	—	4·24n	4·39n
Cambodia (Fr.Staple).	—	4·69n	4·84n	4·99n
Tinnevelly (F. Staple)	4·35n	4·50n	4·65n	—
Surtee (Fair Staple)	—	—	—	4·70n
Broach (Good Staple)	—	—	—	4·03n
C.P. Oomra (1 Staple)	—	—	—	—
Oomra (No. 1 Staple)	3·23n	3·33n	3·43n	3·53n
Bengal (Fair Staple)	3·03n	3·13n	3·23n	3·33
Sind (Fair Staple)	—	—	—	3·60n

	Fine.	S Fine.	Choice	S'Choice.
S.G. Punjab/Amer.	4·68	4·83	4·98	—
R.G. Punjab/Amer.	4·54	4·69	—	—
Cambodia (Fr.Staple).	—	—	—	—
Tinnevelly (F. Staple)	—	—	—	—
Surtee (Fair Staple)	4·85n	5·00n	5·15n	—
Broach (Good Staple)	4·18	4·33	4·48	—
C. P. Oomra (1 Staple)	4·00	4·15	4·30	—
Oomra (No. 1 Staple).	3·68	3·83	3·98n	4·13n
Bengal (Fair Staple)	3·43	3·53	3·63n	3·75n
Sind (Fair Staple)	3·70	3·80	3·90	4·02n

* Good Staple, S.G.F. Tinnevelly 7 points less than F.G.F. Tinnevelly

INWARD MAILS

To-day (Monday), November 28

Australia, by s.s. Oronsay.
Jamaica, by s.s. Camito.

To-morrow (Tuesday), November 29

Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, by s.s. Almanzora.

Thursday, December 1

Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, by s.s. Highland Patriot.
United States, Japan, Bermuda, Bahamas, British Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, and Central America, Panama, and West Coast of South America, Leeward and Windward Islands, by s.s. President Harding.

LANCASHIRE POTATO PRICES.—The Potato Marketing Board, in conjunction with the Producers' Committees for Lancashire, announce the following recommended minimum prices for average samples f potatoes, on the farm or loading stations, to operate from to-day:—Arran Banners and Great Scots 50s. per ton; Kerr's Pinks, Majestics, and Doon Stars, 60s.; Red Skins, 65s.; Red Kings, 70s.; Gladstones, 75s.; King Edwards, 80s.

EGYPTIAN COTTON

Futures Close Heavy After Late Fixings

ALEXANDRIA, NOVEMBER 26.

There was a moderate amount of activity on the spot cotton market here to-day, the chief demand being for Ashmouni and Giza 7. Futures opened dull, prices sagging under hedges and liquidations of Giza by tired longs. Scattered scale-down trade buying took place in Uppers, but the market quietened down and, with fixings towards the end of the session, closed heavy.

Liverpool Cotton Association Cablegram

In Tallaris (dollars) per cantar of 99.05lb.

Fully Good Fair Sakellaridis

	*Prev. Close	To-day Open'ng	High.	Low.	*Close
January	14·18	—	14·13	14·11	14·07
March	14·36	—	—	—	14·27
May	14·44	—	—	—	14·41
Fully Good Fair Giza 7					
January	14·05	14·04	13·97	13·93	13·90
March	14·13	14·12	14·07	14·02	13·99
May	14·21	—	—	—	14·07
Fully Good Fair Ashmouni					
December	11·11	11·08	11·05	11·00	11·01
February	11·19	11·17	11·12	11·10	11·09
April	11·25	11·21	—	—	11·16

Friday's receipts 6,960 bales. Last year 7,690 and previous year 3,100 bales.
* Average prices

COMMODITY PRICES

Sales of Australian wheat to the United Kingdom and India, sterling depreciation, and week-end covering caused a slight improvement in wheat futures on Saturday. Sugar was dull and again easier.

	Nov. 26.	Nov. 25.	Month ago.	Year ago.
Wheat, per 100lb.:				
Liverpool futures	4/6¾	4/6¼	4/4⅜	7/7⅛
Sugar, per cwt.:				
Cuban c.i.f.	5/8¼	5/9	5/2¼	5/10½
Copper, per ton:				
Standard cash	*	45/1/3	46/11/3	37/17/6
Tin, per ton:				
Standard cash	*	216/0/0	212/17/6	183/0/0
Cotton, per lb.:				
American Mid.	5.20d.	5.22d.	5.22d.	4.64d.
Wool, per lb.:				
64's warp tops	26½d.	26½d.	26½d.	28d.
Rubber, per lb.:				
Smoked sheet spot	8d.	8 1/16d.	8 5/16d.	7⅛d.

* Closed.

GRAIN MARKETS

MANCHESTER, SATURDAY.

WHEAT.—The tone of the market was steady on overnight trades in Australian cargoes. In c.i.f. parcels quotations were about 1½d. per quarter dearer for Manitoba, and about unchanged for winter, Pacific, Australian, and River Plate, than those ruling yesterday. No. 1 Northern Manitoba December shipment 28s., No. 2 27s. 1½d., No. 3 25s. 9d., No. 4 23s. 6d.; No. 1 Vancouver November 25s. 7½d., No. 2 24s. 4½d., No. 3 23s. 7½d.; No. 1 Canada Western Garnet Vancouver November 22s. 7½d., No. 2 21s. 7½d., No. 3 21s. 1½d.; Rosafe 63½lb. January-February 22s. 6d.; Australian (West) afloat 23s. 9d., South afloat 22s. 9d., all ports January-February 23s. 9d., South January in bags 24s.; No. 2 yellow hard winter end December 20s. 7½d.; Rumanian end December 16s. to 17s. 3d. per quarter.

FEEDING STUFFS steady. No. 2 yellow American ex elevator 5s. 7d. to 5s. 7½d. per 100lb.; yellow River Plate 5s. 8d. to 5s 8½d. per 100lb.

LIVERPOOL, SATURDAY.

WHEAT.—C.i.f. parcels in quiet demand, with Canadian unchanged. Northern Manitoba (Atlantic) sellers December No 1 27s. 10½d., No. 2 27s., No. 3 25s. 7½d., No. 4 23s. 4½d.; Vancouver sellers December No. 1 25s. 9d., No. 2 24s. 6d., No. 3 23s. 10½d., No. 4 20s 7½d.; Canada Western Garnet Vancouver sellers November No. 1 23s., No. 2 21s. 9d., No. 3 21s. 4½d.; soft white Pacific quoted December 21s.; Danubian sellers January-February 17s.; Rosafe 63½lb. sellers January 22s. 6d.; Barusso January 23s. 3d.; Australian cargoes about 3d. dearer, with sellers afloat Western 23s. 9d. per quarter. Spot wheats quiet, unchanged.

GRADED WHEAT FUTURES opened unchanged to ¼d. per cental higher, and further improved, influenced by the sale overnight of two Australian cargoes to the United Kingdom and one to India, depreciation of sterling, and week-end covering. The close, however, was quiet, at ½d. up to unchanged. Sales 50 loads.

	Opening values	Business done Highest	Lowest	Closing values	Previous Closing values
December.	—	4/6¾	4/6½	4/6¾	4/6¼
March(old)	4/6¼	4/6⅝	4/6¼	4/6½	4/6¼
March(new)	—	—	—	4/3¼	4/3¼
May (old)	4/6¾	4/7⅛	4/6¾	4/7	4/6½
May (new)	4/3¾	4/4⅛	4/3¾	4/3¾	4/3⅝

MAIZE.—C.i.f. parcels in moderate demand, about unchanged. River Plate sellers afloat 24s. 6d. to 24s. 3d., November and December 24s.; No. 2 yellow American sellers afloat 24s. 3d. per quarter. A parcel of River Plate was sold just sailing at 23s. 9d. Spot maize quiet, at ½d. per cental dearer.

BARLEY quiet, unchanged. Russian sellers shipped 18s. per quarter.

FLOUR quiet and unchanged.

QUOTATIONS

	s. d.	s. d.
Wheat (per 100lb.)		
Engl'h (new)	5 0	5 3
No.1 N.Manitoba (Atl)	6 0	—
Do. No. 2..	5 10	—
No. 3 Can. W't Am.Dur'm	4 10	—
Australian	5 1	5 2½
Russian	4 5½	4 6
Can. Spring..	4 8	—
No. 2 Yellow H'd Winter	4 10	—
No. 3 Canada W'st G'net	—	—
***Flour** (per 280lb.)		
*Patents ex. mill	22 0	23 0
*Straightrun ex. mill	20 0	21 0
*B'k's exm'l.	19 0	20 0
*Australian.	21 0	21 6
*Man'ba pts	24 0	26 0
*French	19 0	20 0
Wheatfeed (per cwt.) (including sacks)		
Best Weat'gs	7 1½	7 7½
Ord. Weat'gs	6 0	6 6

	s. d.	s. d.
Ord. Bran	6 3	6 6
Broad Bran	7 9	8 0
Barley (per 400lb.)		
No.3 CanWes	19 9	—
No.3U.S.Fed	19 6	—
Russian	20 0	—
Maize (per 100lb.)		
R. P. Yellow (new)	5 6½	—
No. 2 White FlatAfrican	—	—
No. 2 Yellow American.	5 5½	—
Beans (per cwt.)		
Madagascar	23 6	—
Rangoon h.p	8 0	—
English	—	—
Peas (per 320lb.)		
Jap. Green	21 6	—
Dutch M'fat.	22 0	—
Dutch Blue	18 0	—
Oats (per 320lb.)		
English cwt. (new)	5 10½	6 3
No.1Can Feed	—	—
No.3CanWest (Atl)	—	—

* Plus quota.

IMPORTS OF GRAIN (in cwts.)

	Wheat	Maize	Flour	Peas	Beans
Yesterday.	66,392	42,914	500	350	—
This week	325,426	145,997	6,439	841	500
This year	18,892,640	13,036,049	624,119	218,063	57,959
Last year	17,392,798	14,454,800	1,003,097	205,171	53,248

CARLISLE, Saturday.—Broken weather has hampered threshing, and supplies of oats were only moderate. Trade was again quiet at 5s. 3d. to 5s. 6d. per cwt., according to quality and condition.

ARGENTINE GRAIN OPTIONS

BUENOS AYRES, November 26.—Wheat steady, 1 point up to unchanged; maize steady, unchanged to 2 points down; oats steady; linseed steady, February 1 point lower.

		To-day 11 a.m. Call	To-day 11 30 a.m. Close	Prev. day 4 p.m. Call	Prev. day 5 p.m. Close
Wheat	Dec.	6·18	6·17	6·13	6·16
Do.	Feb.	7·00	7·00	7·00	7·00
Maize	Dec.	6·34	6·33	6·36	6·33
Do.	Jan.	6·46	6·44	6·50	6·46
Do.	Feb.	6·59	6·59	6·65	6·59
Oats	Nov.	5·25	5·25	5·25	5·25
Linseed	Dec.	13·70	13·67	13·67	—
Do.	Feb.	13·60	13·55	13·57	13·56

ROSARIO, November 26.—Wheat steady, 5 points down to unchanged; maize steady, unchanged to 3 points lower; linseed steady at 6 points loss.

		To-day 11 a.m. Call	To-day 11 30 a.m. Close	Prev. day 4 p.m. Call	Prev. day 5 p.m. Close
Wheat	Dec.	5·75	5·69	5·75	5·74
Do.	Feb.	6·90	6·88	6·90	6·88
Maize	Dec.	6·25	6·24	6·25	6·24
Do.	Feb.	6·55	6·55	6·60	6·58
Linseed	Dec.	13·55	13·53	13·55	—
Do.	Feb.	13·45	13·39	13·45	13·45

Prices in pesos currency per 100 kilos, delivery Buenos Ayres and/or Rosario (based on 5 p.m. prices).—Reuter's Telegram.

FLEETWOOD FISH

Saturday.

The supply totalled 24,000 stone. Quotations: Large soles 1s. 4d., medium soles 1s. 6½d., slips 1s. 7½d., and tongues 1s. 3½d. per pound; brill 9s., turbot 11s., and halibut 15s. per stone; bream 23s., large coalfish 13s. 6d., small coalfish 13s., shelf cod 40s., iced cod 25s., sprags 32s., codling 24s., medium conger eel 20s., small conger eel 5s., dogfish 12s., gurnard 16s., large haddock 36s., medium haddock 40s., selected small haddock 40s., ordinary small haddock 42s., dead small haddock 36s., selected hake 130s., medium hake 134s., selected chat hake 128s., intermediate chat hake 104s., ordinary chat hake 92s., dead small hake 58s., ling 20s., large megrims 80s., medium megrims 58s., small megrims 26s., monkfish 35s., ordinary small plaice 86s., dead small plaice 50s., pollock 32s., roker 47s., skate 44s., selected whiting 23s., small whiting 22s., small whitches 28s., herring 13s., and mackerel 15s. per 10-stone box. Rockall prices: Large haddock 50s., ordinary small haddock 40s., dead small haddock 33s., ling 18s., large megrims 58s., medium megrims 44s., small megrims 16s., roker 46s., tusk 18s., coalfish 13s. per 10-stone box.

LIVERPOOL MEAT IMPORTS

Saturday

Five steamers landed chilled and frozen meat during the past week from overseas ports. The vessels, with their freights, were: Duchess of York, from Montreal, with 246 boxes of pork and 224 boxes of meat; Navasota, from River Plate, with 22,413 sheep and lamb carcases, 63 carcases and 2,903 packages of pork, 5,020 bags, &c. of meat, and 29,474 quarters of beef; Georgic, from New York, with 175 boxes of pork; Sussex, from Australia, with 5,316 sheep and lamb carcases, 1,040 bags of meat, and 792 quarters of beef; and Ruahine, from New Zealand, with 16,574 sheep and lamb carcases, 5,837 carcases of pork, 5,018 bags, &c. of meat, and 396 quarters of beef. The total of 44,303 sheep and lamb carcases, 3,324 boxes, &c. and 5,900 carcases of pork, 11,302 bags, &c. of meat, and 30,662 quarters of beef, compared with the arrivals of the preceding week, shows an increase of 161 sheep and lamb carcases, 6,924 carcases and packages of pork, 2,971 bags, &c. of meat, and 2,249 quarters of beef.

MAIL NEWS: OU

List of Imperial and Foreign Letter Mails

Times shown in light figures

Destination	Date	Head Office	Newton Street Ord'y	Newton Street Late Fee
ABYSSINIA.		Same	as	Siam
Aden and Seychelles.		‡By air	once	a week
Do.		‡‡Same	as	India
Argentine Repub., Bolivia and Paraguay.	Dec. 3	3 30	4 45	5 0
Ascension & St. Helena.	" 16††	1 0	1 15	1 45
AUSTRALIA.	‡By air	three	times	a week
Do.		‡‡Same	as	India
Bahamas.	Dec. 3	1 0	1 15	1 45
Barbados.	" 1	5 30	5 45	—
Bermuda.	" 3	1 0	1 15	1 45
BRAZIL.				
Bahia.	" 9†	8 15	8 30	9 15
Ceara and Maranham.	" 9†	8 15	8 30	9 15
Para and Manaos.	" 3	5 30	5 45	—
Pernambuco.	" 9†	8 15	8 30	9 15
Rio and South Brazil.	Nov. 28	11 45	12 15	12 30
Do.	Dec. 2	5 30	5 45	—
Do.	" 9†	8 15	8 30	9 15
British Guiana.	Nov. 28	9 30	9 45	10 15
Do.	" 29	9 30	9 45	10 15
Do	Dec. 1	5 30	5 45	—
British Honduras.	" 3	1 0	1 15	1 45
CANADA (Letters & P.P.)				
All parts.	" 2†	8 15	8 30	9 15
Do.	" 3**	1 0	1 15	1 45
Do. (Magazine Post).	" 2	4 0	4 15	6 15
CANARY ISLANDS.				
All parts.	" 2††	1 0	1 15	1 45
Do.	" 5††	1 0	1 15	1 45
Cape Verde Islands.	" 2	5 30	5 45	—
CEYLON.	‡By air	four	times	weekly
Do.		‡‡Same	as	India
CHILE (North).	Dec. 3	1 0	1 15	1 45
Do. (Cent. & South).		Same	as Arge	ntina
CHINA; (North via Suez).	Thursday	Same	as	Siam
Do. (via German Pkt.)	Dec. 5**	11 45	12 15	12 30
Do. (via Italian Pkt.)	" 6**	5 30	5 45	—
South (via Suez).	Thursday	Same	as	Siam
Do. (via German Pkt.)	Dec. 5**	11 45	12 15	12 30
Do. (via Italian Pkt.)	" 6**	5 30	5 45	—
South and North (via Siberia).	Monday & Thursday**	1 0	1 15	1 45
COLOMBIA.		Same as	Chile	(North)
§CONTINENT OF EUROPE.				
All parts ex. Turkey, L. & P.C.'s for Estonia &	Dly ex. Sat.	9 30	9 45	10 15
Finland and Ptd.P. for Austria & Bulgaria.	Saturday	8 15	8 30	9 15
Belgium, France, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Switzerland, Turkey, and Ptd. Papers, &c., for Denmark, Poland, Germany, & U.S.S.R.	Dly ex. Sun	5 30	5 45	—
Austria.	‡‡Dly ex Su	8 0	8 15	—
Norway (ex. south).	‡‡Mon., Tu, Th. & Sat.	10 15	10 45	11 15
All parts ex. Ptd. Papers, etc., for Turkey.	Sat. only	10 15	10 45	11 15
All parts ex. Ptd. Papers, etc., for Turkey.	Dly ex. Sun	12 30	12 45	1 20
	Saturday	12 20	—	—
Germany, Holland and U.S.S.R.	‡‡Dly ex Su	1 15	1 45	2 20
Cook Islands.	‡By air	three	times	weekly
Do.	Dec. 22†‡	4 0	4 15	6 15
Costa Rica.	" 3	1 0	1 15	1 45
Cuba.	" 3	1 0	1 15	1 45
CYPRUS.	Tuesday	5 30	5 45	—
Do.	Thursday	Same	as	Siam
Dominican Republic.	Dec. 3	1 0	1 15	1 45
Dutch & French Guianas.	Nov. 29	9 30	9 45	10 15
Do.	Dec. 1	5 30	5 45	—
DUTCH EAST INDIES.	Thursday	Same	as	Siam
Do.	Nov. 30	11 45	12 15	12 30
Dutch West Indies (Curacao).	Dec. 1	9 30	9 45	10 15
Do.	" 3	1 0	1 15	1 45
(a) EAST AFRICA.				
Kenya and Uganda.	‡By air	three	times	weekly
Do.		‡‡Same	as	India
Tanganyika & Zanzibar.		‡By air	twice	weekly
Do.		‡‡Same	as	India
ECUADOR.		Same as	Chile	(North)
EGYPT.	‡By air	five	times	weekly
Do.	Dec. 2‡‡	5 30	5 45	—
Egypt (Port Said only).	‡By air	five	times	weekly
Do.		‡‡Same	as	India
El Salvador.	Dec. 3	1 0	1 15	1 45
Falkland Islands.	" 3	3 30	4 45	5 0
Faroe Islands.	" 6	9 30	10 15	10 30
Fiji Islands.	‡By air	three	times	weekly
Do.	Dec. 2‡‡	4 0	4 15	6 15
French Indo-China.	Thursday	Same	as	Siam
Grenada.	Nov. 29	9 30	9 45	10 15
Do.	Dec. 1	5 30	5 45	—
Guatemala.		Same as	El Salv	ador
Hawaii.	" 3	1 0	1 15	1 45
Hayti.	" 3	1 0	1 15	1 45
Hong-Kong.		‡By air	twice	weekly
Do.	‡‡Thursday	Same	as	Siam
Do. (via Suez).	Dec. 1	Same	as	India
Do. (via Siberia).	M. & Th.**	1 0	1 15	1 45
Honduras (Republic)		Same as	El Salv	ador
ICELAND.	Nov. 29	9 30	9 45	10 0
Do.	Dec. 6	9 30	10 15	10 30
INDIA	‡By air	four	times	weekly
Do.	Ptd. P. & S.			
	Thursday	8 0	8 15	
	½d. L'te Fee	8 30	8 45	
	2d. L'te Fee	10 15	10 30	
	6d. L'te Fee	10 45	11 30	
	Reg. P. & S.			
	Wednesday	9 0	7 0	
	Thursday 6d. L'te Fee	10 15	11 0	

(a) Post when ready any day.
* Printed Papers and Samples 11 45 a.m., 12 15 p.m.,
† Printed Papers and Samples 4 0 p.m., 4 15 p.m., 6 1
†† Printed Papers and Samples 9 30 p.m., 9 45 p.m., 10 1
§ Letters and postcards prepaid at the ordinary internati
delivery except in the case of Spain and Portugal, or
Registered articles should be posted at le
LATE FEE POSTING AT HEAD OFFICE.—Unregiste
up to 8 45 p.m. to connect with mails for which 8 15 p.

	Principal Boxes in Cen. Area	Head Office	Newton St. Post Office
A	†9 0 p.m.	1 0 a.m.	1 15 a.m.
C	11 15 a.m.	12 15 p.m.	12 45 p.m.
D	8 0 p.m.	8 15 p.m.	8 30 p.m.

† Previous day.

A Daily: S
Portugal
D (Sat. on
Italy, La
Turkey,

CO

MONDAY

A Algeria, Morocco, Tunis, U.S.S.R. (Asia). C Libya.

TUESDAY

A Algeria, Morocco, U.S.S.R. (Asia), Tunis.
C Belgian Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, French Somali Coast, I
Iran, Iraq, Libya, Portuguese East Africa, Portuguese India
Africa (Province of Angola), Syria.

WEDNESDAY

A Algeria, Belgian Congo (via France), French Equatorial
(exc. Pt. Gentil and Pte Noire), French Indo-China, Port
(Province of Guinea), U.S.S.R., (Asia), Morocco, Senegal,
C China, Dutch East Indies, Dutch New Guinea, Eritrea
Somali Coast, Iran, Iraq, Italian Somaliland, Libya, Ma
Philippine Islands, Portuguese India, Siam, Syria (via G
Republic, Bolivia, *Brazil, Canary Islands, *Chile, *Ecuado
Peru, Uruguay.

THURSDAY

A Algeria, Morocco, U.S.S.R. (Asia), Tunis.
C Eritrea Ethiopia, French Equatorial Africa (District
* Also

Air Mail Correspondence should be posted as for ordi
Cuba, Dominican Republic, Dutch Guiana, Dutch W
Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Mexico,
Air Mail Corresponde

GENERAL

LIVERPOOL, Saturday

SUGAR.—Cane sorts quiet and easier. Basis qualities 96 degrees polarisation November-December sellers 5s. 9¾d. per cwt. c.i.f. United Kingdom. Refined descriptions steady at recent prices. Messrs Tate and Lyle, Ltd., quote:—Crystals, ones 22s., (Fairrie) fives 20s. 4½d., twos 20s. 3d., bright 20s., 1½d.; granulated, T.L., T.L. fine, Macfie's fairy paragon and (Fairrie) uniform 19s. 7½d., coarse and fine 20s., superfine 20s. 6d.; castor, and (Fairrie) 22s.; icing (1cwt. bags) 23s., pulverised 20s. 6d., small cubes (Fairrie) (1cwt. cases) 23s. 9d. ordinary cubes (Fairrie) (1cwt. cases) 23s. 3d., cubes (Fairrie) chips 21s. 6d., (Fairrie) nibs 23s. 9d.; yellows, thirds 18s. 6d., fourths 17s. 3d., primrose 16s. 3d.; cubes (ex London refinery), afternoon tea 24s., No. 1 23s. 9d., H.T.S. 23s. 6d. per cwt. ex refinery, Liverpool, in 2cwt bags, less 1½ per cent discount (minimum quantity 25 bags or 50cwt.). The Sankey Sugar Company, Ltd., quote:—Standard granulated 19s. 7½d., S.S.C. granulated 19s. 7½d., and extra fine granulated 20s. per cwt. ex refinery Earlestown, less 1½ per cent discount.

COCOA.—West African for shipment steady and slightly dearer. Good fermented Accras sellers December-February 21s. 6d. and January-March 21s 9d., Lagos f.a.q. sellers December-February 20s. 6d. and January-March 20s. 9d. per 50 kilos c.i.f. Continent

RICE quiet. Burma twos new crop January-February shipment sellers 7s. 6d. per cwt. c.i.f.

RICE BRAN quiet. Rangoon for shipment November-December old crop sellers £5 10s. and February-April new crop £4 15s. per ton ex ship.

SAGO FLOUR quiet. Sarawak for shipment 8s. per cwt. c.i.f.

PEAS.—Japanese on spot remain quiet and unchanged at £21 10s. per ton ex store. Shipment parcels steady; afloat £17 15s., October-November £16 7s. 6d., November-December and December-January £16 5s. per ton c.i.f.

BEANS quietly steady. Rangoon white hand-picked on spot quoted £8 10s. to £8 15s. per ton ex store. For shipment November-December quoted £6 17s. 6d. per ton c.i.f.

COTTONSEED MEAL steady. Local made 49 per cent £8 and 42 per cent £7 10s. per ton ex store.

CANARYSEED quiet and unchanged.

COTTONSEED quiet. Brazilian for shipment value £5 per ton ex ship.

LINSEED quiet. River Plate December shipment quoted £11 per ton ex ship.

OILCAKES steady, but demand rather quiet, prices unchanged. For shipment, linseed River Plate (round) January-February £9 12s. 6d., American November-December £8 5s., and Bombay expeller November-December £8 5s. Cottonseed, Egyptian undecorticated November-December £4 13s. 9d. Groundnut, Rangoon 50 per cent November-March £6 10s. per ton, all c.i.f. terms.

HIDES.—There has been a weaker tendency in the market, with sales of Argentine Frigorifico first heavy at from $76 to $77 (5 15-16d. to 6d.) and rejects at $68 (5 5-16d.). Nothing has been reported in light ox or Montevideos, but extremes have realised $82 (6⅛d.). In Saladeros the Liebig Company have sold on spot in Antwerp about 10,000 Paraguay hides out of about 16,500 offered, and though heavy ox were rather neglected only a few hundred of these were sold at 6½d.; quite good prices were paid for other weights, 23/24 kilos realising 6⅛d., 21½ kilos 5 7-16d., and 17/18 kilos 4 11-16d. Cows fetched 4 3-16d. to 5¼d., according to weight. The Bovril Company have cleared the balance of their medium ox of the old season at 5¼d., Antwerp basis for firsts, and 4¾d. for rejects. Dry River Plates are lower, B.A. Americanos quotable at 6d., Anchos 5⅛d., Chubuts 6½d. Nothing further has been reported in Cuyabanos, which are nominally about 5¼d. to-day. Brazils are tending a little easier, dry Cearas being offered at 8⅛d. and brined Natals at 6¼d. Australians are also slightly weaker at about 5⅝d. for dry-salted Queensland meats and 6⅜d. for New South Wales. Little has been done in Africans. Nigerians are nominally without change, but Capes are a little lower. Addis Abbebas are quoted at 5⅛d. The American market is rather nominal for steers. Cows are quoted a little lower.

DRYSALTERIES, &c.—Sulphate of ammonia and nitrate of soda steady at the official quotations.

LOCUST BEANS fully steady. Cyprus kibbled on spot quoted £6 12s. 6d. per ton in bags ex store; for shipment quoted £6 2s. 6d. per ton in bags c.i.f.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE REFUGEES

Need for Financial Assistance

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—Excellent as were, in some respects, the statements by the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary in the House of Commons on Monday, November 21, regarding the intended provision of facilities for the emigration of the persecuted German refugees, there was one glaring omission. Neither Mr. Chamberlain nor Sir Samuel Hoare gave any indication that the Government would be prepared to provide any financial assistance for maintaining or training the young persons under 17 years of age who might be brought to this country or for settling adults overseas.

There are, admittedly, two outstanding aspects of the refugee problem. The first is to afford immediate facilities for as many as possible of the involuntary refugees to be brought away from Germany, and particularly to provide for the accommodation, maintenance, and training of the young people so as to fit them for ultimate settlement. The second is to make provision for families and adults for permanent settlement overseas. In his broadcast to America on Tuesday Lord Winterton said that since 1933 150,000 people had left Germany and that the number remaining to emigrate was certainly not less than 600,000.

The refugee problem has now become so pressing and gigantic that the only way of dealing with it adequately is for the countries who comprise the Evian Inter-Governmental Committee for Refugees not only to collaborate in affording facilities and machinery for the training and settlement but also to provide at least some of the initial finance by way of grants or guaranteed loans. Some of the voluntary relief organisations for refugees have been at work for the past five years, and they are now hard put to it to keep going. It is quite impossible for them to tackle adequately the task of dealing in the course of the next two or three years with the huge problem of maintaining and training tens of thousands of young refugees and settling 600,000 people in other countries. On the assumption that not less than £500—a moderate amount—will be required to settle one family, the total sum might well run into £70,000,000 or £80,000,000.

During the past twenty years we have had two outstanding experiences of settlement of refugees on a large scale. One was the settlement of the Greeks from Asia Minor after the defeat of the Greek Army in 1922. The second has been the settlement of some 280,000 Jews in Palestine since 1920. For settling over 1,000,000 refugees from Asia Minor and Constantinople from 1923 to 1931 the League of Nations raised loans amounting to £13,000,000. The Greek Government gave the land free of cost, and, in addition, the Commission was able to utilise 65,000 houses formerly occupied by Turks who were repatriated by the Turkish Government. In the case of Palestine no less than £90,000,000 has been invested for Jewish developments since 1923.

In the course of a week or so the Evian Inter-Governmental Refugee Committee, which comprises representatives from 32 Governments, including that of the United States, will meet in London under the chairmanship of Lord Winterton. May I suggest that both Parliament and public opinion should bring pressure to bear upon our own Government to take the initiative in proposing that this committee formulate a scheme on a proportional basis whereby either financial grants or a guaranteed loan may be made available to the voluntary agencies now searching for a permanent solution of this outstanding human problem of the Stateless refugees?—Yours, &c.,

BEN RILEY.

House of Commons,
November 24.

DEALING WITH REFUGEE CASES

Complaint of British Official Delays

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—The Prime Minister and members of the British Government have expressed in the House of Commons and elsewhere sympathy with the Jews in Germany in their tragic plight and have professed some desire to help refugees. Will they first of all look into the conduct of the Home and Foreign Offices and see how harshly the present regulations are being applied?

Here is a case from my own experience. A Jewish lady, a British subject, married to an Englishman and living near Manchester, has a young brother who is an Austrian Jew. At the time of the German invasion of Austria he was living in Vienna, the city of his birth. He has never engaged in political activity, but he was arrested as a Jew and thrown into a concentration camp. Later he was released, but told that he must leave Austria by the end of August. He fled to Yugo-Slavia, where he at first found refuge. Then the police of Yugo-Slavia began to make systematic searches for Jews who had no visas. This young man had had to leave Austria without the possibility of obtaining a visa. He therefore became a homeless fugitive and is now living in hiding—anywhere he can escape the Yugo-Slav police, for if he is found he will be sent back to Austria. If he returns to Austria he will be shot for disobeying the order to leave the country. A tragic dilemma for a young man, intelligent and accomplished, who would be an asset to any nation!

He has seen the British Consul, who will help him if he can get permission to land in England. Meantime his sister in England has not spared any effort. As long ago as last May her husband applied for permission for this young man to come to England for twelve months so that he could be trained to take up life in some part of the Empire. He has complied with all the requirements of the Home and Foreign Offices (under the guidance of the Manchester Council for German Jewry), has guaranteed him a home that he may not become a charge upon the State, has found an employer who will train him free for a year without displacing a British workman, but no permit has been forthcoming. It has not been refused—it is still "under consideration," though months have elapsed since the formalities were completed. Recently, on hearing that her brother had been in hiding in the forests for four days until succoured by some kindly peasants, my Jewish friend wrote a moving letter to the Foreign Office telling of his plight and pleading for early consideration. She gave a cover address in Yugo-Slavia where the permit could be sent. The reply from the Foreign Office was to ask for the young man's "permanent address." The irony of it!

The sad story does not end here. This young Jew has a wife—a girl of 19 who wants to leave Vienna also for England because Vienna has become a living death for Jews. They dare not go out of doors even. In order to help, my wife agreed to take this girl as a domestic helper. In this case the permit actually came through and was sent to her two months ago. And now she cannot get a visa from the British Consul in Vienna! One morning she heard that visas were being granted and got up at 4 a.m. to wait five hours—only to be told that no visas were being given. And she actually holds a permit to land in England!

The latest news we hear from her is that the Nazis have turned her and her parents out of their home, broken or looted all their furniture, and beaten her so that she now lies in bed ill at a relative's home. This is the story of a young and talented couple who should now be beginning to make their way in the world and look forward to a happy and useful life. Does Mr. Chamberlain think that people of sensibility in England can look forward as he suggests to a happy Christmas whilst such monstrous wrongs are being perpetrated? I do not give names, but can vouch for the facts. I ask you also not to publish my own name and address for obvious reasons.—Yours, &c.,

J. K.

November 24.

Government's Obstacles

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—A Viennese refugee has stayed with me for some weeks. He was admitted to this country in September simply on the strength of a note on his passport by the English Consulate to the effect that he was ultimately bound for Australia. His wife and child were left behind in Vienna. On his wife applying for a visa at the Consulate it was learned:

1. That the booking of a passage to Australia was not sufficient.
2. That an invitation to stay with me (which I had posted to her) was not sufficient.
3. That any such invitation must go through the Home Office here, supported by guarantees for the future and by bank references.
4. That if she wishes to take a situation here (which naturally she does, as soon as she can obtain one), a permit based on an invitation would make difficulties in the way of a permit to employ her.

It appears that since September decisions have been taken by the Government intended to put every possible obstacle in the way of Austrian refugees. One of your correspondents speaks of the difficulty of finding out the Government's policy from the Prime Minister's speeches. Perhaps we may find it out from their actions.—Yours, &c.,

J. J. TODD.

Poynton, Sondes Place Drive,
Dorking, Surrey, November 25.

More Examples

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—I can from personal knowledge give more poignant instances of the suffering inflicted upon German and Austrian would-be emigrants by delays in Government departments here.

One case was that of a Catholic adherent of Schuschnigg's who had already been beaten by the Gestapo and threatened with direr penalties. This man has friends over here willing to pay his fare to England and support him while he is here. They have written repeatedly to this effect to the Home Office since September and have received no reply to any of their letters. In the meantime their protégé continues in the greatest danger.

The second case is that of a student who has the promise of a United States visa and whose friends here at length secured the promise of a British transit visa. The Home Office, through the Foreign Office, wired instructions to the appropriate consulate. But a fortnight elapsed after the receipt of the wire by the consulate before the applicant was even directed to report there. Then, for some reason, the visa was not granted. In the meantime the young man has been put in a concentration camp.

No one doubts that the harassed officials of understaffed departments are doing their best to deal with the deluge of applications. Nor does anyone expect the Government to allow an influx of refugees without consideration and investigation. But surely a plain "Yes" or "No" could be given to some of these unfortunates without keeping them and their relatives in all the agony of uncertainty and suspense month after month.—Yours, &c.,

R. C. S.

London, November 25.

AWARD FOR RESCUE FROM BURNING AEROPLANE

In recognition of his courage and prompt action in rescuing two officers from a blazing aeroplane, Aircraftman Guest, of the R.A.F., Finningley, near Doncaster, will be presented to-day with the M.B.E. by Air Commodore Blount at the annual inspection.

On one night in March the aeroplane was about to descend when it caught a belt of trees at the edge of the Finningley Aerodrome and crashing broke into flames. Guest dragged Squadron Leader Jacques and another officer clear of the blazing wreckage.

SERGEANT KILLED IN R.A.F. 'PLANE CRASH

Sergeant Edward Watkin-Thomas was killed yesterday when an R.A.F. 'plane from No. 27 Elementary and Reserve Flying Training School, Nottingham, crashed at Holme Pierrepont, near Nottingham. He was the sole occupant.

S. Smith, who received thirty points in each of seventy-one frames, defeated J. Davis 42—29 in their "Daily Mail" Gold Cup snooker match which ended at Thurston's, London on Saturday.

THE DEATH PENAL

Is It a Deterrent?

To the Editor of the Manchester Guard

Sir,—It is a curious thing wi those who consider the death penal a deterrent to murder that the mor examples of its failure they encounter the more necessary to them does its retention seem. The implication behind Mr. Radford's question in the House of Commons to the Home Secretary and Mr. Lloyd, reported by you on Friday, presumably is that had there been no death penalty in force we should in the last few days have had not two foul murders but many more. Such a fear is completely without foundation. Can Mr. Radford name any country in which abolition of the death penalty has been followed by an increase in homicide?

Anyone who expects in England a different experience from that universally found elsewhere is, possibly unconsciously, arguing that the fear of death is more likely to be operative with Englishmen than with Argentinians, Belgians, Brazilians, Danes, Dutchmen, Finns, Norwegians, Peruvians, Portuguese, Rumanians, and Swedes. Will anyone seriously maintain so fantastic a proposition?—Yours, &c.,

G. A. SUTHERLAND.

Dalton Hall, Manchester,
November 26.

NATIONAL PARK

Views in Lake District

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—Recent correspondence in the press on the subject of a national park for the Lake District was discussed at the annual meeting of the Lake District Safeguarding Society held at Ambleside on November 11. The matter is of particular interest to this society, which is composed of those who live in the district, either as tenants or owners. No formal resolution was passed, but the Executive Committee was asked to send you a letter embodying as far as possible the views expressed at the meeting.

It was felt that misapprehension arises from the rather unfortunate name by which the project has become known. One member told of a party of hikers who had invaded his grounds. When gently informed that they were on private property they retorted: "Ah, but you just wait till we've got our national park here!" The word "park" conjures up ideas and suggests rights and privileges for the public which certainly are not advocated by the most ardent supporters of the proposal. It is difficult to find the right title, but national reserve might be better than national park.

It is not proposed that "freedom of access" should apply to any area except the fell lands, where it virtually prevails to-day, thanks to the generosity of both landlords and tenants. Enclosed farm land, private parks, gardens, and plantations are to be as private as they are now. Where there are sporting rights which unlimited access would damage they would be protected, so that the stranger might be able to distinguish between land with sporting values and land where no damage could be done. It would seem only reasonable that some measure of compensation should follow legislation granting freedom of access where this does not already exist. If this could take the form of remission of death duties or taxation, as has been suggested, it would greatly help towards the continuity of the present tenure of the land and would act as a buttress against the breaking up of estates and their transfer to the speculative purchaser, which is one of the worst dangers that face "preservation" to-day.

But the real need is for the proper guidance and control of such development as must occur. Local authorities are doing their best with such powers as have been granted to them under the Town and Country Planning Act. But they are limited in their efforts by their very inadequate financial resources, local rates being quite unable to face the burden of any serious claim for compensation. And the planning authorities are constantly finding themselves opposed by the powerful statutory undertakings over whose devastating activities they have no control whatever. What is necessary for all districts which the nation deliberately intends to preserve in an unspoilt condition is a careful and intensified planning system under a central authority backed up by the financial resources of the nation.

The final control would clearly be in the hands of some body appointed by and responsible to the national executive. But such a body must include representatives with local knowledge and experience, in which case there would not appear to be good ground for the fear that local opinion would be overruled. The same principle would apply to any part of the country where a national reserve is decided upon. We in the Lake District would not agree to national funds being used in Snowdonia or the Trossachs under entirely local control.

It is regrettable that there should be an impression that those who advocate a national reserve have a quarrel with or a grudge against the landlord and tenant of to-day. On the contrary, everyone realises fully the deep debt of gratitude that is owed them for all they have done for our countryside. Preservation implies keeping the Lake District mainly as we now know it without any interference with the present system of land tenure and cultivation. But times are changing and new bodies with unlimited powers behind them are acquiring rights over the heads of the landlords, at the moment when they are weakened to the danger-point by taxation and death duties. And it is felt that the people of this nation should realise their responsibility for this state of affairs and should be prepared to help those, particularly the owners and occupiers of the land, who have for so long worked unselfishly to keep one corner of their county unspoilt for the enjoyment of their fellow-countrymen.—Yours, &c.,

J. W. CROPPER, Chairman,
C. F. GORDON, Secretary,
Executive Committee,
Lake District Safeguarding Society.

Grasmere, November 22.

enlarged Third Reich are available, but the numbers are probably substantially greater than those of full Jews.

The collapse of German and Austrian Jewry into refugee movements may affect the stability of East European Jewry, which is now precariously maintained by the constructive humanitarian work of such organizations as the American Joint Distribution Committee, Hicem and Ort. The whole of Eastern Jewry is in an insecure position. Both in Poland and in Rumania at different times Government spokesmen have suggested that measures will be adopted to induce emigration as a contribution towards solving the problems raised.

THE DANGER IN THE EAST

The report points out here that to the east of Germany and Austria, and excluding the 3,000,000 Jews in Russia, there is a Jewry of nearly 5,000,000. Eastern European Governments have seen

the success and impunity with which Germany has carried through a persecution of Jews which has included the substantial confiscation of their property and their employment. . . . They have seen relief organizations and the charity of the civilized world respond to a process equivalent to blackmail. . . . Other countries may argue that the only way they can secure the interest of the international community in their Jewish problems is to adopt a similar policy and begin to convert the domestic question into an international problem of refugees.

Politically the problem of Eastern Jewry has been deliberately exacerbated by German propaganda beyond the borders of the Third Reich. Anti-Semitism is being exploited by Germany as an instrument in the economic and political penetration of Eastern Europe. Stimulation of anti-Semitism has become a regular feature of the technique of the external policy of the Third Reich.

Private charity can now do no more than relieve some of the more acute distress and initiate experiments in the readaptation of Jewry to the new conditions arising. . . . The problem . . . is too urgent . . . to allow postponement of action until solutions are found of the general economic and political malaise of which the existence of refugees is a symptom.

The Jews are not the only minorities in Europe, though they are more likely than others to be subjected to a forced migration. A large proportion of the total population of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Rumania belongs to races other than that of the ruling race. Since the "unmixing" of these races is a practical impossibility, "it is an essential of European peace that the minorities should be contented; otherwise they, too, become potential recruits for the armies of refugees." Attempts to secure justice, if not successful, may tend to aggravate persecution. There is no international machinery which can compel a sovereign State to accord justice to its minorities:

International action must be directed primarily to ease those tensions, political and economic, that threaten to produce chaotic emigration movements. Some of the refugee problems of the Near East in the immediate post-War years were solved by exchange of population agreements, but for the main problems as they exist to-day no such solution appears to be practicable.

In discussing the removal of causes of refugee movements, the report makes the suggestion that the most important measure of preventive assistance would probably be the restoration of the opportunities for emigration, which, undoubtedly, prevented the emergence before the Great War of serious refugee movements. But "no measures in the shape of economic assistance will have the effect of preventing unregulated movements of population if anti-Semitic agitation used for political ends continues."

HOPE OF RETURN

Interesting observations are made on repatriation. The report points out that the compulsory repatriation

of the actively political refugee groups, like the Italian and Portuguese, while the political conditions persist which caused their flight, is morally impossible while any respect for the tradition of sanctuary survives. . . . The possibility of ultimate repatriation belongs to the realm of political prophecy and aspiration, and a programme of action cannot be based on speculation.

At the same time the hope of return, shared by hosts and refugees alike, is recognized as a fundamental element in the refugee situation. For one thing it

has preserved among the refugees a self-respect and has conferred on them a capacity to endure almost intolerable conditions, without which they might have become a mass of human wreckage for the redemption of which no plan could have been made. . . . A programme of action which abandons repatriation as an instrument or objective of policy must therefore compensate the refugees, in return for the surrender of this hope, by a much more generous provision for their absorption.

On the subject of distribution to countries where final settlement is possible, the report says that distribution has been determined chiefly by the accidents of the original migration or by sudden political and economic changes. The refugees are still in many cases in politically dangerous proximity to their countries of origin. The absorption of large numbers of refugees from Europe in oversea countries has been suggested, and the report agrees that this is desirable; but

it is important to bear in mind that the migration of refugees is subject to the conditions of migration generally. . . . If refugee emigration is to be fitted into this complicated system, the refugees must have behind them some organization, preferably a Governmental or an inter-Governmental organization, which will be able to conclude agreements and to exercise continual supervision over their execution. . . . Refugees will continue to be at a disadvantage in comparison with other migrants as they have no home to which to return if they fail or if they are threatened with expulsion. . . . It is essential that organizations promoting oversea emigration should take every precaution that the migrant is fully informed of the situation in the new country, that he is a suitable emigrant, and that he shall have some person to whom he can address himself in case of need. . . . If refugees can be fitted into general colonizing movements in which they enjoy the benefits provided for the settlers as a whole, many objections disappear.

NATURALIZATION

Coming to the question of absorption in the countries of refuge, the report remarks that the National-Socialist policy of mobilizing persons of German origin outside Germany to the support of the Third Reich has aroused the suspicion of Governments and has rendered them less willing to accept German immigrants. Naturalization has, however, gone far to free many of the older refugee groups from legal disabilities.

It seems probable that, except in rare cases like that of the Russians in the Far East, naturalization will continue increasingly to provide a solution of most of the legal problems of the refugees, but it is desirable that the process should be hastened.

Governments anxious to cooperate in a constructive liquidation of the problem are urged to pursue a more generous naturalization policy. This would have

great advantages for the Governments themselves, for the presence in any country of a group of aliens who are for practical purposes permanently resident, and whose relationship to the State remains ambiguous, leads to the creation of an alien minority susceptible to propaganda and other influences from outside.

Then there are the political difficulties of absorption. In many ways the

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TRAGEDY OF THE EXODUS

MASSES IN SEARCH OF SANCTUARY

A CALL FOR ACTION

A depressing picture of a mass exodus of victims of oppression from many lands is drawn in THE REFUGEE PROBLEM: Report of a Survey, by Sir John Hope Simpson; published to-day by the Oxford University Press (London: Milford, 25s.). The knowledge that the report covers the situation as it existed up to the month of October, 1938, and therefore does not reach the added misery caused by the latest German pogrom, intensifies the shadows of the picture. But although, statistically and descriptively, the report does not deal with the present enlargement of the problem, Sir John Hope Simpson has many vivid comments and pertinent suggestions to make on the situation created by German policy since October, 1938.

The survey was undertaken under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in September, 1937. It is restricted to those refugee movements which affect most closely the countries of Europe and America. Inquiry did extend to the Far East, but was there confined to the group of refugees from Russia who are connected in origin with Russian groups in other countries. The report is concerned only with post-War refugees, but not with all classes of those refugees; it is confined to movements which originated in European countries, in the Ottoman Empire, and in the Russian Empire, and it does not deal with other important movements, such as those in China, Abyssinia, or South America. The word "refugee" has extensive definitions. For the purpose of the survey a refugee is described as "distinguished from the ordinary alien or migrant in that he has left his former territory because of political events [including religious] there, not because of economic conditions or because of the economic attractions of another territory."

TASK FOR GOVERNMENTS

The key-note of the report is that the magnitude of the problem now renders it beyond the capacity of any private organization, that the task is essentially one for Governments. There are not only present refugees but potential refugees. The receiving capacity of Palestine is permanently restricted by the small area available, and temporarily by political conditions; the United States is not prepared to extend the already considerable quota. But, says the report,

> if Great Britain and France and some other European countries, perhaps Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, and Finland, were to agree to take a quarter of the potential refugees from Germany at once and accommodate them, if necessary in camps, until they could be dispersed to countries of ultimate settlement, a substantial step would have been taken towards the solution of the problem.

If the term "refugee" is difficult to define, it is even more difficult to answer the question: When does a refugee cease to be one? The authorities regard the question from a different angle: the Government chiefly from the legal and technical, and the refugees' representatives from the economic and humanitarian point of view. Discrepancies in the returns are abundant; but careful investigation for each group of refugees has provided data for a fairly reliable estimate of the number still remaining at the end of 1937. The report gives the following approximate numbers for that date:—

Russians in European and Mediterranean countries	355,000
Russians in the Far East	95,000
Armenians	225,000
Assyrians, Assyro-Chaldeans, Turks, &c.	7,150
Assyrians of Iraq	9,000
Italians	30,000
Refugees from Germany	165,000
Refugees from the Saar	3,800

[The figures for Armenians include practically the whole Armenian population in Syria and the Lebanon, although the greater part of them are naturalized. They cannot be regarded as completely assimilated. No figures can be given for Spaniards and Portuguese.]

THE URGENT NEEDS

Not all of these groups present problems requiring international action; but urgent needs are:—

(1) Acceleration of the final assimilation of Russians in European and Mediterranean countries;

(2) Assistance of emigration of Russians in the Far East whose situation has been rendered intolerable in Manchukuo since the Japanese occupation, and of those whose future in China is imperilled;

(3) Final settlement of Armenians in Greece, especially the 10,000 living in insanitary conditions near Athens;

(4) Settlement of the 1,000 Armenian families in Syria for whom arrangements have not yet been made;

(5) Effective political protection for all Armenians in Syria and the Lebanon;

(6) Completion of settlement of the Assyrians of Iraq on the Khabur, and similar effective political protection for them and their kinsmen remaining in Iraq;

(7) Measures to secure absorption of those refugees from Germany who are in countries where they can be finally settled;

(8) Transfer of refugees from Germany from countries of temporary refuge, especially limitrophe countries, to countries where they can be finally settled;

(9) Some measure of international legal and political protection for refugees of those classes—*e.g.*, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese—who at present enjoy no such protection.

The problems outstanding at the end of 1937, though intractable, were capable of solution if the German exodus could be restricted to manageable limits and if the policy of confiscating refugee property were modified, or some form of compensation *en bloc* were secured; if finance were available for the migration of a considerable section of the Russians in the Far East; if the exodus caused by the civil war in Spain were not extended; and if the Powers were prepared to use effectively the existing machinery for the political protection of minorities in the Near East. These were substantial qualifications in 1937; but in 1938 conditions within Germany became steadily worse:—

> A large extension of the German problem followed the annexation of Austria, with her population of 180,000 Jews, in March, and the cession of the Sudeten areas of Czechoslovakia in October. . . . Illegal immigration has everywhere assumed large dimensions, and many refugees are living a hunted existence.

The situation is made worse by the demand in Germany for an increased *tempo* of emigration. It is demanded that Austrian Jews must be evacuated within the next four years. At the same time the German Government obstruct the flow of emigration by various means. A new technical difficulty has been imposed by the withdrawal of passports from German Jews and their replacement by identity cards. The extension of discrimination to the persons generally described as non-Aryans increases the magnitude of the problem by an unpredictable amount. No reliable estimates of non-Aryans in the

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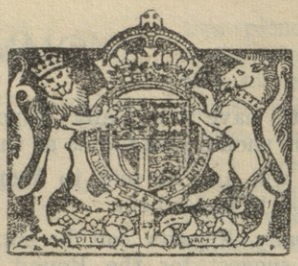
No. 13



Wednesday
10th Oct., 1945

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

HOUSE OF COMMONS

OFFICIAL REPORT

CONTENTS

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not later than

Tuesday, 16th October, 1945

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Wednesday, 10th October, 1945

The House met at a Quarter past Two o'Clock

PRAYERS

[Mr. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

ALIENS (NATURALIZATION)

Address for Return

"showing (1) Particulars of all Aliens to whom certificates of Naturalization have been issued and whose Oaths of Allegiance have, during the year ended the 31st day of December, 1944, been registered at the Home Office; (2) Information as to any Aliens who have, during the same period, obtained Acts of Naturalization from the Legislature; and (3) Particulars of cases in which Certificates of Naturalization have been revoked during the same period (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper No. 99 of Session 1944-45)."—[*Mr. Oliver.*]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

ROYAL AIR FORCE

Educational and Vocational Training Scheme

1. **Mr. Quintin Hogg** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air when he will be in a position to make a statement regarding the progress and prospects of the educational and vocational training scheme in the R.A.F.

The Under-Secretary of State for Air (Mr. Strachey): With Mr. Speaker's permission and that of the House, I propose to make a statement at the end of Questions.

Later—

Mr. Strachey: The Educational and Vocational Training Scheme in the Royal Air Force is now beginning to get under way. The result of a sample census showed that some 600,000 airmen and airwomen—about 65% of the total strength of the R.A.F.—want to make use of the scheme in one way or another. We shall satisfy this splendid demand for adult education to the very limit of our resources. In addition to our own education officers some 9,000 full-time instructors have been trained—and many part-time instructors are being used. We have so far provided 700,000 school books, three million exercise books, 100,000 training syllabuses, 1,600,000 Ministry of Labour pamphlets and much other scholastic material. So far about 200,000 students have actually begun work in the Home Command. I cannot yet give the corresponding figures for Overseas Commands, but there too the scheme is getting going.

The courses are of two kinds: educational courses—which include training in citizenship, improving a man's or woman's standard of basic education, or helping him or her to prepare for University and professional examinations: vocational courses—which consist of technical instruction for a trade. A man may wish to learn a new trade—say one of the building trades—from the beginning. Or a man with a skilled R.A.F. trade—say a fitter on aero-engines—may want a course which will enable him to apply his skill to a corresponding civilian trade—say a fitter on motor engines. This side of the work is carried on in consultation with the Ministry of Labour. There have been certain difficulties in selecting the trades, and the numbers to be trained for each trade, which have delayed this part of the scheme. But I hope and believe, that these difficulties are now being overcome. We are always careful to state clearly that E.V.T. training can carry with it no guarantee of employment in the particular trade selected.

Finally, the House will recognise that no scheme of this magnitude, which had to be extemporised amidst many other pressing tasks, can be equally effective or efficient in every part of the Service. Some Commands and some Stations have been able to get going more rapidly than others. But I can assure the hon. Member for Oxford (Mr. Hogg)—who, I know, has this scheme very much at heart—that every effort will be made to make it a success. We are determined to see that E.V.T. contributes something to the permanent welfare of hundreds of thousands of airmen and airwomen, in what will be their last few months with the Royal Air Force.

Mr. Hogg: While thanking the hon. Gentleman for the comprehensive statement on this subject which he has just given, may I ask him a question with regard to the difficulties to which he referred in relation to the vocational part of the scheme? Hitherto, as I understand it, the scheme has been limited to four trades —agriculture, building, furniture-making, and retail distribution. Would the hon. Gentleman tell the House to what trades it is now to be extended and whether any, and if so what, restrictions are still to be imposed?

Mr. Strachey: I am glad to be able to say that it has been extended, in agreement with the Ministry of Labour, to a fairly comprehensive list of other trades. As the hon. Member knows, there is a further distinction between the *ab initio* courses and courses converting a man's skill from a service trade to a civilian trade, and the list of trades to which it has been extended is different in each case. We have not got all we want on the point, but we have gone a fairly long way, and vocational training on a reasonable scale will now be able to go forward.

Wing-Commander Millington: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the objection to the scheme, even by the 65 per cent. of men and women in the Air Force who have signed on for this scheme, and the lack of confidence they feel in it, is because it is held up in many cases until the last month or so of their service career; and would not he agree that even if people are in release groups 60 or 70, now is the time to start getting training under the E.V.T. scheme if it is to be of any use to them?

Mr. Strachey: I fully agree with that, and the need for haste is very great, but, as I say, the scheme is only now getting under way. The difficulties have been very great. For example, 1,300,000 books are needed. We have not got them all yet. We have only got 700,000.

Mr. Hogg: Would the hon. Gentleman consider putting at the disposal of Members, perhaps in the Library of the House, a full schedule of the trades available to be learned under the vocational part of the scheme?

Mr. Strachey: Certainly. They will be published.

Mr. Kenneth Lindsay: While realising my hon. Friend's interest in this matter, may I ask whether he is aware that three weeks ago, only one training instructor had arrived in Germany in connection with the scheme?

Mr. Strachey: That certainly is not my information, but if the hon. Member will let me have any information he has to substantiate his statement I will look into it.

Squadron-Leader Sir Gifford Fox: Will my hon. Friend say how many of the 200,000 have already started courses owing to being posted for R.A.F. service where similar facilities are available?

Mr. Strachey: There are places where this service is going on, but I could not give the figure.

Mr. York: May I ask the hon. Gentleman to explain why it is necessary to have one compulsory hour a week, and whether it is necessary in those trades where overtime is worked and E.V.T. courses cannot be taken?

Mr. Strachey: Under the Regulation they are allowed to work for six hours per week in Service time. The difficulty, of course, is that some stations are very busy with Transport Command work, while other stations are not so busy, and it is difficult to fit a scheme to the needs of all the different Commands.

Mr. York: That does not answer my question. What I wish to know is whether it is necessary to insist upon one hour's compulsory E.V.T. training in those trades where the member was not allowed to take part in the normal E.V.T. scheme because of the heavy work in those particular trades.

Mr. Strachey: That is not my information, but perhaps the hon. Member will put his facts before me.

Disabled Education Officers

4. **Lieut.-Colonel Sir Ian Fraser** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air why education officers in the R.A.F., when they are disabled, are compensated as civilians, whereas in the other Armed Forces they are compensated as Servicemen.

Mr. Strachey: Officers of the Royal Air Force Educational Service, when they are

disabled, are compensated as civilians because they are civilians. These officers, although commissioned in the R.A.F.V.R., were not embodied or mobilised and so retained their civilian status. The future status of this Service is under consideration.

Mr. Pickthorn: May I ask whether the hon. Gentleman's reply refers also to those officers who were actually embodied and mobilised at the beginning of the war?

Mr. Strachey: Those who were embodied and mobilised, and remained embodied and mobilised, are not referred to, of course, but it refers to those who were only temporarily mobilised.

5. **Sir I. Fraser** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air how many education officers and other ranks in the R.A.F. have been disabled on duty by enemy action and of these how many have been disabled in the highest degree.

Mr. Strachey: One education officer has been disabled by enemy action in Europe. He suffered disability in the highest degree. Two other education officers have been held prisoners by the Japanese, but it is not yet known whether either of these has been disabled.

Sir I. Fraser: In view of the extremely limited number of people affected—one or two—and the very strong sense of injustice which they feel at being treated less well than similar grades in the Army and Navy, will the hon. Member ask the Secretary of State for Air to reconsider this matter with proper sympathy?

Mr. Strachey: The hon. and gallant Member has been in correspondence with my Noble Friend on the subject, and he is aware of the considerations which led my Noble Friend not to accede to that demand, but if he has some new facts, I am quite sure that my Noble Friend will consider them.

Demobilisation

6. **Mr. T. J. Brooks** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air why experienced graduate teachers serving in the meteorological section of the R.A.F. are being denied release from the services under Class B; whether priority is given under Class B for officers as well as other ranks who are teachers in civil life; and why it is necessary to post such personnel of importance to the teaching profession overseas now the war is over.

Mr. Strachey: Both officers and airmen of all branches of the R.A.F. are eligible for release in Class B as teachers. Some meteorological officers have already been so released. Unfortunately, however, it has been necessary to refuse release under Class B to some teachers who are meteorological officers. There are two reasons for this. First, an exceptionally high proportion—over 50 per cent.—of our wartime meteorological officers are teachers. Second, the very heavy transport commitments of the R.A.F. in bringing home men from overseas under the release and leave schemes creates a demand for meteorological officers, particularly overseas, which simply has to be satisfied in the interest of safety.

Mr. Brooks: Is my hon. Friend aware that a number of these have been concentrated and there are now more people for the jobs and less work to do, and that a number of them could surely be released under Class B?

Mr. Strachey: A number have been, and are being, released.

Mr. Brooks: My information is that no such releases have yet taken place.

Mr. Strachey: Oh, no. The hon. Member's information is wrong there. Releases of meteorological officers have taken place under Class B and are continuing to take place.

Mr. Brooks: Will my hon. Friend tell us how it is that these people in the meteorological office are not able to get any information about their release at all, and that nobody is able to give them any information?

Mr. Strachey: No, Sir, the release groups of meteorological officers are promulgated and if they read the promulgations they will see their group in the scheme.

10. **Mr. Palmer** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air if he is aware of the dissatisfaction in the accounting branch of the R.A.F. because of the holding of men in this branch beyond their proper age and service groups; if he is satisfied that this policy is necessary; and whether he will take steps to redirect

[Mr. Palmer.]
other grades of good general education to take over accountancy work and so enable accountant branch personnel to be released with their correct groups.

Mr. Strachey: Yes Sir, I am aware of dissatisfaction in the Accountant Branch —naturally no one likes to have their release delayed. But I am also satisfied that this delay is unavoidable, more especially in view of the recent speed-up in the general rate of release, which throws a still heavier burden on the Accounts Branch. Active steps are being taken to train suitable new men for the job and 1,450 have now been trained or have entered into training and a further 2,150 will be trained or training for this branch by the end of the year. As a result, the position is improving, but I must warn the House that the faster we go in general demobilisation, the more difficult it will be to achieve evenness as between different trades and ranks.

Mr. Palmer: Is my hon. Friend aware that this position does not seem to arise in other Services?

Mr. Strachey: No, Sir, the release by trade and rank is observed in the Royal Navy and, as my hon. Friend has seen in the Press, it has lately been introduced in the Army also.

Mr. Henderson Stewart: Is the hon. Gentleman aware of the cases which I have brought to his notice of men under this section who have served for six years in the Air Force, and also of their complaint that they themselves were obtained for special work for a matter of a few weeks?

Mr. Strachey: The training period is for four or five weeks and we are training the numbers I have mentioned, which should, by the end of the year, largely relieve the situation.

Mr. Callaghan: Can the Under-Secretary tell us when he now expects the release of this branch to be all square with the general release scheme?

Mr. Strachey: No, Sir; I cannot give a general assurance on that; it depends on the general releases which have been speeded up.

Mr. Lipson: Can the Under-Secretary tell us whether his promise that the position would be evened up by the end of the year no longer holds good?

Mr. Strachey: No, Sir; I cannot agree that I gave any such promise. I said that releases between trades and branches were being evened up; and there has in fact been appreciable progress in that respect during the Recess. I never gave any undertaking that the releases as between trades would be perfectly even by the end of the year.

16. **Mr. Turton** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air why meteorological officers of group 15 and above are being excluded from the Class A demobilisation scheme; how many temporary meteorological officers recruited between 2nd September 1939 and 1942 have yet been released; and how many civilian meteorological officers have so far been released.

Mr. Strachey: No meteorological officer in the Royal Air Force is excluded from the Class A release scheme. Officers in group 15 will be released in October, and those in groups 16-20 in November and December. As to the second part of the question, 40 wartime meteorological officers and 10 civilian officers have so far been released.

Mr. Turton: Will the hon. Gentleman remove the misapprehension that exists in the Service that these civilian officers are getting out more easily than recruited Service officers—the men who have been transferred to the R.A.F. Reserve and are being kept in?

Mr. Strachey: I do not think the figures bear out the hon. Member's statement, as 40 commissioned meterological officers have been released and only 10 civilians.

Mr. Turton: Can the Minister say what proportion of civilian officers have been released and what proportion of Service men?

Mr. Strachey: I cannot give that without notice.

18. **Mr. Garry Allighan** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air whether he is aware that the release of Intelligence officers of the R.A.F. is up to four months behind their group dates; and whether he is satisfied that such postponement of release is operationally vital.

Mr. Strachey: The difficulty with Intelligence officers is that they tend to be older men, and so to be particularly numerous in the early release groups. Therefore this Section would have been denuded if they had been released in step with, for instance, aircrew. In October they were four groups behind the majority of officer trades while in November and December they are two groups behind. In any case there is nothing like a four months' delay.

Major Wyatt: Is the Under-Secretary aware that men who have been warned for demobilisation are not being used for Intelligence purposes but for documentation work—that is, release and embarkation matters?

Mr. Strachey: Perhaps the hon. Member will give me specific instances of mis-employment of that kind, but a certain amount of mis-employment is inevitable at the moment, and is even desirable in order to speed up the general releases.

Transferred Personnel (Release Groups)

7. **Captain Bullock** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air whether he has yet reached a decision with regard to the grievances of those men in the R.A.F. who were transferred to vital work in aircraft industries and who, despite assurances given them at the time, have now found that they are in a much higher numbered group than they would have been if they had not been so transferred.

9. **Mr. Ernest Davies** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air whether he has now reconsidered the position of R.A.F. personnel who were temporarily released to industry; and whether he will now arrange that such civilian service be taken into account for calculating their demobilisation group numbers.

20. **Sir Robert Young** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air whether he is aware that men on temporary release to industry were informed that their period of release would count towards their current engagement, but that the terms of this promise in relation to demobilisation are not being carried out; and since many of the men directed and then re-directed, to workshops in different parts of the country would have been in a stronger financial position had they remained in the Service, if he will now reconsider this decision.

23. **Sir John Mellor** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air if he can now make a statement with regard to the demobilisation of airmen who accepted temporary release for civilian war work upon the assurance that the time so spent would count as military service.

Mr. Strachey: It has now been decided that those airmen who received an unqualified written assurance that their period of release to industry

"would count as service towards their current engagements"

will count that period as service for calculating their age and service release groups. Their release groups will be adjusted accordingly. This decision has been come to because the interpretation put on the above assurance by the men is undoubtedly the natural one to put on it. Therefore the Government feel that the importance of avoiding an apparent breach of faith with the men must override other considerations. The decision does not mean that the Government has changed its previous view that it is, in principle, unfair to count the time when a man was released to industry as the equivalent for release purposes of time served with the colours. Therefore, it would be quite wrong to extend this concession to any but those who received the unqualified written assurance.

Mr. Mikardo: Will my hon. Friend now take measures to see that those men who are still not released, and who because of the Government's previous decision have not been notified of their demobilisation group numbers, will now so be notified?

Mr. Strachey: Yes, Sir, I will see that this is carried out.

Sir J. Mellor: While welcoming the reply as far as it goes, why does the Minister seek to draw a distinction between written assurances and other forms of assurance?

Mr. Strachey: I think that the only assurance we can take is a written assurance. We could not decide whether a man had been given an oral assurance.

Empty Hangars (Utilisation)

8. **Mr. Sidney Shephard** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air if he will now use for storage purposes the many empty R.A.F. hangars in the country and

[Mr. Shephard.]
hus release the industrial premises requisitioned on his behalf at present being ised for storage.

Mr. Strachey: Yes, Sir. We are doing so. Ninety-four airfields with hangars have been allotted for storage and 51 further airfields will be so allotted in the near future as they become available.

Mr. Shephard: Can the hon. Gentleman give an assurance that he will, as quickly as possible, give up those requisitioned premises that are in the possession of his Department to-day?

Mr. Strachey: Of course, we will, as quickly as possible.

Photographic Section, Austria.

11. **Mr. Ernest Davies** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air what action is being taken in regard to the R.A.F. X Photographic Section, Austria, formerly No. 3 M.F.P.S., in view of the misuse of equipment and manpower in the creation of work to prevent its disbandment, particulars of which have been sent him.

Mr. Strachey: Inquiries are being made into this matter, and I will communicate with my hon. Friend as soon as possible.

Personnel, Iceland

12. **Major Asterley Jones** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air what is the number of R.A.F. personnel at present stationed in Iceland; for what purpose they are there; and for how much longer he expects that it will be necessary to keep them there.

Mr. Strachey: There are 2,050 members of the R.A.F. in Iceland. They carry out meteorological and air-sea rescue flights and other duties connected with the trans-Atlantic air route. A substantial reduction in their numbers is now in progress and it is hoped that withdrawal of the whole contingent will be completed in about six months, as and when peace-time arrangements for the work can be introduced.

Post-War Strength and Conditions

13. **Mr. W. J. Brown** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air whether he can now inform the House of his Ministry's proposals as to the size and conditions of service, etc., of the post-war Air Force.

Mr. Strachey: The ultimate strength of the regular and non-regular Air Force has yet to be determined in the light of post-war requirements. The conditions of service of the post-war Air Force are under active consideration, and will be announced as soon as possible.

Mr. Brown: Will the Government let us have a White Paper on this subject as soon as they can?

Mr. Strachey: An announcement will be made in one form or another.

Mr. Brown: Well, it had better be in a White Paper.

Disused Aerodromes (Utilisation)

15. **Colonel Thornton-Kemsley** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air if he is aware that about 40 airfields in East Anglia, formerly occupied by the U.S.A.A.F., are now unused or used only for storage purposes; that each of these has living accommodation for 2,400, mostly surplus to requirements; that the War Department has pressed for the release of this accommodation to provide for troops at present quartered in requisitioned houses but have been refused except in one case where part of the accommodation is occupied by prisoners of war; and whether he will order a full investigation to be made with a view to making his contribution to the alleviation of the housing shortage.

Mr. Strachey: A total of 54 airfields in East Anglia were occupied by the United States Army Air Force. Twenty-four have so far reverted to us. The disposal of these airfields as between the Royal Air Force and the other Services and other civil departments anxious to use them for storage, etc., is under active consideration. Spare accommodation at six of them has already been allotted to the Admiralty and the War Office for soldiers and sailors who would otherwise be living in requisitioned properties. Sixteen further airfields are in process of transfer from the United States authorities, and here again accommodation will be offered to other departments. Fourteen airfields are still in the hands of the United States authorities. I can assure the hon. and gallant Member that in these and other ways we shall do everything in our power to contribute to overcoming the housing shortage.

Colonel Thornton-Kemsley: Will the Under-Secretary give the House an assurance that, where the living accommodation on these airfields can be separated from the landing ground accommodation, which is what is usually required for storage purposes, it will be done, in order that Group I properties, in this case from the Wash to the Thames Estuary, may be given up by the War Department, as they could be if these airfields were under War Department control?

Mr. Strachey: Yes, Sir; I think I can give such an assurance. In many cases, the airfield accommodation has been split up between two different users in that way already.

Mr. York: Will the Minister consider moving Air Ministry staff out of requisitioned property, notably hotels, into these camps?

Mr. Strachey: In the vicinity of East Anglia?

Mr. York: In any vicinity.

Mr. Speaker: I am afraid that it is East Anglia with which we are dealing.

17. **Dr. Little** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air whether he will make arrangements for the disposal of aerodromes in Northern Ireland which have been vacated and others likely soon to be unused in order that their sites may be utilised for growing farm produce next year.

Mr. Strachey: Six of the existing airfields in Northern Ireland are no longer required by the R.A.F. The other Government Departments concerned and the Government of Northern Ireland are being consulted on their disposal. These discussions should not take long and, provided the airfields are not required by other Departments, it should be possible to release at least some of them in time for the growing of farm produce next year. In the meantime the airfields will be available for grazing.

Dr. Little: May I ask the Minister to hurry up having regard to the fact that these airfields are an eyesore and that aerodromes are now lying derelict to-day, when the farmers wish to have them back in order to get them into cultivation again?

Mr. Strachey: I realise the need for speed in this matter and I thank the hon. Member for putting this question down. Steps have, in fact, been taken.

Sir Ronald Ross: Can the Minister give any indication when the decision on policy on how many of these aerodromes are to be retained will be reached, because there is a very large number in a comparatively small area?

Mr. Strachey: The final decision on the matter will depend, of course, on the final disposition and strength of the R.A.F., and that cannot be come to immediately, though, in the majority of cases, their immediate disposal can be decided, and is being decided now.

Post-service Training

19. **Mr. J. Paton** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air if he is aware of the anxiety among personnel in the R.A.F. groups whose release is to be held back in case their chances of being accepted for post-service training, through such schemes as those for teachers, will be prejudiced by the delay; and whether he will ensure that these men have equal opportunity to avail themselves of the facilities of the various schemes and an equal chance of acceptance for posts; and if he will employ the usual service means to make this clear.

Mr. Strachey: I can quite understand that there is natural anxiety on this score. But we are assured by the authorities responsible for post-service training that the various resettlement schemes will be fully available to those in the later release groups. We are taking every opportunity to make this clear in the Service.

Mr. Paton: May I assume from that answer that men who are accepted for teaching training before they reach the age of 35—the age limit—will be eligible for retraining although they have passed the 35th year before their release?

Mr. Strachey: I think I should have to have notice of that Question to give an adequate reply but, as I understand it, that would be the case.

Mrs. Manning: Is it not a fact that those men are not even being selected while they are still in the Service; and could not the hon. Gentleman send Selection Boards out to the various theatres?

Mr. Strachey: We do not manage the post-service training; that is the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour and other Departments. However, I will certainly take up the suggestion made by the hon. Member.

Low Flying Aircraft

25. **Mr. Ayles** asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air what complaints he has received regarding the low flying of aircraft from the Heston Airport over Heston and Southall and its effects on the health of the women and children in those districts; whether he is aware that this is not only true of the exhibition flights carried out, on 2nd October, but is characteristic of most days of the week; and if he will give instructions for such low flying over built-up areas to cease.

Mr. Strachey: A complaint has been received in the Air Ministry concerning low flying near Heston Airport on 2nd October, and this is being investigated. There have been no other recent complaints. My hon. Friend will realise that some disturbance is unavoidable when aircraft are landing and taking off from airfields near built-up areas.

CIVIL AVIATION

Airfields (Joint User)

26. **Major Ungoed-Thomas** asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Civil Aviation whether the possibility of joint user of airfields is being examined; and has a decision yet been taken to use St. Athan R.A.F. station as a civil airport whilst it continues to be used as a R.A.F. station.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Civil Aviation (Mr. Ivor Thomas): Yes, Sir. The question of joint user of airfields is being examined by my Department and the other Government Departments concerned. St. Athan is included in this examination, but no decision has yet been reached.

Priority Travel

28. **Mr. E. L. Gandar Dower** asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Civil Aviation whether he will terminate the system of granting priority travel on internal air lines; and whether he is aware that this system causes inconvenience to the travelling public and is disliked by the air line companies obliged to implement it.

Mr. I. Thomas: It is not yet possible to bring the priority system to an end. The inconvenience caused is regretted and the system will be terminated as soon as conditions permit.

Mr. Gandar Dower: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that there has been a case where, for a single priority reservation, an air line company has been obliged to separate husband and wife on the first day of their honeymoon?

Internal Airlines

29. **Mr. Gandar Dower** asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Civil Aviation whether he will permit pre-war operating companies, or existing operating companies, to resume any internal air line they have previously operated provided no other company is operating the route, as such permission would be beneficial to demobilised R.A.F. personnel anxious to enter civil aviation.

Mr. I. Thomas: These matters are under consideration in connection with the Government's Civil Aviation policy on which it is hoped to make a statement in the near future.

Mr. Gandar Dower: Will the hon. Gentleman permit any air line company which already has sufficient aircraft and personnel so to resume?

Mr. Thomas: That would be to anticipate the statement which my Noble Friend hopes to make in the near future, and I am afraid I cannot do that.

Radio Telephony

30. **Mr. Gandar Dower** asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Civil Aviation whether he will now permit internal air lines to operate radio telephony for wireless guidance under the same conditions as existed prior to the war.

Mr. I. Thomas: A reorganisation of Radio services in the United Kingdom is now taking place whereby certain frequency channels used by the Royal Air Force during the war will be released for civil aviation purposes. Some of these channels will be made available to internal air lines for radio telephony on the pre-war basis.

Mr. Gandar Dower: Is my hon. Friend aware that, with the small aircraft which it is necessary to employ on internal air lines to-day, the use of radio telephony will

save the carriage of a wireless operator and offer to the general public, already crowded out, a 10 per cent. increase of passenger seats?

Mr. Thomas: Yes, Sir, I am aware of that consideration, and we hope to be able to provide facilities for that purpose.

Government Policy

31. **Captain Sir Peter Macdonald** asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Civil Aviation whether he can now make a full statement with regard to the policy of the Government on civil aviation; and to what extent previous Government policy on this subject is to be modified.

Mr. I. Thomas: My Noble Friend hopes to be in a position to make an announcement on civil aviation policy at an early date.

Sir P. Macdonald: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the failure of the Government to make up their minds on this very vital question causes great confusion to civil aviation not only in this country but throughout the Empire? Will he make up his mind as soon as possible because I intend to raise this matter on the Adjournment at the earliest possible moment?

Mr. Thomas: My Noble Friend hopes to be able to make this statement very shortly. He has been in office for only two months and I could not agree that this is a long period in which to formulate a policy on such a complicated issue.

Sir P. Macdonald: Further to the last part of my supplementary question, is it not a fact that the policy laid down by the late Government was advocated in a White Paper submitted to this House by the present President of the Board of Trade?

Mr. Thomas: It is one of the constitutional axioms of this country that no Government is committed by its predecessor.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd: While that may be true, might I ask the hon. Gentleman what possible objection there could have been for going ahead with the policy which all members of the late Government approved, and which would have enabled us to meet the challenge from America to which we are now subjected?

Mr. Thomas: No, Sir, the question of policy has not led to any delay in meeting our post-war requirements for air transport. The only delay is caused by the physical factor of aircraft.

Heath Row Aerodrome

32. **Wing-Commander Cooper** asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Civil Aviation if it is for his Ministry or for the Air Ministry that the constructional work is being proceeded with at Heath Row Aerodrome; what is the cost of the constructional work decided upon and now in hand; and whether the long-term policy for Heath Row is to be developed for the use of civil aviation or for the R.A.F.

Mr. I. Thomas: The constructional work now proceeding at Heath Row is being undertaken on behalf of the Air Ministry. Work was started during the war to meet Royal Air Force requirements for a large airfield near London for long distance transport, but since it was recognised that the site selected was the best for a major civil airport, there was close consultation between the Air Ministry and my Department to ensure that the work undertaken for military purposes could readily be incorporated in a civil development scheme. Long-term policy is that Heath Row should be developed for the use of civil aviation and the use made of it by the Royal Air Force will depend on defence needs. The cost of the work now in hand is about £4,000,000. Further development on civil aviation account will necessarily extend over a considerable number of years and no estimate of the total cost can yet be given.

Wing-Commander Cooper: Will the Minister give information with regard to whether the scheme for Heath Row is preferable in every way to the scheme contemplated for Heston before the war as the civil airport for London? Will my hon. Friend also say how much work now in hand will be of use for a civil airport, because my information is that some £100,000 is being wasted on the present scheme.

Mr. Thomas: The scheme being put in hand at Heath Row is, without question, much preferable to the use of Heston. Heston is not really suitable as a major airport for London, and we intend that

[Mr. Thomas.]
Heath Row shall be equal to any aerodrome in the world. I am advised that all the work now being done at Heath Row will be suitable for civil purposes and the money, therefore, is not being wasted.

Lieut.-Colonel Hutchison: In view of the hon. Gentleman's statement that Heston is unsatisfactory, and in view of the fact that Heath Row is not yet ready, will the hon. Gentleman consider implementing the promise given to designate Prestwick as an international airport?

Mr. Thomas: I should like it made clear that Heston, of course, is not unsatisfactory for all purposes. I said as a major long distance aerodrome. The question of Prestwick is another matter on which I hope to be able to make a statement at an early date.

Mr. Bowles: In view of the fact that Heath Row will not be ready for two years, and that Croydon is completely unsatisfactory, will the hon. Gentleman make strong representations to the R.A.F. to hand over Northolt, which is the only suitable aerodrome within reasonable distance of London?

Mr. Thomas: It is not a fact that Heath Row will not be ready for another two years. In fact, the R.A.F. will probably be using the first runway at Heath Row next month, and for civil aviation three runways will probably be ready for use next summer. There is, therefore, no foundation for some of the rumours that I have seen on this subject. With regard to the use of Northolt, that is covered by the answer which I have already given on the question of joint user. I should like to take this opportunity, however, of saying that the Air Ministry is being most co-operative in this matter. We realise on our part the overriding needs of defence and the Air Ministry recognises the place for civil aviation in the post-war world.

America, Europe and Far East Services (Competition)

33. **Lieut.-Colonel Sir Thomas Moore** asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Civil Aviation what steps His Majesty's Government propose to take to meet the challenge of the American air lines to capture the air traffic between North America, Europe and the Far East.

Mr. I. Thomas: My Noble Friend hopes to be in a position to make a statement about the organisation of British overseas air services at an early date. Every possible endeavour is being made, including acceleration of British aircraft production, to overcome handicaps which are the direct result of our war efforts.

Sir T. Moore: Can the hon. Gentleman explain why the Government have lost all power of initiative and decision in regard to this matter? Has an atomic bomb struck them?

Mr. Thomas: No, Sir. The Government are acting with great decision in this matter, and we hope to introduce a policy in a very much shorter time than it took our predecessors to do so.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that that confidence is not shared by our friends in Eire, who see, through American activity, that country rapidly becoming an American Dominion?

Mr. Thomas: No, Sir. I cannot agree with the hon. Gentleman. We have recently had very friendly conversations with Mr. Lemass, and there is no foundation for that assumption.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd: When will the hon. Gentleman be in a position to give the House an account of the conversations?

Mr. Thomas: If a Question is put on the Order Paper I will do my best to answer it.

JAMAICA (TELEPHONE SERVICE)

34. **Mr. William Williams** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his consent is required for the proposed sale of the Jamaica Government telephone service to the Jamaica Telephone Company; and whether he proposes to call for a full report on this proposal.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. George Hall): As under the new constitution of Jamaica the Executive Council is recognised as the principal instrument of policy, and as control of domestic affairs is largely in their hands and those of the legislature my predecessor decided that the transfer of the Colony's telephone service should not be subject to his approval.

CEYLON STATE COUNCIL (ELECTIONS)

35. **Mr. Thomas Reid** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if it is intended to hold elections to the State Council of Ceylon in the near future.

Mr. George Hall: No, Sir.

COLONIAL SERVICE

Home Leave

36. **Colonel Dodds-Parker** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, following the development of air transport, he will consider introducing the principle of annual home leave for all British personnel sent overseas by his Department in order to protect their health, improve their personal contacts with his Department in London, and, in general, to make the conditions of overseas service more attractive so as to appeal to the best available talent.

Mr. George Hall: Colonial civil servants are employed and paid by the respective Colonial Governments and local conditions vary considerably. I am in general sympathy with the idea underlying this question and I hope that it will be possible as transport facilities improve to develop the practice of allowing officers to take short leave at frequent intervals rather than long leave after protracted tours of service abroad. Some Colonial Governments have indeed already taken steps to review their leave regulations with the object of giving effect to this purpose when circumstances permit.

Travel

37. **Colonel Dodds-Parker** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in order to build up British communications and to ensure a regular pay load to the companies concerned, he will make it a rule that all his Department's personnel travelling directly or indirectly at Government expense should travel by British air or sea lines whenever these facilities are available.

Mr. George Hall: The hon. and gallant Member will be glad to know that the rule suggested by him has been in force for many years.

Passages for Wives

44. **Mr. Henderson Stewart** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is aware that officers of His Majesty's Colonial Service now home on leave with their wives are refused passages for their wives when returning to duty and that this refusal causes hardship in many cases especially where the wives have no homes in this country; and if he will take urgent steps to make passages available in all such cases.

Mr. George Hall: Yes, Sir. I much regret this unfortunate consequence of the present shortage of shipping and I have every sympathy with those to whom it causes hardship. Until, however, more shipping becomes available special priority for the wives of Government officers must, I feel, continue to be limited to individuals returning to undertake work of national importance and so recommended by the Colonial Government concerned.

Mr. Henderson Stewart: Will the Minister consider especially the case of men who have occupied highly important Colonial posts abroad who returned recently with their wives, and have now been sent back without their wives, leaving them in this country with no home at all?

Mr. Hall: We appreciate the hardship of cases of this kind, but it is physically impossible, with the transport facilities available, to meet such cases. The hon. Member can be assured that as soon as it is possible to meet such cases they will be met.

Mr. Stokes: May I ask whether, in view of the Minister's statement about the shortage of shipping, he will ask the Minister of War Transport to explain where all the ships have gone to?

Vice-Admiral Taylor: Could the Government not make arrangements to use some of the immense amount of shipping available in the U.S.A.?

Mr. Hogg: Was not this within the scope of the concession promised to us by the Prime Minister in this House yesterday?

Mr. Hall: The reply given by the Prime Minister yesterday was very largely concerned with the wives of Service men.

MALTA

Enemy Bombing (Damage)

38. **Squadron-Leader Donner** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the estimate of the damage done by

[Squadron-Leader Donner.]
enemy bombing in Malta; and what steps are His Majesty's Government taking to settle the reparations due to Malta from such enemy bombing, other than the £10,000,000 granted by the Imperial Government to the Colony.

Mr. George Hall: It is not possible yet to give an exact figure of the cost of repairing war damage in Malta. The matter raised in the second part of the Question is now receiving consideration by His Majesty's Government.

Squadron-Leader Donner: Will the right hon. Gentleman be able to make an announcement at an early date?

Mr. Hall: The matter is being considered, and I am hoping that a statement will be made soon.

Wrecks (Salvage)

39. **Squadron-Leader Donner** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what measures are being taken to raise the wrecks lying in Malta harbour.

Mr. George Hall: The Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean, is the authority for the disposition of all British salvage resources in the Mediterranean. At the present time Malta is given first priority by the British Fleet Salvage Department. Numerous wrecks in the harbour have already been cleared. Work is at present in progress on the removal of other wrecks.

Mr. Bowles: Do I understand that some of the defeated Conservative candidates got as far as Malta?

Economic and Political Situation

42. **Mr. W. J. Brown** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the economic and political unrest in the island of Malta and the possibility of an early explosion there, he will at once send a British mission to the island to confer with local representative bodies, political and industrial, on the situation, and to propose remedies for it.

Mr. George Hall: I have been giving some attention to the situation in Malta and, while I feel that my hon. Friend's description of it is somewhat exaggerated, I have decided, as was recently announced by the Governor, to appoint a Commissioner to visit the Colony to confer with local representatives and to assist in the drawing up of a new Constitution. The industrial aspect is also being examined, but I am not proposing at present to make any special appointment for that purpose.

Mr. Brown: Does the Minister realise that the British Government is the biggest single employer in the Island of Malta; that what we do largely determines the major conditions for the Island as a whole, and that what we do is largely under the right hon. Gentleman's control? Will he do a lot better in the future than the other fellows did in the past?

Mr. Hall: I realise that the British Government is the largest employer of labour in Malta. During the past four weeks I have received no fewer than four deputations from Malta, and discussed the industrial position with them. They did not unduly complain about present conditions. They are more concerned about post-war resettlement, but they did discuss questions of a political aspect, and I met them in that matter.

CYPRUS (GOVERNMENT)

40. **Mr. George Thomas** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Government is now considering the restoration of representative government in Cyprus; and whether public meetings are now allowed in Cyprus.

Mr. George Hall: The policy has been to develop representative institutions in the sphere of local administration in Cyprus before extending them to the central machinery of Government. In accordance with this policy elected municipal councils were restored in 1943, and some months ago proposals for the extension to rural areas of a similar system of local administration through elected councils were made public. I am hopeful that these councils will prove so successful as to make it possible to contemplate the institution of a Legislative Council with unofficial elected representatives as early as possible. As regards the second part of the Question, a public meeting can only be held with the permission of the district commissioner under Defence Regulations. Applications for permits are rarely refused.

Mr. Thomas: Would my right hon. Friend be kind enough to say whether the Government are considering the restoration of the full liberty of the Cypriots to

the extent that they may hold their meetings when they desire, as there is considerable bewilderment among them when they see us denying this facility to them, while expressing the view that we are anxious to see democracy rule everywhere?

Mr. Hall: This matter is constantly before us, but my hon. Friend will appreciate that there has been some difficulty in Cyprus quite recently.

Mr. Henderson Stewart: Can the right hon. Gentleman give some account to the House of the recent public disturbances?

Mr. Hall: No, Sir, not to-day.

Mr. Pritt: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that many people hold a view that the reason for the difficulties which have occurred in Cyprus is because there is no freedom of speech there? When he refers in his answer for permission for meeting being rarely refused, is he aware that it is never granted until speeches have been put before the Commissioner almost line by line, and that the excuse is often made that he has not had a week to consider them?

Mr. Hall: That is not my information, but I will certainly inquire into the latter part of the hon. and learned Gentleman's supplementary Question.

PALESTINE

Cost of Living Allowances

41. **Mr. W. J. Brown** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the McLeod Report on cost-of-living allowances in Palestine has been published; what amendments to the existing bonus system it recommended; whether these have been put into effect; what are the basis and amounts of such allowances now payable and whether he is satisfied that the present bonuses are reasonable, having regard to the greatly increased cost of living and the impossibility of obtaining many necessary commodities save through the black market.

Mr. George Hall: The answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative. Mr. Macleod's recommendations have been put into effect and, with the permission of my hon. Friend I will send him a copy of a circular issued by the Palestine Government giving details. While I realise that living conditions in Palestine have in many respects been difficult during the war, I consider that the allowances are not unreasonable. If, after reading the circular, my hon. Friend would like to discuss the matter, I shall be very ready to see him.

Mr. E. P. Smith: Has any improvement taken place in conditions of the Palestine police?

Mr. Hall: That is another question.

Great Britain and United States Conversations

51. **Captain Marples** asked the Prime Minister whether he can now give the House any information about his conversations on Palestine with President Truman.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee): I have no statement to make at present.

Captain Marples: In view of the recent statement by President Truman regarding these conversations is it not time that this House was informed of them?

The Prime Minister: I think that in due course a statement will be made.

PIONEER CORPS MIDDLE EAST (AFRICAN PERSONNEL)

43. **Mr. Henderson Stewart** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is aware of the disappointment felt by troops from Bechuanaland and Basutoland now serving with the Pioneer Corps in the Middle East, on account of the continued postponement of their release, despite undertakings given that they would be sent home after the Italian campaign; and whether, in order to preserve the morale and patriotism of these soldiers, he will take steps to ensure their early release according to an ordered dependable scheme.

The Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs (Mr. Parker): I have been asked to reply. The importance of the earliest possible return home of these troops is fully appreciated but the difficulty is one of shipping. Following the Japanese surrender it has been necessary to review the world wide shipping programme, and, while no specific allocation can be made until the review is completed, I am informed by my right hon.

[Mr. Parker.]
Friend the Secretary of State for War that every attempt will be made to ensure the complete demobilisation of the troops in question within the next twelve months.

Mr. Stewart: Is the Minister not aware that the complaint of these native troops is that while there is sufficient shipping space for British troops, it is denied to them, and they ask "why?" What is the answer?

Mr. Parker: Their claims are being considered alongside those of other troops from the Dominions and our own troops as well.

DEMOBILISED CHAPLAINS (CROWN LIVINGS)

46. **Mr. Tom Smith** asked the Prime Minister if he is aware that chaplains on demobilisation from the Services are left without hope of further employment in their respective churches; and if he will arrange that all Crown livings as and when they fall vacant are offered first to demobilised chaplains who have no employment.

The Prime Minister: The employment of chaplains after their release from the Services is primarily a matter for their respective churches and I have no detailed information. I understand, however, that each Church has created machinery for their re-absorption as vacancies occur. The Service Departments provide information regarding service with the Forces and give each other assistance as they can. As regards the second part of the Question, there are an average of twenty vacancies a year which are filled on my advice. The claims of chaplains who have served or are serving with the Forces are given the most careful consideration, and while I cannot give an assurance that every vacancy will be filled in this way, as the needs of parishes must be considered first and there are others who have claims on the Crown, I will continue to consider very closely the claims of demobilised chaplains. I should like to take this opportunity of saying that I hope that all other patrons will do their best to help in this matter.

Mr. T. Smith: Is my right hon. Friend aware that when the Question was put down on the Order Paper there were about 34 to 36 chaplains who could not get back; and if I send him details will he give them consideration?

The Prime Minister: Certainly, so far as it concerns me, but this is very largely a matter for the denominations concerned.

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICERS

47. **Mr. De la Bère** asked the Prime Minister whether, in view of the termination of the war, there can be a discontinuance or, failing that, a reduction in the numbers of Press Relations Officers attached to all Government Departments at Whitehall; and whether he can give an assurance that the Government will do nothing to impede the freedom of Press reports throughout the country.

The Prime Minister: No, Sir. Public Relations Officers will continue to be employed by Government Departments in the post-war period. The size of their staff is, however, under review at the present time and some reductions are being made. It is the duty of Public Relations Officers, far from impeding the freedom of Press reports, to provide the Press with accurate and timely information regarding Departmental activities.

Mr. De la Bère: Will the Prime Minister answer the last part of my Question about the Press?

The Prime Minister: Certainly, I have no intention whatever of impeding the freedom of the Press and my answer, as a matter of fact, I think, dealt with that point.

Mr. De la Bère: Are not the Government trying to reconcile two irreconcilable factors? I will raise this matter on the Adjournment.

WALES (GOVERNMENT)

48. **Squadron-Leader Emrys Roberts** asked the Prime Minister whether he is yet in a position to announce the Government's policy in relation to Wales; and when such announcement may be expected.

The Prime Minister: I am not yet in a position to add anything to the reply which I gave on 22nd August to the hon.

Members for Denbigh (Sir H. Morris-Jones) and Caernarvon Boroughs (Lieut.-Colonel Price-White).

Mr. Clement Davies: May I ask the Prime Minister whether he has seen the petition presented to his predecessor by the representatives of all the Welsh constituencies, and is he aware that nearly every public authority and public body in Wales have passed resolutions in favour of the establishment of a Secretary of State for Wales?

The Prime Minister: I have seen it and given it careful consideration.

RAILWAY FREIGHT CHARGES

49. **Colonel Thornton-Kemsley** asked the Prime Minister whether he will move for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the advisability of introducing equalised rates of freight charges for railway transport, as a means of encouraging the economic rehabilitation of the countryside and the redistribution of industry.

The Lord President of the Council (Mr. Herbert Morrison): I have been asked to reply. My right hon. Friend the Minister of War Transport is examining the principles on which transport charges should be based and will bear in mind the views of the hon. and gallant Member. I do not think, however, that the appointment of a Select Committee would be an appropriate method of dealing with the matter.

Colonel Thornton - Kemsley: While thanking the right hon. Gentleman, does he not agree that to equalise freight rates on the lines——

Mr. Speaker: I am afraid that is a hypothetical question.

JAPAN (ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DEFEAT)

50. **Captain Marples** asked the Prime Minister whether he is aware of public disquiet at the efforts of the rulers of Japan to save face with their subjects; and whether our commanders have been instructed to impress upon the Japanese of every rank and class in every way possible the fact of their defeat.

The Prime Minister: His Majesty's Government are aware that the Japanese Emperor's Rescrip of 15th August caused much justifiable disatisfaction both in this country and elsewlere. But in the recent session of the Japanese Diet both the Emperor and his Prime Minister publicly acknowledged the reality of Japan's defeat. As regards the second part of the Question, the meaures already taken by our commanders in their respective areas show that there is no need for special instructions to them on this point.

Captain Marple: Is the right hon. Gentleman not awre that there is grave danger in leaving the Emperor in full possession of this bogus divinity?

The Prime Minister: I do not think so. I think events wil prove too much for that.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER (ACCOMMODATION)

52. **Sir Stanley Reed** asked the Prime Minister whether t is proposed to take into consideration he Report of the Joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the accommodation in the Palace of Westmiister and to take any action on the recommendations made therein.

The Prime Minster: I fear that the state of public buiness will not permit of time being allocated for the consideration of this Repot. As circumstances permit, effect will le given to those of its recommendations vhich appear to be desirable and practiable.

Sir S. Reed: Does not the right hon. Gentleman appreciate that the Select Committee made two inportant recommendations affecting the general convenience of Members: one, the early provision of additional accommodation for secretarial work, and, the second, to bring Members into closer contact with the Ministry of Works, subject to the maintenance unimpaired of yoursef, Mr. Speaker.

The Prime Miniser: I think this matter was raised on the Aljournment yesterday, when a very full statement was made.

SCOTLAND (GOVERNMENT)

53. **Colonel Gomme-Duncan** asked the Prime Minister what steps are in contemplation in the matter of the reform of Scottish governnent.

The Prime Minister: As already pointed out, any question as to what is the most suitable form of government for Scotland in post-war years raises political and economic issues involving other parts of the United Kingdom and can therefore only appropriately be raised as part of a general measure for the revision of the machinery of government for Great Britain.

Colonel Gomme-Duncan: Does the right hon. Gentleman realise that this reply will give very little satisfaction in Scotland and parts of the United Kingdom other than England which are on a par with Scotland? May I ask whether the shortage of Scottish Members in the right hon. Gentleman's Cabinet is not likely to affect the question very seriously?

The Prime Minister: On the last point I think the hon. and gallant Member is wrong. I think he will find a considerable amount of talent has been drawn from around Scotland. As to the relative position of the different parts of the United Kingdom perhaps he would like to discuss that with the hon. and learned Member for Montgomery (Mr. Davies).

Mr. Gallacher: Would my right hon. Friend not consider introducing legislation on the lines I suggested in a question which he transferred to the Scottish Office?

COAL DISTRIBUTION (SERVICE TRANSPORT)

54. **Sir J. Mellor** asked the Prime Minister if the Government will provide, on payment, Army and R.A.F. drivers and vehicles, otherwise idle, to enable coal to be distributed by merchants.

The Prime Minister: The Service and civilian departments concerned are preparing plans to ensure the provision of any additional vehicles or man-power required during the coming winter to reinforce coal merchants' resources of distribution.

ALIENS, GREAT BRITAIN (REPATRIATION)

55. **Sir T. Moore** asked the Prime Minister what is the policy of the Government towards the return, either voluntarily or compulsorily, of foreign nationals from Britain to their own countries.

The Prime Minister: It is the policy of His Majesty's Government to create conditions in Europe which will enable and encourage foreigners who are here on a temporary basis to return to their own countries. Many thousands have already gone under arrangements made by the various Allied Governments, but in the present state of international transport there is no prospect of the possibility of a mass emigration from the United Kingdom.

Sir T. Moore: In view of the urgent need for the best constructive brains in rebuilding these devastated areas and in view of the admitted shortage of food, clothing, petrol and practically everything else in this country would not His Majesty's Government be a little more pressing in regard to this matter?

The Prime Minister: I am sure the hon. and gallant Member will realise that the pressure on transport and everything else on the Continent is very heavy indeed. We have to be just and fair in these matters.

Mr. Sydney Silverman: Would my right hon. Friend assure the House that in no circumstances will any refugee from political oppression abroad be compelled to return to the scene of that oppression?

The Prime Minister: I think that is quite clear from my answer.

COURT MARTIAL SENTENCES (REVIEW)

57. **Major Wyatt** asked the Prime Minister whether he will make arrangements for the sympathetic consideration of the cases of soldiers, sailors and airmen at present serving sentences for purely military offences not amounting to cowardice in face of the enemy.

The Prime Minister: As the House has already been informed, under existing instructions all sentences awarded by courts martial are reviewed automatically at periods of not more than six months by a superior military authority. At each review such superior military authority has power to remit, suspend or commute the sentence of the court.

Major Wyatt: Cannot instructions be given, in view of the end of the war, that superior military authorities should review these cases favourably, in view of the fact that these are military offences which would never have been committed at all had it not been for the war situation?

The Prime Minister: I think my hon. and gallant Friend will agree with me that these offences cover a considerable range and it is better to have a very careful review of them.

Mr. Maxton: Would my right hon. Friend not consider that it would be the right and proper thing to grant a general amnesty for all offences of this description?

The Prime Minister: I am not sure whether that course is a very good one. I am not sure that it always works out very well.

Mr. Maxton: Would the Prime Minister consider it?

The Prime Minister: I am always prepared to consider anything put forward by my hon. Friend, but as at present advised I do not think that the cause of justice is always forwarded by making some special release on a special day. It seems to me rather hard on people whose offences do not happen to come within that period.

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION (CONTINUANCE)

56. **Major Guy Lloyd** asked the Prime Minister when it is proposed to wind-up the Ministry of Information or to place it on a care and maintenance basis.

The Prime Minister: This matter is under consideration.

Major Lloyd: Will the Prime Minister use his influence to ensure that the Ministry of Information is not used for the purpose of disseminating propaganda on behalf of Government Departments?

The Prime Minister: I can assure the hon. and gallant Member that it is not being so used.

Mr. De la Bère: Is this not an impediment to a free Press?

ATOMIC BOMB MANUFACTURE (CONTROL)

58. **Mr. Bossom** asked the Prime Minister if any arrangement has yet been agreed upon between the major Allies to prevent any State with aggressive intentions from being able secretly to manufacture atomic bombs in the future.

The Prime Minister: Not yet, but as I have informed the House, I am in communication with the President of the United States on the general question of the control of the atomic bomb. I should prefer not to make any statement at present.

Mr. Bossom: Will the right hon. Gentleman agree, in view of the supreme importance of this matter, that he will make an announcement to this House at the earliest moment, when any decision is reached?

The Prime Minister: Certainly I shall keep the House informed, but the hon. Member will agree that this is a matter which it is pre-eminently important we should discuss with the United States and other countries.

SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

59. **Sir G. Fox** asked the Lord President of the Council whether he is yet in a position to make any statement as to the Government's research programme; and what arrangements are to be made for making available to industry all the scientists who are no longer essential to military requirements.

Mr. H. Morrison: The Government is fully aware of the need to make the best use of our available scientific resources but I am not yet in a position to make a statement. As regards the second part of the Question, applications for the release of individual trained scientists from the Forces in Class B can be made through the appropriate Departments. Moreover, in the case of those scientists for whom the industrial demand is heaviest, the Ministry of Labour and National Service ensures that the urgent requirements of industry are brought to the notice of any suitable scientists leaving civilian war work.

MERSEYSIDE DOCK STRIKE

Mr. Logan (*by Private Notice*) asked the Minister of Labour is he aware of the unrest caused on Merseyside by Dock Strike and what action is he taking to restore settlement.

The Minister of Labour (Mr. G. Isaacs): Yes, Sir. I will, if I may,

[Mr. Isaacs.]
make a statement. As the House is no doubt aware, the strike began at Birkenhead over the prices for handling pit-props. This was the first cargo of its kind to be handled in the port since the early days of the war. In the course of discussions with the parties concerned which took place as soon as the danger of a deadlock appeared the employers accepted the Trade Union contention that immediate negotiations were justified and that in the meantime the men could properly be offered other work.

It was confidently anticipated that work would be resumed on Monday morning last, and that the negotiations would then start. Unfortunately the issues became confused over the week-end, and the men did not, in fact, start work. This morning work is stopped at the ports on the Mersey, the Tyne, the Tees, the Humber and the Royal and Tilbury Docks in London, with a partial stoppage at Millwall and India Docks.

I deplore this strike. It is wrong. The two sides of the industry are at present considering an important national claim made by the trade union and the local issues can also be dealt with by the joint machinery. Whatever the men's grievances, they cannot justify this strike. I am always anxious to do everything I can to assist towards a satisfactory settlement, but I will do nothing to impair the constitutional machinery of the industry. It has a long record of successful work on behalf of the men, and it is in the men's interests that its authority should be maintained. The men should go back to work at once and avoid unnecessary hardship to themselves, their families and the rest of the country. They can be assured that their grievances will be considered. In the meantime, as I have publicly announced, alternative military labour will be used as necessary to discharge foodships held up by the strike. The situation will be kept under constant review. This dispute has been aggravated and encouraged by the statement that has been given prominence in one daily paper to the effect that I, personally, secured an increase of 8s. for the pit-prop workers over the head of the constitutional machinery. This is absolutely untrue. Such a statement is false and can only have been made with the object of deliberately misleading the men.

Mr. Logan: In view of the general spread of dissatisfaction on Merseyside, and the fact that no one can tell how the genesis of the strike has come about, is the Minister prepared to go down there with officials of the Union to address the men? If he would do so I am told that he would be able to restore normality in that district. Can we get such a statement from the Minister that he will be prepared to meet the men?

Mr. Isaacs: No, Sir, the men should trust the machinery of the organisation. They would, I am sure, resent a Government official stepping in between them and the Union. They should trust the Union. I am sure that the Union will see them through.

Mr. R. A. Butler: Is the Minister aware that his statement, namely, that this dispute should be decided by the constitutional machinery, will give great satisfaction, and will he give an assurance that in future in such matters such as he has described to-day he will always rely on the use of constitutional machinery, which, I agree with him, has functioned so well in the past?

Mr. Isaacs: Yes, Sir. We shall make use of the constitutional machinery and shall refrain from making any effort to interpose in any way that would damage that constitution.

Mr. Sargood: Would the right hon. Gentleman tell us whether the Ministry had any inquiry from the newspaper concerned before the report about the 8s. was published?

Mr. Isaacs: No, Sir. Not only were we not without any inquiry at all, but it was republished on a second day in a more aggravated form, and thus made the situation worse.

Mr. Keeling: Would the Minister name the newspaper?

Mr. Isaacs: Certainly—the "Daily Mail."

Mr. Kirby: Would the right hon. Gentleman say what steps his Department is taking to bring the official viewpoint of his own Department and of the union to the leaders of the strike?

Mr. Isaacs: I do not think I can usefully add to what I have already said. All that is open to us is to induce these men

through their own local conciliation officers to act in accordance with the advice not only of their national Trade Unions but of the local trade union officials.

FOOD SHIPS (UNLOADING)

Mr. Henderson Stewart (*by Private Notice*) asked the Minister of Food if he will report to the House on the serious situation arising out of the delay in unloading food ships caused by the present dock strikes; what number of ships and what kinds and quantities of food are involved; and what action he is taking.

The Minister of Food (Sir Benjamin Smith): The discharge and clearance of 43 ocean food ships has been stopped by the dockers' strike. Fourteen ships are held up at Liverpool, one at Manchester, 10 at Hull and 11 in London. Seven others are at anchorage at Falmouth awaiting orders, four destined for Liverpool, two for Manchester and one for Hull. Sixteen of these ships still contain some 26,000 tons of frozen meat, frozen fish, butter, bacon, cheese, lard and oranges; the others carry wheat, oilseed and general cargoes, such as canned fish, milk and meat, tea, dried eggs and other less perishable foodstuffs. Part of the perishable cargo is in insulated space, but large quantities of cheese, lard and oranges are in general stow and are likely to deteriorate if not unloaded and distributed quickly. The continuance of the strike must seriously affect the importation and supply of foodstuffs. On the last part of the question, I have nothing to add to the statement made by my right hon. Friend the Minister of Labour, with whom I am keeping in the closest touch.

Mr. Stewart: In view of the grave nature of that statement, does the right hon. Gentleman agree that it is highly reprehensible that any section of the community for selfish reasons should hold up food supplies?

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is asking for an opinion, not for information.

HOUSE OF COMMONS CHAMBER (VENTILATION)

Mr. E. P. Smith: On a point of Order, Mr. Speaker, may we have one window, or preferably two, open?

Mr. Speaker: I will see if that can be arranged provided that the sun does not shine in my eyes, because earlier on, on account of the sun, I could not see a single face on the Government side.

NEW MEMBER SWORN

George Reid Thomson, esquire, K.C., for the Burgh of Edinburgh (East Division).

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

ROYAL AIR FORCE

Demobilisation

Mr. Channon asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air whether he is aware of the delay in releasing clerks S.D. from the R.A.F., which lags considerably behind others; and, in view of the grievance which exists on this account, whether steps can now be taken to expedite the release of these clerks and to give them the same treatment as others in their groups.

Mr. Strachey: I said in my reply to the hon. Members for Maldon (Mr. Driberg) and Cheltenham (Mr. Lipson) on 22nd August last that it was not possible to have a perfectly even rate of release as between all trades in the Royal Air Force. Nevertheless every endeavour is being made by intensive training and re-training to reduce unevenness. Delays in the release of clerks S.D. have already been reduced, and their release is now only two groups behind that of most other trades.

Sir C. Edwards asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air whether he is aware of the unrest in the Forces overseas over demobilisation; why the official broadcast announcement that men over 30 years of age and all under group 26 would not be sent to the Far East was not carried out; whether he is aware that orders posted for the 298th Squadron, Equipment Section, R.A.F., S.E.A.A.F., stated that certain trades were held up and on 15th September a list of these trades for which there was no release, including that of equipment assistant, was posted up; and if he will make inquiries into these complaints with a view to ending them.

Mr. Strachey: I believe that the age and service release scheme has, in principle, been accepted as fair by the Service. But, no doubt there are natural anxieties amongst men overseas as to how the scheme will work out for them. But I can assure my right hon. Friend that the age and service principle of release will be adhered to, and that consequently the release of men overseas will be kept in step with that of men at home. Men in early release groups are not normally posted to distant Commands, and we shall certainly keep to this policy. But I know of no official broadcast or announcement such as that to which the second part of the Question refers. I am inquiring into the matter raised in the third part of the Question and will communicate with my right hon. Friend. Meanwhile, I can assure him there are no trades in which there is no release.

Sir G. Fox asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air if he will give a list of the trades in the R.A.F. in which the rate of demobilisation has been retarded and arranged differently as between officers and other ranks; and whether he is satisfied that these decisions are in conformity with the undertaking given by the late Government that no decisions of this kind will be taken except at Cabinet level.

Mr. Strachey: With the hon. Member's permission I will circulate a list containing full particulars in the OFFICIAL REPORT. As to the second part of the Question, the White Paper on the Reallocation of Manpower stated clearly that it would be necessary in some Services to deal separately with the several branches, and possibly with trades and ranks in those branches, and I know of no undertaking such as that to which the hon. Member refers.

Sir J. Mellor asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air how many applications for Class C release, approved by group-commanders, have reached his Department since 8th May; how many have been granted; and what is the procedure in his Department for coming to a decision.

Mr. Strachey: Since 8th May, 1945, 5,930 applications for Class C release, approved by Group Commanders have been received in my Department. 1,054 of these have been granted and 1,232 are still under consideration. We have, moreover, recently been able to relax the rules for compassionate release to keep a small business going, and Commands have been informed that applications of this kind that were previously not granted may be renewed. None the less, Class C releases must remain exceptional. Individual applications are all carefully considered, and they are granted where real distress arising from domestic or business affairs can be avoided or lightened only by indefinite release.

Meteorological Branch (Appointments)

Sir E. Graham-Little asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air whether, since activities of the R.A.F. in Western Europe after VE-Day have been greatly lessened, he will reduce as soon as possible establishments and supernumerary appointments in the R.A.F. meteorological branch to the strict needs of a peace-time service and thus release members of the R.A.F. who have been teachers and wish to return to their schools where they are urgently needed.

Mr. Strachey: Yes, Sir. Establishments and appointments in the Meteorological Branch of the Royal Air Force are being considerably reduced. It is not possible however to reduce them at once to what will be the peace-time level. This, as stated in my reply of 10th October to my hon. Friend the Member for Rothwell (Mr. Brooks), is mainly because of the very heavy responsibilities of the R.A.F. in connection with bringing home men from overseas.

Balloon Command (Aircraft Destroyed)

Wing-Commander Hulbert asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air how many aircraft, both piloted and non-piloted, were destroyed by Balloon Command between 1939 and 1945.

Mr. Strachey: Twenty-four piloted and 278 non-piloted aircraft were destroyed by R.A.F. Balloon Command between 1939 and 1945.

Requisitioned Properties

Flight-Lieutenant Teeling asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air whether he can make any further statement as to when the Hotel Metropole, the Grand Hotel, the Albion Hotel and the headquarters of R.A.F., Brighton, are likely to be released in view of the demand in

the borough of Brighton for their release and the number of suitable sites available elsewhere, where there is no comparable need for the accommodation of families.

Mr. Strachey: As the hon. Member knows, the greater part of this accommodation is used by members of the Dominion Air Forces waiting for shipping to take them home. It is now hoped that shipping will become available towards the end of the year which will enable us to reduce the numbers of Dominion Air Force personnel now accommodated in Brighton. This will permit the release of some of the properties now held on requisition. Whether these particular hotels will be amongst those released on first priority will depend on the result of discussions with the local authorities.

Transport Services (France)

Flight-Lieutenant Teeling asked the Under-Secretary of State for Air whether he is aware of the complaints by airmen returning to this country, of conditions of travel across France; and whether he will take steps in future to arrange for their transport by air.

Mr. Strachey: Men returning by land over this route have had uncomfortable journeys, but my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War is taking steps to improve conditions. At the same time I think it will be agreed that most men are ready to accept uncomfortable conditions, if by doing so they can get home quicker. I am afraid that it will not be possible to provide air transport for all these men, who, after all, can get back by rail. The transport services of the R.A.F. are being and will be strained to the uttermost by the huge task of moving a total of 1,000,000 men and women from all the Services over various routes during the next nine months.

CROWN SERVANTS OVERSEAS (AIR TRAVEL)

Wing-Commander R. Robinson asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Civil Aviation whether, in order to foster the development of the Empire air routes and to secure a regular pay load, he will consider approaching the Government Departments concerned and offering them special bulk travel rates to enable them to give annual home leave to Crown servants overseas.

Mr. Ivor Thomas: The conditions governing the grant of home leave for Crown servants serving overseas are under consideration by the Departments concerned. All aspects of the suggestion made by the hon. and gallant Member will be carefully examined.

FOOD SUPPLIES

Breaches of the Law (Official Inducements)

Mr. Weitzman asked the Minister of Food whether he will take steps to see that no person engaged by his Ministry is employed in such a way as to induce or invite anyone to commit an offence.

Sir B. Smith: It is a standing instruction in my Department that no pressure or persuasion is in any circumstances to be used to induce a trader to break the law, and my officers are aware that a serious view would be taken of any breach of these instructions.

Brewing Sugar

Mr. J. Hudson asked the Minister of Food what tonnage of sugar, glucose or substitutes thereof were used by the brewers in the year ended 30th September, 1939; and what amount of the same materials he proposes to permit them to use in the coming year.

Sir B. Smith: The tonnage of sugars, including glucose, used by brewers for the year ended 30th September, 1939, was 99,000 tons. The amount to be released in the coming year will depend to some extent on the sugar supply position and the malt situation and has not yet been decided.

Ice Cream

Wing-Commander R. Robinson asked the Minister of Food what has been the result of his conversations with the trade associations concerned as regards the practicability of imposing by regulation a minimum standard of quality for ice cream.

Sir B. Smith: Discussion is proceeding on the question of a minimum standard to be prescribed for ice cream when the trade have free access to ingredients including milk. As I announced on 4th

September, I have decided not to lay down a standard for this commodity at the present time.

Fish Supplies (Wastage)

Mr. Henderson Stewart asked the Minister of Food if he is aware that prime quality white fish is still being thrown back into the sea on account of disputes regarding prices fixed by his Ministry; and what steps he is taking to avoid this loss of good food.

Sir B. Smith: Comparatively small quantities of fish were thrown back into the sea on four occasions during recent weeks. In all cases, the fish was small and of such inferior condition that it did not find a market at prices which the fishermen were willing to accept; in no case was the dumping due to disputes over the maximum prices prescribed by my Department. While I am ready to consider any practicable step to avoid the least waste of food, I am doubtful whether special measures to deal with occasional landings of fish of poor quality would be justified or effective.

Milk Retailers (Customer's Choice)

Mr. De la Bère asked the Minister of Food whether, in view of the fact that household consumers may now select, at the time of re-registration, a different grocer and butcher, he can now state what relaxations he has been able to arrange whereby the household consumer can purchase, and have delivered, milk from the dairy of his own choice.

Flight-Lieutenant Teeling asked the Minister of Food whether, as the Brighton and Hove area was the last to come under the Milk Zone Scheme, because of the difficulty of arranging the zoning and the strong local opposition, as that opposition still continues and it is now easier for delivery vans to be used, he will consider releasing this area from the Milking Zone Scheme immediately.

Sir B. Smith: I would refer the hon. Members to the reply which was given to the hon. Member for Dumfries (Major Macpherson) on 23rd August. The consultations with the trade have now commenced, and I am considering, with them, whether some relaxation of the present restrictions on consumers in their choice of dairymen can be made without a substantial reduction in the economies at present being secured by retail rationalisation. Consultations are in progress but I am not yet able to make any statement on the subject.

Special Diets

Mr. Lipson asked the Minister of Food if he is aware that under existing regulations sufferers from diabetes and tuberculosis are unable to obtain the eggs which their doctors have prescribed for them; and if he will issue fresh regulations giving more consideration to the diets recommended to patients by their own doctors.

Sir B. Smith: I am advised that the present allowances of foodstuffs for diabetic and tuberculous patients are adequate for their needs. I could only allow them extra eggs at the expense of other members of the community, some of whom are suffering from complaints for which eggs are a necessity and I should not feel justified in doing this during the present period of general shortage of foodstuffs. In the circumstances I am afraid I cannot provide diabetic and tuberculous patients with extra eggs prescribed for them by their own doctor.

Salt

Mr. Hogg asked the Minister of Food what is the explanation of the shortage of salt in Oxford and elsewhere.

Sir B. Smith: I would refer the hon. Member to the reply which I gave yesterday to the hon. Member for Sutton Coldfield (Sir J. Mellor).

Flour

Mr. Turton asked the Minister of Food whether he will now permit the manufacture of self-raising flour by country millers, who did not manufacture this flour prior to the war, and thereby save the waste of transport involved in the present system.

Sir B. Smith: While packaging materials have been in short supply new manufacturers and packers of self-raising flour whether situated in town or country have not been licensed. The matter is frequently under review and when packaging material is freely available the question will be reconsidered. I am not aware that when all the circumstances are taken into account, the present system involves any waste of transport.

EUROPE (BRITISH FOOD SUPPLIES)

Sir T. Moore asked the Minister of Food how much food in tons and by types has been sent from Britain to Europe since the policy of Lend-lease was terminated.

Sir B. Smith: Information on this subject is being assembled, and I will have it circulated in the Official Report as soon as it is available.

GREECE (BRITISH POLICE MISSION)

Major Wilkes asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what powers of dismissing collaborationist officers of the Greek police and Gendarmerie are possessed by the British Police Mission to Greece; and whether the Mission has as yet made any recommendation as to the fitness of Colonel Evert, Chief of the Athens police, to continue in his office.

Mr. Bevin: By agreement with the Greek Government, the British Police Mission have full powers of organisation and administration in the Greek Police Force and Gendarmerie, including such questions as appointments, promotions and transfers, but ultimate responsibility rests with the Greek Government. Under the Varkiza Agreement special purge councils have been established; their function is to review the records of officers and men in the Police and Gendarmerie. I understand that in the case of Colonel Evert as a result of their investigations this officer was exonerated.

PASSPORT OFFICE (EXTENSION)

Mr. Studholme asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will take immediate steps to improve the organisation and expedite the work of the Passport Office.

Viscount Hinchingbrooke asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is satisfied with the conditions in the Passport Office and the arrangements made for the reception of applicants, or what changes are contemplated.

Mr. Bevin: Arrangements have been completed to extend the Passport Office, and additional staff will also be provided. Moreover, I expect the abolition of exit permits, announced on 30th September, will ease the congestion experienced at the Passport Office. These measures, I hope, will aid both the public and the overworked staff.

EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS (HOSTILE PROPAGANDA)

Mr. Pickthorn asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs which European Governments are regarded by His Majesty's Government as determined to establish peace, order and democracy; by what methods His Majesty's Government propose to effect the policy of stamping out propaganda prejudicial to such Governments; and how this is to be reconciled with the policy of seeing that all parties in every country have facilities to express their views.

Mr. Bevin: Europe is in a state of flux and I do not propose to divide the various States into categories as is suggested. His Majesty's Government stands for freedom of expression, which sometimes takes the form of propaganda of varying kinds.

ATOMIC ENERGY (INTERNATIONAL CONTROL)

Mr. Warbey asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the question of international control of the atomic bomb and of atomic energy was discussed at the Council of Foreign Ministers recently held in London; and whether he has any statement to make on the matter.

Mr. Bevin: No, Sir.

POLAND

Party Organisations (Facilities)

Mr. Pickthorn asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the situation in Poland where, though a particular party cannot compete in the elections as an independent party, its members can affiliate to other parties and so take their part, is accepted by His Majesty's Government as fulfilling their policy, that in reconstituting Europe all parties in every country should have facilities to express their views.

Mr. Bevin: The Polish Provisional Government have pledged themselves to

His Majesty's Government and the Governments of the United States and the U.S.S.R. in the terms of the Crimea Agreement on Poland to hold "free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot," in which "all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates." It is not yet clear from the information at my disposal that all parties answering this description at present enjoy in an equal degree the necessary facilities for organising themselves, holding meetings and putting out publicity material through the Press and broadcasting. I am watching the situation closely.

Germans (Expulsions)

Mr. Bower asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if His Majesty's Government has protested to the Government of Poland against the atrocities inflicted on German women and children in connection with their expulsion from the newly-occupied Polish territories in Eastern Germany.

Mr. Bevin: I have urged the Polish Government to suspend all further expulsion of Germans for the time being, as they were invited to do by His Majesty's Government, the United States Government and the Soviet Government after the Potsdam Conference. The Polish Ambassador in London recently assured the Foreign Office, on instructions from his Government, that strict orders had been given to stop all further expulsions of Germans from Polish-occupied territory.

Displaced Poles (Repatriation)

Mr. Stokes asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what discussions have been taking place at 21st Army Group headquarters and at Frankfurt, with regard to the return to Poland of 500,000 diplaced Poles and Polish army units; and whether he is satisfied that the promise made to the Poles that no one should be forced to return to Poland against his will is being carried out.

Mr. Bevin: His Majesty's Government initiated a conference, which took place in Berlin last month, and at which arrangements were made for the repatriation of Poles from the British, United States and French zones. At a later meeting concluded a few days ago the Polish and Soviet authorities gave their final agreement to the repatriation movement starting eastward at once, at the rate of 3,000 persons per day, rising, it is hoped, to 5,000 daily. No one is compelled to make a final choice now as to whether or not he will avail himself of these facilities. Nevertheless it is understood that out of 500,000 displaced Poles, 300,000 have already opted to return and it is, of course, the earnest hope of His Majesty's Government that the conditions made available by the Polish Government for those who return will be such as to encourage the vast majority of Polish nationals to decide in favour of repatriation.

Sir E. Graham-Little asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what measures the British authorities are taking in arranging for the repatriation to Poland of 500,000 Polish displaced persons now in the British zone with special reference to their security when repatriated, in view of the measures threatened in an official announcement, January, 1945, issued by the Lublin Committee declaring the necessity for extirpating members of the Polish Home Army and followers of the Polish Government in London.

Mr. McNeil: As regards the repatriation arrangements which have so far been made I would refer the hon. Member to the reply given to-day to my hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Stokes). He will see that only those are being repatriated who have expressed a wish to go, and are therefore presumably satisfied as to the treatment they will receive.

Frontiers (Final Territorial Settlement)

Mr. Martin asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to what extent His Majesty's Government is committed to support at the Peace Conference the existing provisional frontier between Poland and Germany; and whether this support is in any way contingent on the adoption by Poland and other eastern European States of a social and economic policy which is calculated to promote both the welfare of the inhabitants of those regions and the peaceful economic development of Europe as a whole.

Mr. Bevin: His Majesty's Government are in no way committed to support the existing provisional arrangements at the Peace Conference. As regards the second part of the Question, the policies followed

by the Polish authorities in the territories now placed under their temporary administration will certainly influence the attitude which His Majesty's Government will adopt in any eventual discussion of a final territorial settlement in these regions.

Polish Forces (Repatriation)

Sir E. Graham-Little asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in view of certain efforts, examples of which have been submitted to him, to compel members of the Polish forces in Germany to return to Poland against their will, he will give an assurance that no measures are being taken or will be taken either in this country or in any other areas under British command or occupation for the repatriation of Poles who do not wish to be subject to the present Government of Poland.

Mr. McNeil: Yes, Sir.

NORWEGIAN AND DANISH MINISTERS (LONDON VISITS)

Mr. Nutting asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is in a position to make a statement regarding his recent conversations in London with the Norwegian and Danish Foreign Ministers.

Mr. Bevin: The Norwegian Foreign Minister paid a visit to this country towards the end of August, and I was very glad to be able to discuss with him personally on 29th August a number of matters which concern our two countries. The Danish Foreign Minister happened to be visiting London about the same time, the purpose of his visit being partly personal and partly concerned with the affairs of the Danish community in London. I naturally welcomed the opportunity of meeting him on 28th August and going over various current questions with him. Both conversations were cordial and helpful.

ITALIAN PRISONERS OF WAR (REPATRIATION)

Colonel Ropner asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in view of the feeling in many parts of the country that Italian prisoners of war should now be returned to their own country, he can make a statement setting out the intentions of the Government in this connection.

Mr. Bevin: His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have decided in principle that the repatriation of Italian prisoners of war in this country to Italy shall begin as soon as this year's harvest is completed and as soon thereafter as transport is available. Recent developments have made the shipping position even more difficult than hitherto, and it is therefore impossible to fix any definite date for the beginning of this repatriation. Nevertheless, every effort will be made to ensure that repatriation is started before the end of this year.

SPAIN

Arrested Politicians (British Ambassador's Message)

Sir W. Smithers asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if, as his message on 23rd September to the British Ambassador to Spain concerning the arrest of Spanish politicians was an interference in the domestic affairs of another country, he will give the House the reasons for this action.

Mr. Bevin: In the two recent cases, to which I assume the hon. Member is referring, I first assured myself that the charges were of a political nature. I then instructed His Majesty's Ambassador in Madrid unofficially to emphasise to the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs the widespread interest aroused by the arrest of these two men and the dismay which would have been evidenced had they been executed. I make no apology for my action, for which there are precedents, and I am gratified that my representations were not without effect.

Ambassadorial Representation (Ireland)

Sir R. Ross asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware that Senor Don Louis de Olivares y Brugueva, at a reception given in his honour by Mr. de Valera on 23rd August, described himself as accredited to Ireland; and whether he will make it clear to the Spanish Government that their representative is not accredited to Northern Ireland.

Mr. Bevin: I have no information to confirm the first part of the Question. In any case, I do not consider it necessary

to make a communication on the subject to the Spanish Government, since they are, I am sure, fully aware of the relevant distinction.

GERMAN GESTAPO (LISTED BRITISH INDIVIDUALS)

Mr. Skeffington asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether in view of the widespread public interest in the announcement that the Gestapo had prepared a list of proscribed organisations and individuals in Great Britain, he will cause the list to be issued as a White Paper.

Mr. Bevin: His Majesty's Government have no official knowledge of this list. Further inquiries, however, are being made.

PERSIA

Allied Troops (Withdrawal)

Mr. Eden asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has any statement to make about the withdrawal of Allied troops from Persia.

Mr. Bevin: I am indebted to the right hon. Member for giving me the opportunity of informing the House on the subject. The House will remember that the question of Persia was discussed at Potsdam, and that an arrangement was made for the immediate withdrawal of Allied forces from Tehran. The British withdrawal under this arrangement has now been almost completed, and M. Molotov has assured me that the decision regarding the withdrawal of troops from Tehran has been put into effect from the Soviet side. It was also agreed at Potsdam that the question of further stages in the withdrawal of Allied troops from Persia should be discussed at the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Since Potsdam, of course, the position has been changed by the ending of the Japanese war, which automatically brings into effect the provision of the Anglo-Soviet-Persian treaty that British and Soviet troops will complete their withdrawal from Persia within six months of the end of hostilities.

But since the question was on the agenda of the Council I thought it as well to make His Majesty's Government's views on the matter quite clear, and I therefore wrote the following letter to M. Molotov:

"Since it was decided at Potsdam that the question of further stages in the withdrawal of Allied troops from Persia should be placed on the agenda of the Council of Foreign Ministers the situation has been changed by the ending of the Japanese war. Our two Governments will now be completing the withdrawal of their forces from Persia by 2nd March, 1946, six months after the signing of the Japanese Instrument of Surrender and, as far as the end of our withdrawal is concerned, all that we need do is to ask the Council to take note of the 2nd March, 1946, as the date fixed.

It seems to me, however, that since our respective forces in Persia have completed the war-time tasks for which they were sent to Persia, our Governments might well see if they could not do something to satisfy the Persian Government's natural desire to see as much of its territory as possible freed as soon as possible from the presence of foreign forces.

I therefore propose to suggest, when the question comes up at the Council of Foreign Ministers, that our two Governments shall agree that by the middle of December, 1945, their respective forces shall be withdrawn from the whole of Persia except that British forces may remain until the 2nd March, 1946, in the sourthern oil area to the south of, and including, Andimishk, and that Soviet forces may remain until the 2nd March, 1946, in Azarbaijan. I should propose excepting from this arrangement the minimum administrative staffs necessary for disposing of military installations; these staffs could remain where there are such installations until they had arranged for their disposal; they would, of course, be withdrawn like our other forces by the 2nd March, 1946. I have thought it well to let you know in advance of my intention to put forward this proposal, when the matter comes up at the Council of Foreign Ministers."

To this M. Molotov replied in the following letter:

"Thank you for informing me in your letter of 19th September of the British Government's attitude on the question of the withdrawal of British and Soviet troops from Iran. I must in turn inform you that the decision of the Berlin Three Power Conference regarding the withdrawal of troops from Teheran has already been put into effect from the Soviet side. As regards the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Iran, the Soviet Government, as you are aware, take the view that this withdrawal of troops should be effected within the period laid down in the Anglo-Soviet-Iranian Treaty. If necessary, the plan for the final withdrawal of Soviet and British troops from Iran could be discussed between us towards the end of the said period. The Soviet Government, accordingly, see no need for this question to be discussed in the Council of Foreign Ministers."

As a result of this exchange of letters which underlined the intention of both British and Soviet Governments to stand by their treaty obligations to Persia, when

the question came up before the Council on 22nd September M. Molotov and I informed the Council that the exchange of letters had taken place. The Council took note of the fact that letters on this matter had been exchanged between us and agreed that in view of this there was no necessity for the question of the withdrawal of troops from Iran to be discussed and that the item should therefore be removed from the Agenda of the Conference.

In a further letter I wrote to M. Molotov as follows:

"I am glad that we have reached so cordial understanding on the question of the withdrawal of Allied troops from Persia, about which I wrote to you on September 19th and you replied on September 20th. I am sorry that, owing to a doubt in the translation, there was some misunderstanding about the intention of your letter. The difference in language certainly creates problems for us.*

My colleagues were pleased to learn from me of the complete agreement between us as to the date by which Allied troops should be withdrawn, that is, by March 2nd, 1946, six months after the signing of the Japanese surrender on September 2nd, 1945. His Majesty's Government are issuing a direction to the British military authorities accordingly."

M. Molotov then replied:

"I am glad that the letter which I sent you on 20th September has given you satisfaction. I would like to tell you once again that in the case of the Soviet Government the question of withdrawing troops from Iran did not in general constitute a special problem, inasmuch as there is a treaty which makes provision for it. I would ask you to bear in mind that the Soviet Government attach exceptional importance to the strict fulfilment of obligations undertaken."

* There was a misunderstanding owing to the Russian text of M. Molotov's first letter being translated to read "on the expiry," whereas the correct translation was "towards the end"

EUROPE (DISPLACED PERSONS)

Mr. Longden asked the Secretary of State for War what the British administration is now doing to implement the humanitarian principles of the Potsdam Agreement with regard to the transfer of populations and to end the suffering which has been inflicted on large numbers of German people, particularly women and children, through separation of families, lack of shelter and inadequate provision of food; and when this state of things is likely to end

Mr. Bellenger: Following on the recommendations of the Potsdam Conference, the Control Commission in Germany were instructed to examine the problem from the point of view of equitable distribution of transferred Germans among the several zones. The Control Commission have been asked to complete their report with the greatest possible speed, and in the meantime it has been suggested to the Governments mainly concerned that further expulsion should be suspended. The Germans already transferred are almost entirely outside the British zone and are therefore not subject to the control of the British authorities.

Flying-Officer Lever asked the Secretary of State for War if he is aware that displaced persons who are Jews are, in many cases, compelled to live in camp with Nazis, who, because of their political records have refused to return to their homes; and if he will take immediate steps to remedy this position.

Mr. Bellenger: I am informed that no instances are known of displaced persons, Jewish or otherwise, in the British zone in Germany, being compelled to live in camps with Nazis of any description.

Flying-Officer Lever asked the Secretary of State for War if he is aware of the conditions of extreme hardship under which displaced persons in camps in the British zone of Germany are living; and if he will at once take steps to provide warm clothing and improved living conditions for these people in view of the approach of winter.

Mr. Bellenger: I am unable to accept the suggestion that displaced persons in the British zone in Germany are living in conditions of extreme hardship. Everything possible is being done to ensure that living conditions are as good as is practicable. The provision of warm clothing for the winter is receiving special attention.

Flying-Officer Lever asked the Secretary of State for War if he will consider taking action, similar to that found necessary by President Truman in the American zone, to ensure that measures ordered for the welfare of displaced persons are, in fact, carried into effect.

Mr. Bellenger: I am satisfied that everything is being done in the British zone in Germany to ensure that our own policy, namely, that the best living conditions consistent with available resources are provided for displaced persons, is carried into effect.

POLISH AND BRITISH FORCES (DISPUTES)

Sir W. Smithers asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to serious breaches of the peace between members of the Polish and British Forces at Okehampton and at Peebles; and what action has been taken to avoid a recurrence.

Mr. Lawson: I have been asked to reply. Yes, Sir. After investigating both cases I am satisfied that there is no reason to anticipate any recurrence of these unfortunate incidents, either at Okehampton or Peebles.

ROAD BLOCK DEMOLITIONS

Sir W. Smithers asked the Minister of War Transport if he is aware that the demolition of road blocks by dynamite has caused damage to property in the West Wickham area of Kent; and to whom the sufferers can apply for compensation.

Mr. Lawson: I have been asked to reply. As I have informed the hon. Member by letter, the demolition in question was carried out by contractors employed by the local residents and not by the War Department. Applications for compensation should, therefore, be made to the contractors, who, it is understood, have accepted responsibility and are repairing the damage.

EUROPEAN POSTAL SERVICES

Mr. Martin asked the Assistant Postmaster-General what prospects there are of postal services to Germany and other central European countries being restored at an early date.

Mr. Burke: Normal postal communication with Germany and Austria will be resumed as soon as the Allied Control Commissions give authority: but they must first be satisfied that the necessary transport and other facilities are available, and I cannot indicate at present when this will be. Meanwhile, limited postal services may be established for the benefit of displaced persons and prisoners of war. The resumption of communication with Hungary also awaits the authority of the Allied Control Commission in that country, but I am hopeful that a postal service from the United Kingdom will be in operation shortly. The only other European country to which there is no postal service is Albania, to which a service will be established on the completion of the necessary administrative arrangements with the Albanian Post Office.

SMOLENSK MASSACRES (PUNISHMENT)

Sir E. Graham-Little asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the British Government, in its campaign against war criminals, will enlist the support of the Russian Government in bringing before an international tribunal those responsible for the massacre of 10,000 Polish officers in the neighbourhood of Smolensk in 1943.

Mr. McNeil: The hon. Member is doubtless referring to the murder of between 10,000 and 12,000 Polish prisoners, most of whom were officers, in the Forest of Katyn, near Smolensk, which was first announced to the world in April of 1943, although the actual murders must have taken place many months previously. As the victims were of Polish nationality and the site of crime is on Soviet soil, and having regard to the terms of the Three-Power Declaration issued at Moscow on 1st November, 1943, it would be difficult and inappropriate for His Majesty's Government to take the initiative in this matter.

The following is the relevant extract from the Moscow Declaration:

"... those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free Governments which will be erected therein."

NATIONAL FINANCE

Postal Charges

Major Beamish asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can promise a reduction to pre-war rates in the cost of postage in the near future.

Mr. Dalton: I cannot anticipate my next Budget statement.

Purchase Tax

Mr. Sparks asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will, when framing his next Budget, consider abolishing the 33⅓ per cent. Purchase Tax at present levied on spring interior mattresses.

Mr. Dalton: I will certainly consider my hon. Friend's suggestion.

GERMAN LOANS (BRITISH INVESTORS)

Sir V. Smithers asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is now able to state what is the position of British subjects who invested their money in German sterling loans; and will he take steps to ensure that the claims of these pre-war bondholders will not be subordinated to reparations.

Mr. Dalton: I cannot add anything to the answer which I gave to the hon. Member on 23rd August.

BUSINESS PREMISES (RENTS)

Mr. Piratin asked the President of the Board of Trade, in view of the shortage of offices and small workshops available for letting in London; what steps he is prepared to take to protect existing occupiers of office and workshop accommodation from being ejected by their landlords after long periods of tenancy unless considerably increased rents are paid.

Mr. Ellis Smith: There are at present no powers to control rents of business premises, and we are not satisfied by any evidence that has come to our notice that we should be justified in seeking the necessary powers of control.

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS (PUBLIC INFORMATION)

Sir C. Fox asked the Prime Minister whether he will give an assurance that instructions will now be given to all Departments to ensure that as much information will be made available by them to the Press for the benefit of the public, as before the commencement of war.

The Prime Minister: I doubt the need for any general instruction. I am sure that Departments are aware of the desirability of providing as much information as possible for the benefit of the public. Subject always to current manpower, printing, and paper shortages, special attention is being given to the resumption of the publication of statistics.

ROYAL NAVY

Messrs. S. G. Brown, Ltd.

Mr. Sparks asked the First Lord of the Admiralty whether Messrs. S. G. Brown, Limited, of Victoria Road, Acton, W.3, which is owned by the Government, is to continue to be owned by the Government.

Mr. Alexander: The future of this company is under consideration, but I am not yet able to say what the ultimate decision will be.

Missing Prisoners of War

Commander Marsden asked the First Lord of the Admiralty the number of officers and of men of the Royal Navy and reserve forces who were known to have been in prisoner-of-war camps in Germany and who are now unaccounted for.

Mr. Alexander: One officer, one rating and one Corporal, R.M. Inquiries are still proceeding.

Demobilisation

Captain Bullock asked the First Lord of the Admiralty for what reasons his Department is releasing civil servants who joined the Navy under Class B on condition that they return to Admiralty Civil Service; and what steps were taken to co-ordinate this arrangement with the demobilisation scheme as a whole.

Mr. Alexander: The hon. and gallant Member doubtless has in mind the transfer to reserve of a number of men who were Admiralty Civil Servants when they joined the Navy in order that they might carry out urgent civilian work under the Admiralty. These man were required to meet a critical situation in the staffing of vital services, particularly in connection with the Pacific Fleet. These arrangements, which are no longer in operation in view of the ending of the war in the Far East, were not part of the general demobilisation scheme, and were, in fact decided upon many months ago. The men concerned are liable to recall to the Navy at any moment should circumstances require.

Mr. Lipson asked the First Lord of the Admiralty if he is aware of the demand made by naval personnel that on demobilisation they should receive foreign service leave with pay as do members of the other Forces; and if he will take steps to amend the existing regulations to make this possible.

Mr. Alexander: Yes, Sir. The position to which the hon. Members refers has resulted from the improved conditions under which foreign service leave is now granted to the Army and the Royal Air Force. Proposals to adjust this situation have already been formulated and are being actively considered by the Departments concerned.

Prize Money

Mr. Touche asked the First Lord of the Admiralty whether naval personnel who were transferred from the R.N. to the Army in the latter part of 1944 are entitled to receive any prize money.

Mr. Alexander: I am not yet in a position to add anything to the reply which was given to the hon. and gallant Member for South Paddington (Vice-Admiral Taylor) on 22nd February last. The matter is one that concerns a number of other Departments besides the Admiralty and inquiries have taken longer than previously expected.

H.M.S. " Vanguard " (Explosion)

Mr. Hogg asked the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he has any statement to make about the explosion in H.M.S. " Vanguard."

Mr. Alexander: Two men were killed and a third who was seriously injured has since died as a result of this tragic occurrence. Damage to the ship was only superficial. It has now been established beyond reasonable doubt that the explosion was caused by explosive methane gas which was being evolved owing to the sediment in the bottom of the basin in which the ship was afloat, and had entered certain compartments of the ship. The firm concerned has always been most careful in the precautions taken to prevent the accumulation of gases both toxic and inflammable. Every effort is being made to try and prevent the repetition of this kind of accident.

Dungeness (Fishing Obstructions)

Mr. E. P. Smith asked the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that there are still four Pluto buoys moored off Dungeness roadstead, in the East Bay, as well as other war-time obstructions which are preventing herring fishing; and if he will see that they are cleared before the drifting season begins in October.

Mr. Alexander: Instructions are being given to lift the buoys referred to by the hon. Member, as well as certain other small buoys in the area also associated with the Pluto pipe-line. I am not aware of any other war-time obstructions to fishing in these waters.

Chatham Naval Barracks

Mr. Palmer asked the First Lord of the Admiralty if he is now satisfied with the conditions at Chatham Naval Barracks.

Mr. Alexander: No, Sir, but there has been considerable improvement in the last six weeks and conditions are less crowded than they were. A number of camps have been obtained for the purpose of relieving the over-crowding and others are being brought into use as quickly as possible.

Royal Marine Police (War Gratuities)

Viscount Hinchingbrooke asked the First Lord of the Admiralty on what ground the R.M.P. (Special Reserve) are excluded from the War Gratuities Scheme.

Mr. Alexander: As stated by the former Prime Minister in the House of Commons on 8th March, 1945, the Government, after considering all the classes of the community analogous to Service personnel to whom war gratuities should be given, decided that this benefit should be extended, on a reduced scale, to certain members of the Civil Defence Services where remuneration throughout the war had been related to Army rates of pay. The Royal Marine Police Special Reserve is a force of civilian police whose pay is not, and never has been, related to Army rates. It is regretted that the Reserve is, therefore, not eligible for war gratuities.

Studland Training Area

Viscount Hinchingbrooke asked the First Lord of the Admiralty what decision has been arrived at in regard to the future of the Studland training area now under Admiralty requisition.

Mr. Alexander: The Admiralty has no further requirement for the Studland training area, but before the area can be de-requisitioned, it will be necessary to clear it of any unexploded missiles. This will be done with as little delay as possible but it may be some time before the area is completely safe.

MALAYA: NEW CONSTITUTIONAL MEASURES

Mr. G. Brown asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can make a statement on future Malayan policy.

Mr. George Hall: Yes, Sir. His Majesty's Government have given careful consideration to the future of Malaya and the need to promote the sense of unity and common citizenship which will develop the country's strength and capacity in due course for self-government within the British Commonwealth. Our policy will call for a constitutional union of Malaya and for the institution of a Malayan citizenship which will give equal citizenship rights to those who can claim Malaya to be their homeland. For these purposes fresh agreements will need to be arranged with the Malay State Rulers, and fresh constitutional measures for the Straits Settlements. I should make it clear that the British character and British citizenship attaching to all the present Settlements will not be affected by the constitutional measures we have in mind.

The Malayan Union will consist of the nine States in the Malay Peninsula and of the two British Settlements of Penang and Malacca. The Settlement of Singapore at this stage requires separate constitutional treatment and in view of its special economic and other interests provision will be made for it to be constituted as a separate Colony. His Majesty's Government are, however, well aware of the many ties between Singapore and the mainland, and that these ties may well work towards ultimate union. This will be a matter for the Governments of the Malayan Union and Singapore to consider in due course.

The peoples of the Settlement of Penang (with Province Wellesley) and Malacca will lose none of their rights as British citizens, and it is as British Settlements, with their own appropriate institutions of local government no less than those in the States, that Penang and Malacca will form part of the Malayan Union. His Majesty's Government have carefully considered the new constitutional measures necessary for the political, economic and social advancement of Malaya, and have decided that fresh Agreements with the several Malay Rulers need first to be arranged which will enable His Majesty to possess and exercise full jurisdiction in the Malay States. Sir Harold MacMichael has accordingly been appointed to visit Malaya as a Special Representative of His Majesty's Government to arrange Agreements with the Rulers for this purpose. When His Majesty possesses jurisdiction, it is intended by Order in Council to constitute the Malayan Union.

There will also be created a Malayan Union citizenship, for which the qualifications will be birth in Malaya or a suitable period of residence. They will be citizens of Malaya, with all the rights and obligations which that term implies. No one must rely upon past privilege, or regard Malaya simply as a source of material wealth. While it is to the advantage of all the world and not only Malaya that the production of her mineral and agricultural resources should be restored and developed by industry and research, it is right that the Malayan people should be assured of their full share in the rewards of their industry and should be able to feel the country's wealth reflected in their own standard of life.

COLONIAL EMPIRE (AGRICULTURAL INSURANCE)

Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will consider the introduction of insurance schemes for agricultural crops in the Colonies to save colonial peoples from loss and ruin following natural misfortune such as hurricane and cyclone.

Mr. George Hall: Yes, Sir; I am considering how far it may be practicable to introduce such schemes as are suggested.

WEST INDIES (DEVELOPMENT OF WELFARE, REPORT)

Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies when the Report on the West Indies Development and

Welfare Commission will be made available; and whether he will arrange for such reports to be published at frequent intervals.

Mr. George Hall: The Report of the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies for the years 1943-44 was published on 4th October. It is the intention that such Reports should be published at regular intervals.

EAST AFRICA (LABOUR CONDITIONS)

Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what progress has been made with workmen's compensation legislation in Kenya; and when the Orde-Browne Report on East African labour conditions will be published.

Mr. George Hall: Workmen's compensation is now engaging the attention of the Kenya Government, and I am asking the Governor to report when he expects to be able to proceed with legislation. As regards the second part of the Question, the Report will go to the printers this month.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

East Anglia (Trade Resources)

Mr. E. Granville asked the President of the Board of Trade if, in allocating facilities for increasing export trade, he will consider the special claims of East Anglia, particularly with regard to unused factory areas, materials and man-power.

Mr. Ellis Smith: Yes, Sir. Every effort is being made to ensure that all available resources are used for the development of our home and export trades.

Women's Clothing (Outsizes)

Lieutenant Hughes asked the President of the Board of Trade what further steps he is considering to assist and encourage manufacturers to meet the shortage of WX and OS sizes of women's utility clothing, corsets and footwear; and whether he can give any assurances of an early improvement in the position.

Mr. Ellis Smith: I have no evidence of any exceptional scarcity in the larger sizes of footwear, and I cannot usefully improve on the general arrangements at present in operation to encourage the production of WX and OS sizes of women's utility clothing and corsets. But if my hon. and gallant Friend has in mind any special difficulties of individual manufacturers, I am prepared to look into them. The supply of outsizes should improve progressively as more material and labour become available for textile and footwear production.

Footwear

Mr. John Thomas asked the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware of the great difficulty experienced in obtaining women's and children's shoes; if the best grades are still being manufactured solely for export; and when does he expect to be able to announce an increase in the quantity of children's and women's shoes for the home market together with a substantial improvement in their quality.

Mr. Ellis Smith: Yes, Sir, I am aware of the difficulties, which are common to all classes of footwear. I am doing all I can to enable production to be increased, and I hope that the steps which have been taken to speed up the return of labour to the footwear industry will shortly begin to produce a general improvement in supplies. Exports of footwear are still limited to what is required to meet the essential needs of certain Empire countries and account for a very small percentage of total production.

Duty Free Gift Parcels

Sir W. Smithers asked the President of the Board of Trade what is, since peace was declared, the number of cigarettes which are being sent abroad duty free; and what steps he is taking, in collaboration with the Service Departments, to prevent these duty-free cigarettes being sold to citizens of foreign countries.

Mr. Ellis Smith: The concession of duty-free gift parcels to troops overseas was withdrawn on 12th September, except for gift parcels to members of the Forces serving in H.M. ships and in the Far East. The number of cigarettes sent abroad since the cessation of hostilities could only be ascertained at the expense of much time and labour in the Departments concerned which I do not think would be justified.

Statistics

Sir W. Smithers asked the President of the Board of Trade if he will publish the

weekly figures of British imports and exports by countries.

Mr. Ellis Smith: Weekly figures are not compiled, and, with the great fluctuations which take place from week to week in the movement of goods, publication of weekly figures would not be of value.

Utility Cloth (Distribution)

Lieut.-Commander G. Williams asked the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that many clothing manufacturers who are not members of nucleus groups are unable to obtain sufficient cloth of any kind in exchange for the coupons obtained through sales of clothing at their shops; whether he can give any indication as to how much longer the present system is to continue and what modifications he proposes.

Mr. Ellis Smith: No, Sir. A proportion of the utility cloth is set aside for manufacturers who are not members of nucleus groups, and non-utility cloth is not distributed under any allocation scheme. The present system will be reviewed as soon as an improvement in supplies will permit.

Business Firms (Changed Addresses)

Sir W. Smiles asked the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware that firms in Northern Ireland are having difficulty in getting in touch with companies in England who have left their old addresses during the war; and if he will consider broadcasts asking companies who have left their old addresses to make their new addresses known to their old clients.

Mr. Ellis Smith: The difficulty to which the hon. and gallant Member refers is not peculiar to Northern Ireland, and I am considering suitable methods of calling the attention of firms to this matter.

Factory (Release)

Mr. Sparks asked the President of the Board of Trade when he will be able to release the Carltona Factory, Victoria Road, Willesden, at present only used for the storage of furniture, so that it can be used for food production purposes.

Mr. Ellis Smith: The release of these premises has been engaging my attention and, with the aid of the new arrangements for expediting derequisitioning, I hope to see the factory returned to the owners within two months.

UNDELIVERED CIGARETTES AND TOBACCO (SALE)

Sir J. Mellor asked the President of the Board of Trade why he approved the sale by the manufacturers, for the benefit of charities, of undelivered duty-free parcels of tobacco and cigarettes, addressed to British prisoners of war in Germany, without any refund being offered to the individuals who ordered the parcels to be dispatched.

Mr. Ellis Smith: At the end of the European war many parcels could not, for obvious reasons, be delivered, and the only satisfactory way of dealing with them was to sell the parcels back to the manufacturers and to hand the proceeds to Committees of Service Comforts Funds. Due notice of this intention was given in the Press by the Council of Tobacco Manufacturers and no objections were raised. In the majority of cases it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to trace the original consignors.

NORTHERN IRELAND

New Industries

Dr. Little asked the President of the Board of Trade whether, in the case of the closing of war factories or their removal to other centres in Northern Ireland, he will provide alternative employment through the establishment of new industries in these areas.

Mr. Ellis Smith: Yes, Sir, the attention of industrialists is being drawn to the facilities available in Northern Ireland; and arrangements have already been made to turn over those Government-owned factories, which have become surplus to requirements, to selected contractors for peacetime industry.

Demobilisation

Dr. Little asked the Minister of Labour what arrangements have been made for the early demobilisation of those who volunteered for the services from Northern Ireland.

Mr. Isaacs: Volunteers from Northern Ireland, like other members of the Armed Forces, will be released in order of age and length of service. If a particular individual is a key specialist urgently required for reconstruction work it is open

to the Government of Northern Ireland to apply for his release in Class B in advance of his normal turn.

Travel and Exit Permits

Colonel Erroll asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department why intending travellers to Northern Ireland are still required to complete Form P, Application for grant of travel permit card or exit permit; and if exit permits cannot be entirely dispensed with, whether the application form will be simplified.

Mr. Ede: Form P was originally intended as a combined form on which applications could be made for a travel permit card or exit permit or both. Exit permits for Ireland were abolished shortly after VE Day, but existing stocks of Form P continued to be used up pending the introduction of a simplified form which is now in use. The new form asks for only those particulars necessary for the issue of a travel identity card, by which name the old travel permit card will henceforth be known.

CIVIL DEFENCE (WAR GRATUITIES)

Sir W. Smithers asked the Minister of Labour whether, in assessing war bonuses and war gratuities, particularly on demobilisation, and pensions, he will take into account the service rendered by men and women engaged in C.D., especially if they were conscripted before they joined the Armed Forces of the Crown, such as firemen, bomb disposal, rescue squads and police.

Mr. Isaacs: All men and women who have served for six months or more since 3rd September, 1939, in a whole-time paid capacity in the Auxiliary Police or Auxiliary Fire Services or in the Civil Defence General Services qualify for a war gratuity in addition to any gratuity for which they may qualify by virtue of service in the Armed Forces.

DEFERMENT OF APPRENTICES (NORTH WALES)

Mr. Goronwy Roberts asked the Minister of Labour whether, in view of the lack of technical schools or colleges in North Wales, he will amend the present regulations governing the deferment of apprentices so as to enable the District Manpower Board to accept evidence of study through a bona fide correspondence college for the National Certificate in place of evidence of attendance at an established technical institution.

Mr. Isaacs: As my hon. Friend will now be aware, I wrote to him on 6th October about this matter asking for details of his proposal.

PALESTINE POLICE FORCE

Mr. Sparks asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that men who joined the Palestine Police Force under a contract of service for a period of three years or the duration of the war, whichever is the shorter period, are being compelled by the Inspector-General of that police force to complete the full period of three years in contravention of the contract which they signed; and what steps he is taking to see that the contract is honoured.

Mr. George Hall: I have received a number of complaints regarding this matter on which there has evidently been a misunderstanding. There is no intention of retaining these men for the full three years contrary to the provisions of their contract.

ETHIOPIA (OIL AGREEMENT)

Viscount Hinchingbrooke asked the Minister of Fuel and Power whether His Majesty's Government were made aware of the negotiations for the 50-year oil concession between the Emperor of Ethiopia and the Sinclair Oil Corporation before the conclusion of the agreement.

Mr. Shinwell: I would refer the Noble Member to the reply I gave yesterday to my hon. Friend the Member for Middlesbrough East (Mr. A. Edwards) on this matter.

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

Ministry of Information

Major Lloyd asked the Minister of Information what is the present cost of his Ministry; and how many persons are at present employed.

Mr. E. J. Williams: The present rate of gross expenditure of the Ministry of

Information is estimated to be approximately £5,000,000 a year. The number of staff employed in the United Kingdom on the 30th September was 2,310, and overseas approximately 3,000.

Motor-Car Priority Badges

Sir W. Smithers asked the Minister of War Transport if, now that the war is over, Ministers and officials are going to give up the priority badges displayed on their motor-cars.

Mr. Barnes: Yes, Sir.

INDIAN ARMY (OFFICER'S TRANSFER)

Sir J. Mellor asked the Under-Secretary of State for India when Captain E. W. Morrel, having been commissioned without option into the Indian Army, applied for retransfer to the British service; when G.H.Q., India, dispatched his application to the War Office; whether he is aware that on 25th September the War Office had not received it; and what steps he has taken to trace it.

Mr. A. Henderson: This officer's application, which was dated 23rd April, 1945, was forwarded to the War Office by G.H.Q., India, on 23rd June, 1945, and I understand that the War Office have now arranged for his transfer to the British Service with effect from 1st October, 1945.

MANCHESTER AND SALFORD CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

Sir J. Mellor asked the Attorney-General if he will state the facts upon which the Director of Public Prosecutions drew the attention of the Manchester and Salford Co-operative Society to the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act, 1854; and on what grounds it was decided that a corrupt or illegal practice had been committed by the society.

The Attorney-General: To state publicly the facts taken into consideration by the Director of Public Prosecutions in arriving at a decision in an individual case would, in my view, constitute an undesirable departure from accepted practice. In answer to the second part of the Question, a formal Opinion from the Law Officers was not asked for in this case, but the Director of Public Prosecutions reported the full facts to the then Attorney-General with a recommendation that the matter could be properly dealt with by a caution. That recommendation my right hon. and learned predecessor approved.

MAGISTRACY (MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT)

Mr. Peter Freeman asked the Attorney-General whether he will consider the desirability of making Members of Parliament justices of the peace during their period of office.

The Attorney-General: The responsibility for the advice given to the Crown in relation to the appointment of Justices of the Peace, outside the Duchy of Lancaster, rests with the Lord Chancellor. It has long been the practice of successive Lord Chancellors not to apoint M.Ps. as J.Ps. for the area of their own constituencies. Until he has had an opportunity of obtaining a general survey of the whole question, my Noble Friend thinks it undesirable to depart from this practice.

ALIENS (NATURALISATION)

Major A. Jones asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department what is the present policy regarding the naturalisation of aliens and in particular enemy and ex-enemy aliens who are refugees in this country.

Mr. Ede: Naturalisation has been generally suspended since June, 1940, except for the cases of married women who are eligible for readmission to British nationality, and a very few exceptional cases where the naturalisation of an alien has been necessary to fulfil some specific requirement in the national interest.

HOTELS (VISITORS' REGISTRATIONS)

Colonel Erroll asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department what is the present purpose of the registration forms which hotel visitors are required to complete in addition to entering their names in the visitors' book; and when will their use be discontinued.

Mr. Ede: Steps are being taken to amend the provisions which have required British subjects during the war to furnish

certain information in addition to the statement of their nationality in the hotel register. The object of the requirement was to enable information to be obtained about all persons visiting areas regulated under DR. 13A, a regulation which was revoked on 28th September.

EGYPT (MURDER OF LORD MOYNE)

Sir R. Glyn asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when the White Paper and statement will be made available to Parliament concerning the circumstances that resulted in the murder of Lord Moyne in Egypt, and indicating the assistance that has been, and is being, given by the Jewish Agency in Palestine and other Zionist organisations in co-operating with British and Egyptian police authorities to break up and disrupt the terrorist bodies that were responsible for this and similar crimes.

Mr. McNeil: After consideration it has been decided not to publish any White Paper or statement on these subjects.

BORSTAL INSTITUTIONS (VISITS)

Mr. Ayles asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many visits per year are permitted to a Borstal boy; and how many such visits have been received on an average each year by men imprisoned in Dartmoor.

Mr. Ede: A youth detained in a Borstal institution is entitled to receive 13 visits a year, but the average number of visits paid to each person detained is about two a year, and the available figures do not suggest that the number of visits paid to Borstal institution is governed by the accessibility or otherwise of the particular institution. During the first six months of 1945, when the daily average population was 601, 89 visits were paid to convicts in Dartmoor Prison. But in any event the analogy between visits to young persons undergoing Borstal training and to persons sentenced to penal servitude is not a sound one, and no useful inference can be drawn from such a comparison.

HOLLOWAY PRISON (GOVERNORSHIP)

Sir E. Graham-Little asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the post of governor of Holloway Prison was advertised before the recent appointment was made; what conditions as to age and qualifications were imposed; and how many applications were received.

Mr. Ede: Fifteen and ten applications respectively were received for the last two vacancies. All candidates must be registered as legally qualified to practise both medicine and surgery. There is no age limit for such posts, and though there is a note on the form of application to the effect that candidates under 30 years of age are preferred, both the successful candidates were, in fact, over 30.

BILLS PRESENTED

WATER (SCOTLAND) BILL,

"to make provision for the conservation of water resources and for water supplies in Scotland and for purposes connected therewith," presented by Mr. Westwood; supported by Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Tom Fraser; to be read a Second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 11.]

BANK OF ENGLAND BILL,

"to bring the capital stock of the Bank of England into public ownership and bring the Bank under public control, to make provision with respect to the relations between the Treasury, the Bank of England and other banks and for purposes connected with the matters aforesaid," presented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; supported by the Prime Minister, Mr. Herbert Morrison and Mr. Glenvil Hall; to be read a Second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 9.]

COATBRIDGE AND SPRINGBURN ELECTIONS (VALIDATION) BILL,

"to validate the election of Mrs. Jean Mann and John Forman, Esquire, to the House of Commons notwithstanding their holding the office of member of a tribunal under the Rent of Furnished Houses Control (Scotland) Act, 1943, and to indemnify them from any penal consequences which they may have incurred by sitting and voting as Members of that House," presented by the Prime Minister; supported by Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Attorney-General and Mr. Glenvil Hall; to be read a Second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 10.]

ORDERS OF THE DAY

NATIONAL INSURANCE (INDUSTRIAL INJURIES) BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

3.35 p.m.

The Minister of National Insurance (Mr. James Griffiths): I beg to move "That this Bill be now read a Second time."

It is just under a year since the White Paper on Social Insurance was debated in this House. Two of the four Measures necessary to give effect to the scheme for a comprehensive system of social insurance have already reached the Statute Book. The first was a comparatively simple enactment under which the Ministry of National Insurance was set up. The second was the Family Allowances Act, which was passed in the final days of the last Parliament. This is the third of the four Bills, and it is far more involved than either of its two forerunners. The fourth is on the way, and I am afraid I must warn hon. Members that the fourth will be even more complicated than the third.

The broad principles on which the scheme of industrial injuries insurance is based were decided first by the Coalition Government, and were outlined in Part II of the White Paper to which I have already referred. When the White Paper came up for discussion in the House there was general agreement upon the new structure and upon the principles embodied in the White Paper. However, many of the detailed points in the scheme were criticised in the debates which then took place, and in the light of the views expressed at that time and of various representations made by both sides in industry since those debates certain modifications were introduced by the late Government. These were outlined in an Explanatory Memorandum issued with a Bill under the same title in June. Subject to what I shall have to say in a moment or two the Memorandum still explains the provisions of the Bill in detail, and I do not propose to detain the House with many details to-day, but to seek to outline the general provisions of this Bill and make it as plain and simple as I can. I realise that it is a Bill which will profoundly affect the lives of many millions of people in this country. I should like here to pause to pay tribute to the work put into this Bill in its earlier stages by the Minister of National Insurance in the Coalition Government, who will, I know, be watching its progress with a fatherly interest from another place.

The House will already know the main purpose of the Bill. It is to make compensation for industrial injuries a part of this country's social services. We want if we can to dispel the cloud of bitter feeling which has gathered round the subject of workmen's compensation, and to make these injuries a matter for settlement on the basis of fixed benefits to be paid for a fixed premium. In the debate on the original Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897 Mr. Joseph Chamberlain expressed this hope:

> "We have held it to be a first principle as well as one of our first objects to avoid litigation."

I need not tell the House how far we have failed to achieve that object. Any work of reference on the subject cites hundreds and even thousands of cases. In the latest edition of the familiar "Willis," familiar to so many of my hon. Friends, some 3,000 leading cases are listed. I believe, indeed I am confident, that we shall in this scheme be more successful than was Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and I am sure my hon. Friends in the House and particularly my hon. and learned Friends, will share my hope that very shortly "Willis" will be rendered redundant.

The scheme is based on insurance against risk and not on liability for compensation. This is not entirely a new idea. A system of insurance against accidents was suggested in this House in 1893 when Mr. Asquith's Employers' Liability Bill was under discussion, though at that time the system proposed was one of separate schemes of insurance for each separate industry under a central control. The possibility of a national insurance scheme was mooted first in a report on the working of the Workmen's Compensation Acts made as long ago as 1904, by a Committee appointed by the then Home Secretary to review the working of the Acts. There may be legitimate differences of opinion about the principle of imposing on employers a liability for compensating their workmen for all industrial injuries whether or not caused through the employer's own negligence or the negligence

[Mr. Griffiths.]

of their representatives, but I know that the word "compo" has long been full of foreboding to the workers of this country. This was well explained by Sir William Beveridge in his Report when he said that the workman

"feels, rightly or wrongly, that he is being subjected to improper pressure to reduce his claim, to accept an unfair lump sum settlement, to go back to light work which is not really beneficial or for which he is not ready."

For those reasons the word "compo" is full of forebodings. This Bill will be the end of "compo" and there are few, I think, who will mourn its passing.

I should like now to run briefly over the scope of the Bill, to explain how it is to be financed, what benefits will be given, what machinery will be used for settling claims and what will be done for a few special classes of people. First as to the scope, as to who is to be covered by this scheme. By and large all persons employed in Great Britain under any contract of service or apprenticeship will be insurable without any income limit. In addition certain people not necessarily covered by contract of service are being brought in: for example, members of lifeboat crews who work under the Royal National Lifeboat Institution; employers of any local or public authority; people such as taxi drivers who ply vehicles for hire under a contract of bailment; and members of certain rescue and fire parties in mines and works. In two types of case employment outside Great Britain is covered by this scheme. Seamen, including licensed and apprentice pilots and other persons employed for the purpose of the vessel or of the cargo or of passengers carried, on British and British owned ships, and civilian airmen employed on British aircraft are covered. I am very glad to be able to tell the House that in this Bill every effort is being made to meet the special needs of seamen.

Certain classes of employment are or may be excepted from the general rule. If there is any doubt as to whether or not the work is insurable application can be made for a ruling on the question, and any question of law arising in connection with that ruling is subject to appeal to the High Court.

I may say here that, although under the Bill as it stands only seamen and airmen will be able to obtain benefits for injuries suffered outside Great Britain, provision is made for reciprocity agreements to be entered into with Northern Ireland and with any Dominion or Colony or foreign country which has a scheme giving similar benefits, and it is hoped therefore that the territorial extent of the insurance under the scheme will grow as time goes on.

Mr. Beechman (St. Ives): In connection with seamen, will the Minister say whether fishermen will be included in the scope of the Bill?

Mr. J. Griffiths: Perhaps the hon. Member will allow me to continue my speech, but the point will be noted and a reply will be given to him later on. Now I will deal with the very vexed question of what type of accident is to be covered by the scheme. As hon. Members will know already, we have adopted in the Bill the words of the existing Workmen's Compensation Acts:

"accidents which arise out of and in the course of the employment."

This is a familiar, I might say all too familiar, phrase, for many of my hon. Friends. We have looked at many alternative phrases which have been suggested to us as substitutes for those familiar words, but I am bound to say that, after full consideration, we have decided that it is better to retain the words we have already in the Acts. Not the least of our reasons for doing so was the fact that the phrase has been fully examined and interpreted by the courts, and its meaning is now I think reasonably clear and certain. If I may say so, I have examined it myself and, speaking for myself with some experience as a layman and compensation officer, I am convinced that it is better to stick to the devil we know than fly to devils that we know not of.

I want to point out one change of importance in the scheme as compared with the present Acts. One of the main criticisms of the phrase was that the onus of proof has always rested on the worker. That has been met to some extent, I think to an important extent, by the addition of a proviso that, for the purposes of this Act, an accident arising in the course of an insured person's employment shall be deemed, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, also to have arisen out of that employment. The onus of proving that the accident arose in the course of the employment remains on the claimant to

benefit, but if it did not arise out of the employment the onus of proving that will rest not on the worker but on the insurance officer. Where the evidence is inconclusive, as it so often is in fatal cases, the benefit of the doubt will go to the claimant. Perhaps I can best explain the effect of these proposals by citing one or two actual cases showing what has happened under the existing scheme and what would happen under the proviso. The first is from the coal mines, as indeed so many of these cases are. A collier died of a seizure during working hours. The majority of the doctors said that his arteries were in a very diseased condition and there was no evidence that the attack came upon him when he was incurring a strain while doing his work. His dependants failed to establish their claim to compensation, because, although there was no doubt that the accident happened in the course of the employment, there was nothing to show that it arose out of it. Under the Bill, benefit would have been paid.

Another case concerned a ship's fireman, who one night slept on deck, as he had permission to do. He was some distance from the side of the ship, but at the edge of the deck there was a three-foot space between the upper rail and the deck. His body was later found in the water with a cut over one eye. The county court judge, from the facts proved before him drew the inference that the man met his death by accident by going overboard in some manner unknown, and that the accident arose in the course of his employment; but he held that the dependants had failed to discharge their burden of proving that the accident arose out of the employment and they therefore failed to recover compensation. Under the Bill, benefit would have been paid in this case. Those two cases indicate that the proviso in this scheme is going to prove of very great advantage in cases of this kind.

Let me here say a word about accidents which are due to a workman's misconduct. Under the Workmen's Compensation Acts, compensation is not payable where an accident is

"attributable to the serious and wilful misconduct of the workman,"

unless the injury results in death or in serious and permanent disablement. This provision recognised that compensation could not be withheld when the results of the accident were serious, and penalties are imposed in cases where the result is slight or temporary. We thought there was great difficulty in repeating this provision in our Contributory Insurance scheme, and, looking to the fact that before benefit becomes payable under this scheme it must still be shown that the accident arose out of and in the course of employment, we decided to drop the provision. I am sure that this removes a provision which, although it may seem justified by some kind of logic, was a source of considerable irritation in practice, and the change will, I am sure, be welcomed. A somewhat similar easement is made in regard to injuries which result from an action performed in contravention of statutory or other orders. These will not be regarded as out of scope so long as the act was done for the purposes of, and in connection with, the employer's trade or business, provided that the accident is such that it would have been regarded as arising out of and in the course of employment, if it had not resulted from a breach of orders to the workmen. Under the Acts, the injuries would have been compensated only where they resulted in serious and permanent disablement. We shall now cover that case.

Another type of case in which there has been some improvement in the plan outlined in the White Paper is that of the worker injured in an accident which occurs while he is travelling to or from his place of work, in transport provided by or on behalf of the employer. In the past, such cases have been admitted to compensation only where there was a contractual obligation on the part of the worker to use the transport provided, but under the Bill a man injured in such an accident will be covered, provided that the vehicle in which he was travelling was not being operated as part of a public transport service. If it is part of a public service, the risk run by the worker is no greater than the risk run by the general public using the same service, and there is no reason why, if there is an accident, there should be different rates of benefit paid to different passengers according to the reasons why they are using the vehicle. Special provision is made to cover people injured in meeting real or supposed emergencies on their employers' premises. Accidents occurring at such times will be deemed to arise out of and in the course of the employment.

[Mr. Griffiths.]

I have said that the Bill applies to injuries caused by accidents, but it may also, by Regulation, be extended to cover persons suffering from prescribed industrial diseases and also from prescribed injuries not caused by accident but which are directly attributable to a person's employment. The Bill here repeats in substance existing provisions in the Workmen's Compensation Acts, but in doing so it gives the Minister rather more power than exists at the present time to adapt the provisions of the scheme in these special cases.

Now perhaps I might be permitted to say a word about what the Bill does not do. It does not abolish the right of a man to claim damages at common law in respect of injuries caused by the negligence of his employer. The House will be aware that a Departmental Committee on Alternative Remedies is engaged in examining this question and, in the circumstances, I do not think I can anticipate their Report by saying anything further on the subject to-day. I want, if I may, to refer here to what are known as past cases. Everyone familiar with the working of the Workmen's Compensation Acts knows the anomalies and the heartburnings that arise, and that have arisen in the past, when amending Measures have been introduced into Parliament and brought into operation. We find men in the same village and in the same street receiving different treatment and different payment for the same kind of injury, merely because one man was dealt with under the old legislation and the other under the new.

The hardest cases of all have been the pre-1924 cases, men whose compensation was, and is still, payable under the Acts in force before the present principal Act was passed in 1925. For reasons which I have no doubt were found to be weighty, they have been left outside the advantages of the various amending Acts within the last 20 years. This Bill does something, and I believe I can claim it is something substantial, for the worst of all these past cases, including, let me emphasise, the pre-1924 cases. Any man drawing a weekly payment by way of compensation on or after the appointed day on which this scheme comes into operation who is unable to work and could qualify for unemployability supplement, as defined in the Bill, will be given that supplement, payable from the Industrial Injuries Fund, of £1 per week, in addition to whatever he is getting under the existing Acts.

May I mention one other thng about it? They will continue to get this £1 a week in addition to their weekly payment even if, after the appointed lay, they should commute that weekly payment for a lump sum. I am sorry I cannot see how we can do anything at this stage for those who have commuted their weekly payments already. I am particularly sorry, too, that, so far, we have not been able to bring within the scope and within the benefits of the scheme all past cases, whether they are unemployabe or not. Personally, I am most anxious to do so, for the reasons I have already indicated. Both the Trades Union Congress and the employers' representatives have approached me with requests that past cases should be admitted to the benefits of the new scheme. There are difficuties in the way, but they are not unsurmountable. Without going into them at all, I am sure the House will appreciate this fact, that the Fund could not accept what is an existing liability on employers unless an adequate payment was made into the Fund in redemption of the employers' liability. I have, however, said to the employers' organisations that if they care to submit to me a scheme of which the Government can approve, I shall be only too willing and anxious to gve it sympathetic consideration. There the matter rests, but I hope only for the moment, and I give my undertaking to the House that this is a matter which I am personally very anxious to bring to a successful conclusion, if I possibly can.

Now we come to the benefts provided in this scheme and Bill. It is in the method of assessing and the determination of the amount of benefits that the Bill marks a fundamental departure from the present Workmen's Compensation Acts. It is, I appreciate very fully, a radical change, and will be far-reaching in its implications, yet I am absolutely convinced that it is a desirable change. The essential difference between this scheme and the Workmen's Compensation Acts is, that benefits will be related solely to the degree of disability suffered and will not be related to loss of earning power. We all know the heartburnings that have been caused by the provisions of the Work-

men's Conpensation Acts whereby compensation fluctuates with every rise or fall in earnings and how, indeed, no compensation is payable however severe the injury, if he injured man is later able, or indeed is held to be able, to earn as much as he did in the job in which he suffered the injury. My hon. Friends will know, as I do, how difficult it is to explain to the worker how it comes about that his partial compensation has been reduced, not because he is earning more—indeed he may not be earning at all—but because his notional income has increased. We know how this provision causes men to be reluctant to undertake training for new occupations, even though this training would be of great help towards the mental and physical rehabilitation of the disabled men.

It is, I think, true to say that the basic principles of this scheme have been accepted in all quarters without serious objection, but representations on a number of points have been received. Certain of them have been reinforced very strongly since the Bill was published in its present form. While the Government are satisfied that the Bill as it stands marks a considerable advance over the original proposals, they nevertheless have been impressed by the strong representations made to them on two aspects, namely as to the basic rates of disablement and, secondly, as to the position under the Bill of certain types of partial disability cases.

It has been urged very strongly that the rate of 40s. proposed is inadequate. In respect to partial disability cases, stress has been laid on the fact that the Bill makes no provision for dealing with the case which has become commonly known as the "odd lot" case. Typical of the cases in which it has been urged that further provision should be made is that of the miner who loses four fingers of his right hand, or the train driver who loses an eye, or the compositor who loses an index finger. While those injuries would only justify a low or moderate percentage under the new method of assessment of disablement, their effect might be to prevent the man ever returning to his pre-accident occupation.

The Government, therefore, feel justified in proposing changes in the Bill to meet the representations received on these two points. They propose that the basic rate for injury benefit and for 100 per cent. disablement shall be 45s. instead of 40s. They also propose to give the worker the right to claim an addition of 25 per cent. to his medical board assessment, provided it is not thereby raised above the 100 per cent. rate, if he can show to the satisfaction of a local appeal tribunal that by reason of his injury he is no longer able to follow his previous occupation, and cannot be so retrained as to enable him to follow an occupation of an equivalent standard. I would ask hon. Members not to press me unduly about the form of words to-day. These are new provisions, and hon. Members will appreciate that the wording of the second one is a matter of great importance. When we reach the Committee stage I will move Amendments on both points.

Naturally, these Amendments to the scheme affect the finance of the Government proposals. It was originally estimated when the White Paper on Social Insurance was published in September, 1944, that the cost of the benefits would be of the order of £20,000,000 a year, and that a further £3,000,000 ought to be allowed for administration. To produce this sum a weekly contribution was proposed of 6d. for men and 4d. for women, divided equally between employer and worker. As a consequence of improvements made later, it was found necessary to add one penny to the employer's share of the weekly contribution on the understanding, as stated in the White Paper, that at the first suitable opportunity equality of contribution between employer and worker would be restored. The further improvements now proposed necessitate increasing the weekly contribution by a further penny, and the Government feel bound to honour the undertaking given then and to equalise contributions once more under this scheme.

If I may turn to the benefits in some detail, I will deal first with the two which are payable in non-fatal cases, which are described as injury benefit and disablement benefit. Injury benefit is designed to cover the initial period of incapacity due to the injury. It is payable after three waiting days. Many of my hon. Friends, I know, would like to see the waiting days abolished, but I can at least point to the fact that, as compared with the early edition of the Bill, or with the

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Workmen's Compensation Acts, we have reduced the waiting period by making the day of the accident in every case count as the first of the three waiting days. In that way we have reduced the effective waiting days to two. Injury benefit lasts for six months from the date of the accident, unless the injured man has recovered sufficiently to be able to work before that time and asks to be assessed for pension. The benefit rate as now proposed is 45s. a week for a single man or woman. I will deal with dependants in a moment.

Where at the end of the injury benefit period the injured man is still suffering from disablement which is likely to be permanent, or is substantial, he will be assessed for pension. This will be awarded in proportion to the degree of his disablement; in other words, in proportion to his loss of health, strength and power to enjoy life; and it will be awarded irrespective of his earnings or his notional earnings. The disabilities which will be regarded as attracting a pension of 100 per cent. are left to be prescribed. The whole industrial injuries scheme has been framed with the war pensions scheme in mind, and we shall, in making the Regulations, be influenced by the schedule of assessment used by the Ministry of Pensions. I want to emphasise one thing, however, because of some anxiety which I know exists on this point, which I fully understand. We shall not be bound by the Ministry of Pensions schedule, but shall vary it if need be. The Regulations which I shall make will be submitted to the Industrial Injuries Advisory Council, to which I shall refer later. After that, they will lie on the table for 40 days. So that our proposals will be open to public examination and to the complete control of this House before they become effective.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Ian Fraser (Lonsdale): I would like to put a question, the answer to which I think will influence many Members in deciding whether to give a Second reading to this Bill. If we give it the Second reading, can the right hon. Gentleman assure us that we will not thereby be creating a higher standard for persons injured in industry than for persons injured in war?

Mr. Griffiths: I am sure that my hon. and gallant Friend will appreciate that I am responsible for this Bill and that any question which affects another scheme is not one to which I can be expected to reply.

There are some extra benefits provided for the very severe cases. If a man is rendered virtually unemployable by his injury and is likely to remain so, he can ask for an additional allowance of £1 a week. He will be regarded as virtually unemployable if he is unable, as a result of his injury, to earn more than £52 a year. An additional allowance of up to £1 a week may be paid if constant attendance is required. This will be paid even if the necessary care is given by the injured worker's wife. In other words, it will not be necessary to prove that somebody from outside is coming in. The wife herself can get the £1 per week. If a pensioner has to enter hospital for further treatment on account of his injury, he will, so long as he is in hospital, receive pension at the full 100 per cent. rate, irrespective of his normal assessment. There will, however, be a reduction of 10s. a week in respect of home savings and the constant attendance allowance will cease for that period.

With regard to the provision for dependants, the Bill provides for an allowance of 16s. a week to be paid in respect of one adult dependant, so long as the man is receiving injury benefit. This would normally be payable in respect of his wife, or, in the case of a woman, in respect of her invalid husband. Where there is no wife it could be paid to some other prescribed relative, or, where appropriate, to a woman taking care of the injured man's children. This allowance would not be payable if the dependant's earnings were more than a prescribed amount. The amount mentioned in the White Paper was 20s. a week. In addition, there will be an allowance of 7s. 6d. a week for the first child in the injured man's family. The other children will be covered by the Family Allowances Act. Dependant's allowance will not be payable when a man is drawing his pension, except in two cases: first, where an unemployability supplement is being paid; and, second, where the pensioner is receiving approved treatment in hospital. In the general run of cases, the pensioner will have his earnings in addition to his pension. If, on the other hand, he is sick or unemployed, he will receive the depen-

dant's allowances attached to his sickness or unemployment benefit.

Before I leave the subject of benefits, I would draw the attention of the House to the proposals set out in the Explanatory Memorandum for the payment of sickness benefit to an industrial pensioner. To-day, a man cannot draw sickness benefit and workman's compensation for the same injury; and the original White Paper followed the same lines. For reasons set out in the Explanatory Memorandum, we have decided to modify this proposal. Under our scheme a pensioner who is unfit for work will be entitled to sickness benefit, even when his unfitness is due to his injury, subject only to this, that if his pension is at the 100 per cent. rate, sickness benefit will be at half rate until he has paid 10 contributions since the date of his accident. If the pension is less than 100 per cent. he will get the full rate of sickness benefit from the beginning, so long as that does not give him more than a man with 100 per cent. pension would get. What I have said so far refers to the ordinary adult workers, men and women. I would note that the benefit rates are on an equality for both men and women.

I would like to say a word about the provision for young people under 18. There are special provisions covering them, and if there is a change which I welcome and of which I am proud, it is the provision for youth in this Bill. I know from my own experience of boys and youths injured at 16 or 17, left with a compensation rate based on their earnings, having to wait until they are 21 before they can claim a review, and having to claim a review within six months or forfeit their claim for ever. Here we are making a new provision. Half-rate contributions will be payable by those over school-leaving age; benefit will be half the adult rates. If a young person in receipt of benefit reaches 18, he will have his benefit increased to the full adult rate. If a youth under 18 has dependants, he will be given the full adult rate for himself and full dependant's benefit for those dependant upon him. He will not be asked to pay the full rate of contribution until he is 18 in any circumstances. Children under school-leaving age who are employed part-time—and they still are, whatever we may say—will be regarded as covered by this scheme, but no contributions will be required from or in respect of them. Injury benefit will be paid for them when they meet with accidents at reduced rates until school-leaving age is reached. Then it will be half rate until the age of 18, and thereafter at the full rate. Disablement benefit is not reduced for children under school-leaving age.

I come to the provisions made for benefit in fatal cases. Here we have got right away from the idea of lump sum payment of compensation. The drawback of the system of lump-sum compensation in fatal cases is well illustrated in a case which occurred at the beginning of the war. A widow whose husband was fatally injured at his work had seven children ranging in age from two weeks to 13 years. She received £600, the maximum under the then Act, which was paid into court. Within a year she had to send six of her children into a Dr. Barnardo's Home. Under this new scheme she would have received 30s. a week for herself until all the children had reached school-leaving age, 7s. 6d. for the eldest child and 5s. —under the Family Allowances Acts—for each of the others. For the first two years after her husband's death she would, therefore, have received a total of £3 7s. 6d. a week, and though this amount would have grown less as the children reached school-leaving age, that family would not have had to be split up, and I think it is obvious that the total amount received under our Bill would have been far in excess of the lump sum payment in that case. The pension for a widow who does not have the care of a child is 20s. a week unless at the time of her husband's death she is over 50 years of age or is incapable of work, in which case she will receive 30s. A widow's pension is not payable to a widow whose marriage took place after the accident—and this is the point about which we shall no doubt hear more when we go upstairs—unless her husband has an unemployability supplement.

Now I come to the provision for parents. A pension will also be awarded to one or both parents of a man if they were living with and were wholly or mainly maintained by him at the time of his death, or would then have been maintained except for the accident from which death resulted. If they were maintained by him but not living with him, a

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pension will be paid to the father, if he is incapable of work, and to the mother if she is either herself incapable of work or is living with a husband who is incapable of work. The pension will be 15s. a week for any period during which the parents are living together and in other cases 20s. a week each. If neither a widow nor a parent is entitled to a pension one other prescribed relative is entitled to pension. Such relative must have been maintained by the deceased and must have been living with him, being incapable of self-support. A parent or relative who does not fulfil these conditions and, therefore, qualify for a weekly pension will be given an allowance for 30 weeks at the rate of 36s. a week and a woman who is looking after a man's child before his death and continues to do so after his death may get an allowance of 20s. a week so long as she continues to do so.

I will not trouble the House with too many details of the conditions for the receipt of these pensions and allowances at this stage. We can examine them in detail when we get to the Committee stage. But I would like to say a word as to the way in which claims will be decided. This will be a State system of insurance. In the first instance, therefore, claims will be decided by officers appointed by me to be insurance officers. It is, however, a public service, and the public served must have a right to see for themselves that justice is done in individual cases. Independent local appeal tribunals will, therefore, be set up consisting of one representative each of employers and workers under an independent chairman. They will hear and decide appeals from the insurance officers' decisions.

Lastly, there will be a right of final appeal to a commissioner who will be a legal expert appointed not by me but by His Majesty. The commissioner will be assisted by deputy-commissioners, and there is provision that cases which involve points of law of special difficulty will be decided by a tribunal of three instead of by one commissioner or deputy-commissioner. Similarly, in cases which involve difficult questions of fact the commissioner or one of his deputies may ask the assistance of persons with specialised knowledge of industry who may sit with him as assessors. Assessments for pension will be made by medical boards consisting of at least two registered medical practitioners, though there is a provision for minor cases in which the disability is likely to last only a short time for them to be dealt with by a single doctor if the claimant agrees. There will be special medical appeal tribunals to deal with cases in which the injured man disputes his assessment, and cases of doubt arising under this scheme in regard to children's allowances will be dealt with under the appeal machinery provided already in the Family Allowances Act.

I must refer to one or two other provisions of the Bill. There is a provision for financial assistance to be given to persons engaged on research into the causes and prevention of industrial accident and disease, and indeed for the Minister himself to employ persons to carry out such research. The accident rate in this country is still appalling. For years I have lived at the other end, and now I live at the Ministerial end of these problems; I have seen them from both ends, and I am desperately anxious for something to be done. I have the unenviable record of representing a constituency which has the highest number of silicotic men in this country and I am, therefore, glad that the Bill contains this provision to help research into the cause and prevention of accidents and particularly of industrial diseases.

The primary responsibility for the training of injured men for employment has been laid upon the Minister of Labour and National Service by the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act of 1944. Provision has, however, been made in this Bill for a grant to be made out of the Industrial Injuries Fund, if necessary, in order to ensure that persons injured in industrial accidents have the full facilities for training and for sheltered employment provided under that Act. There is also provision, and I am glad that it is made, it is a change from the last Bill—enabling me, out of the Fund, to provide a supply of artificial limbs and other appliances to pensioners, either free or at reduced cost. I still have boyhood memories of buying a 3d. raffle ticket to provide a peg-leg for a miner.

The administration of this scheme will, subject to the approval of Parliament, fall upon my Department, and I would like to say a word about that. I shall have a small central headquarters staff

here in London, an executive headquarters staff in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and local offices in all important centres throughout the country engaged on the day-to-day administration of the scheme. But before the stage is reached at which my local officers can handle cases—and afterwards too—I shall need the advice of industry, both of employers and workers, on framing the details of the scheme and embodying them in Regulations. For this purpose there is to be appointed an Industrial Injuries Advisory Council to which I shall ask representative employers and workers' organisations to nominate members. I shall look forward to the advice at every stage in the administration of this scheme of men drawn from industry and who have experience of industry, who have seen in their own life how industry works.

In speaking of the benefits of this scheme I have inevitably almost entirely dealt with the cash payments to be made. But to the injured man that is not the first nor the most important thing. The most important thing is for him that he be fitted for a new life, and that is where the old system failed most completely. If I may again quote Sir William Beveridge, he said in his Report that in the 45 years of its existence the present system of dealing with the results of industrial accidents and disease had contributed little or nothing to the most important purpose of all, the purpose which should have come first and actually came last in that scheme, namely, the restoration of the injured employee to the greatest possible degree of production and earning as soon as possible. If all this scheme did was to provide cash benefits, however adequate, I would not ask the House to approve it. If, having assessed the injury and awarded the pension we said to the worker "Good bye, go off, we have finished with you," I would not ask the House to give this Bill a Second Reading. I know, from my own experience as a worker and as a trade union officer, the tragedy of the "Compo" man. In my own village as in all industrial villages there are pathetic cases of the casualties of industry being left to limp their way through life.

I commend this Bill and the scheme it introduces to the House not only because of its cash benefits but because it is the foundation upon which a great constructive human service can be built, to restore the injured workman to his old job, or, if that is not possible, to train him for a new job, or if that is impossible, to care for him and for his dependants. I ask the House to give this Bill a Second Reading. We shall examine it again in detail in Committee and then, with the help of the Advisory Council and the co-operation of industry, I am confident that we shall be able to make this scheme a real, living contribution to the social services of the country, and I shall be proud to help in that task.

4.26 p.m.

Mr. Osbert Peake (Leeds, North): My first words must, I think, be words of congratulation to the right hon. Gentleman who has moved the Second Reading of the Bill first upon the fact that the borough which he has represented in this House with such distinction for some years is conferring its freedom upon him, and secondly upon his very clear and eloquent exposition of a Bill with which he has not had much time in his new office to familiarise himself. To-day we have a somewhat unusual Parliamentary situation. I do not say that it is without precedent, but here we have a a Measure devised by one Government and published in the form of a Bill by that Government being adopted *in toto* by that Government's successor after a General Election.

In view of my long association with the framing of this scheme, perhaps I may be allowed to strike a somewhat personal note. I was appointed Under-Secretary to the Home Office in April, 1939, and although the clouds of war were looming close at that time, one of the attractions about the job of Under-Secretary at the Home Office was that the Royal Commission on Workmen's Compensation had been appointed in the previous December. Workmen's Compensation matters, by a well-established tradition in the Home Office, are largely left in the hands of the Under-Secretary—and in passing I may perhaps say that I think that may be one of the reasons why so little progress has been made in workmen's compensation law in days gone by. There was, however, in view of these facts, a real prospect of being associated with a great measure of practical reform for which workmen's compensation law had long called out. The Royal Commission, of course, never

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made a final report, but its labours have not been thrown away, and anybody who has studied the hundreds of pages of evidence which it took has access to a vast storehouse of information upon the subject of workmen's compensation.

This Bill, in my view, is a great scheme of reform. I do not want to antagonise hon. Members opposite to it, but I can hardly refrain from saying that, in my view, there is very little of what I understand as Socialism about this Bill. It is founded upon the well-tried practices of social insurance with which our people have become so familiar. It is to be compared, I think, in its importance and its scope with Mr. Lloyd George's National Insurance Act of 1911. Anybody who compares these two Measures will see some very striking similarities between them both in their form and in their extent. Mr. Lloyd George's Act covered 15 million workpeople; this Bill covers rather more. Mr. Lloyd George's Act provided for a fund with an annual income of £24,000,000, almost exactly the amount provided by the fund under this Bill; and the contributions under Mr. Lloyd George's scheme were very similar to the contributions here proposed. Hon. Members will remember the phrase "9d. for 4d." I think that in this case, with the alteration announced by the right hon. Gentleman, this will be something like 9½d. for 4d. The Act of 1911 had 87 Clauses and nine Schedules. This Bill by a curious coincidence has 86 Clauses divided into nine parts. If I were to apostrophise this Bill in the words in which the poet Robert Herrick addressed one of his mistresses, I would say on the Bill:

> "When I thy parts run o'er,
> I cannot espy in any one the least indecency."

I am not quite sure that all my hon. Friends will be able to say the same thing about the Schedules.

The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897 was in its day a great measure of reform. It embodied four very simple ideas. The first was the liability of the employer without proof of negligence. The second was compensation equal to half the pre-accident earnings, that is to say, a sharing of the financial loss resulting from the accident. Thirdly, it provided for the commutaton of the weekly payment by means of a lump sum, and lump sums in cases of death. Fourthly, it provided for informal arbitration by joint representative committees. There were, I think, four faults inherent in the structure of the Act of 1897. The first and most important was that the scheme of that Act retarded recovery instead of promoting it. Last summer on my holiday I was walking over the Yorkshire moors. I came across an old man with a wooden stump for a leg. At first I thought he was a seafaring man, but after a chat with him he told me he had lost his foot on the railway in the year 1898 and had been receiving 8s. 9d. per week ever since by way of workman's compensation. If anything had been known about rehabilitation in the year 1898, that man would not have become a tramp and so continued for nearly 50 years.

But the war has brought rehabilitation to the fore. Early in the war the word "rehabilitation" was rather a strange one to many people. I remember attending a meeting of a Cabinet Committee, where Ministers of different parties were assembled, and the subject of rehabilitation came up. One Minister—I will not say to what party he belonged—talked of "rehabitation" and then a Minister of another party, knowing that something had gone wrong, began to talk about "rehabiliation"; and it was finally left to a man of goodwill, a man of no party, to put the discussion into its proper etymological setting. Rehabilitation has now come into its own, due a good deal to a report made by the present Minister of Works in 1943. At any rate, it is very vital that rehabilitation should be closely linked with this Bill which we are discussing to-day. That was the first fault of the scheme of 1897, that it retarded rather than promoted recovery.

In the second place, that scheme promoted suspicion and ill will in industry mainly owing to the adoption of insurance, a third party with whom the workman had to deal; and to the failure to establish the representative joint committees which Mr. Joseph Chamberlain had in mind when he introduced that reform. Thirdly, many persons were unaware of their legal rights under the Workmen's Compensation Acts. They had no idea even that the Acts existed, and many people went without what was their due because of a lack of knowledge

of their legal rights. Fourthly, the calculation of the benefits was far too complex. It was bad enough even in the old days to try to calculate what were the pre-accident earnings, but it became infinitely worse when the sliding scale was introduced in the Act of 1923, and it became worse still owing to the various Acts we have introduced during the currency of the present war providing for family allowances and so forth. We are now in a position where no man can possibly calculate what his compensation ought to be.

This Bill puts an end to the old scheme. When I was at the Home Office early in the war, it was obvious that the Royal Commission could not carry on. My advisers, however, had very definite ideas as to the lines on which we ought to proceed. Hon. Members will recall that in 1940 we introduced a feature into Workmen's Compensation that was quite inappropriate to a scheme under which employers become liable to their employees. It was a scheme of family allowances. Of course, employers gave undertakings that they would not discriminate against the man with the large family, but even then it was quite inappropriate to the old scheme, and it was in fact the first step towards the adoption of the social insurance plan which is before the House to-day. There was only one hon. Member who saw where that innovation of 1940 would take us, and that was the hon. Member who is now Minister of Health. When the Family Allowances Scheme was before the House on 30th April, 1940, he stated:

> "We are witnessing, therefore, an attempt to embody that principle by bringing workmen's compensation into conformity with the rest of the social legislation by means of a long-range policy. The right hon. Gentleman dare not do it at once. If he did, we would see through it and there would be too much row about it, and so he is doing it slowly."—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 30th April, 1940; Vol. 360, c. 621.]

The right hon. Gentleman saw where we meant to end up, and at that time it is clear he did not like our destination. I wonder where he stands in that matter to-day.

The next step, after the Royal Commission announced that it could not carry on, was the reference of this subject, together with all the other social services, to Sir William Beveridge. I think the main recommendation on workmen's compensation by Sir William Beveridge was probably a foregone conclusion. Sir William Beveridge is a great enthusiast for social insurance and it was, therefore, very helpful to receive from him a very cogent statement of the reasons for converting workmen's compensation into a social insurance plan, but the detailed recommendations of Sir William Beveridge so far as workmen's compensation was concerned were devastatingly disappointing. I shall never forget the look of gloom on the face of the present Minister of Labour when he came to see me and discovered that Sir William Beveridge had suggested that the industrially injured, for the first 13 weeks, should be reduced to 24s. a week. Nor could I have stood for Sir William Beveridge's recommendation that lump sums should continue to be paid in fatal cases. Nor could I have tolerated a retention of the system under which compensation is related to earnings. It will be remembered that Sir William Beveridge suggested that in the long-term cases a proportion of the pre-accident earnings should be paid by way of compensation, and that in cases of partial disability a proportion of the difference between pre-accident and post-accident earnings should be paid. That is one of the worst features of the existing scheme; it is responsible, I should think, for two-thirds of the evils of the existing scheme, and it was very disappointing to us at the Home Office to find that Sir William Beveridge proposed to retain it. Nor do I think there would have been much support for Sir William Beveridge's recommendation for a special levy on the hazardous industries. A special levy of that kind cuts right across the main idea of a social insurance scheme, which is a pooling of risks between the safe and the hazardous industries. Almost everybody who has made a speech in the House during the last few months has referred to the General Election. I must confess I was a little horrified, seeing how lamentably bad were Sir William Beveridge's recommendations in the field of workmen's compensation, to find a leaflet issued during the Election:

> "Beveridge is a Liberal. Beveridge says that only Liberals will carry out his Social Security Plan. The Tories won't do it; Labour won't do it. The Liberals will."

Although the eminent author of the report on the Social and Allied Services entered politics rather late in life, it is perfectly

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clear that he has very little to learn from those two political agents whom we read about in the Barchester novels, Mr. Nearthewind and Mr. Closerstill.

This scheme owes something to Sir Wm. Beveridge, and that is the basic idea that it should be of a contributory character. I think there is full justification for the contributory character of this scheme. In the first place, few accidents, if any, are the fault of the employer, and if the employer is negligent he is, and will remain, liable for damages at common law to the injured workman. Most accidents are either nobody's fault—they just happen—or they are the workman's fault, or they are the fault of a fellow-workman. This is clearly a field for the adoption of a contributory insurance plan.

The main criticism which I have heard of this plan is that it imposes a rigid equality. It treats men and women, skilled and unskilled, labourers and craftsmen all alike. I have heard this criticism not only from my friends who sit on these Benches, but from representatives of trade unions in the skilled trades also. It is right that this scheme should treat everybody alike. This is a compulsory scheme, it is a pooling scheme, it is a scheme under which the safe industry subsidises the hazardous one. It seems to me to be right and fair that there should be some limit to which that process of subsidy is carried. It would be quite unjustifiable to ask the taxpayer, who contributes one-sixth of this fund, to make a contribution towards the payment of benefits on a scale which would be appropriate in the case of a man earning a high salary, such as £1,000 or £1,200 a year. In my view it is right in a compulsory scheme that both benefits and contributions should be on a flat rate basis. If anybody cares to go in for a supplementary scheme they are, of course, free to do so. One of the great merits of this scheme is that, by the adoption of a new method of assessing disability, it provides a firm basis for supplementary schemes. It would be very easy in a trade where workmen earning £8, £10 or £12 a week, a comparatively safe trade like the printing trade, substantially to increase these benefits by the payment of a much smaller premium.

Dr. Morgan (Rochdale): The printing industry is not a safe industry; it is a most dangerous industry.

Mr. Peake: The right hon. Gentleman the Minister of Labour, who is associated with it, has often told me that they have very few accidents in the printing trade.

Dr. Morgan: What about diseases?

Mr. Peake: We come to diseases later on. I am suggesting—and it is a perfectly simple point—that in the higher paid industries and trades it would be a very simple matter to build on top of this basic State scheme supplementary schemes which are suitable to the particular trades and industries concerned, and in most of them it will be possible to do that for a much smaller rate of premium proportionately than this scheme adopts. In the case of coal mining, which is a hazardous industry, there will be a great saving to the industry under this plan. Workmen's compensation, I would guess, at the present time is costing the coal industry at least £6,000,000 a year. Under this scheme the cost will be reduced to £1,000,000 or something less. There will be a substantial saving; and there is no reason whatever why part of that saving should not be diverted into voluntary schemes for the supplementation of benefits provided by the basic scheme. It is fair, right and proper under a State compulsory scheme to provide equal benefit for all in respect of an equal contribution.

This scheme is a novel scheme. Other countries have State-operated schemes, but no other country in the world has a scheme which involves in the first place joint contributions, in the second place, equal representation of representatives of workmen and of employers at all stages of the administration, and thirdly, the assessment of the compensation in relation not to the loss of earnings, but to the injury sustained. The adoption of these three features should, in my opinion, as in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, eradicate the serious structural defects which were inherent in the scheme of 1897.

There will be no danger to the passage of this Bill from this side of the House. Indeed most of the critics of this scheme, when it was debated in November, 1944, are now to be found inside the ranks of His Majesty's Government. They are,

therefore, temporarily muzzled, but there are several hon. Gentlemen opposite who I know do not like this scheme. There is the Joint Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, the hon. Member for Gorbals (Mr. Buchanan), who declared himself in very plain terms as radically opposed to this great scheme of reform. There is the hon. Gentleman the Member for Gower (Mr. D. Grenfell), who criticised this scheme very strongly, and the hon. Member for Rochdale (Dr. Morgan), who ventured to interrupt me just now. As long as this Bill survives the criticism which has been directed at it from inside the ranks of His Majesty's Government, then I am confident that it will secure the approval of the vast majority of those outside this House.

There is one point to which I must make a reference, and that is, the concession announced during the Second Reading speech of the Minister of National Insurance on the question of benefits. The original Bill published by the Coalition Government provided a basic rate of benefit of 40s. On 12th September the Trades Union Congress met at Blackpool and the Prime Minister made the journey there to address it. Before he arrived on the scene, as I understand it, there was a discussion on the Industrial Injuries Bill and strong views were expressed that the basic benefits ought to be increased. Nevertheless, when the Bill was printed on, I think, 19th September, the previous rates were incorporated in it, and now on the Second Reading, rather to my surprise, the Minister announced that the basic rate of benefit was to be increased from 40s. to 45s. I rather suspected that the Prime Minister's journey to Blackpool was comparable to that of the Emperor Henry IV to Canossa. I hope we shall hear a little more as to why this concession has been made at this stage. I am sure that the people of this country want to know quite clearly from whence they are being governed. All through the by-elections which have recently been fought we are told that for the first time we have a Labour Government in power which it never had before. It is very well that the country should be assured that power and responsibility go together.

On the other matter where the right hon. Gentleman departs from the Bill, that is, in the addition of a penny to the workmen's contributions, there, I must say, I think his speech did him great credit. It was understood when this Bill was first introduced that the principle of equality of contribution would be maintained. I have always attached great importance to that principle. I think that if you were going to bring representatives of employers and workpeople together in the Appeal Tribunal, bring them round the same table at the Central Advisory Committee, it would be a great advantage if they had subscribed equal contributions to the fund.

It is vital to the success of this new scheme that it should go forward in the spirit of co-partnership and with equal contributions there will be no question of the employers' representatives on these various tribunals claiming a larger voice on the ground that they are paying a larger share.

This I say again is, in my view, a fine scheme, but its success will depend upon sympathetic and speedy administration. There must be a very close link with the new Health and Hospital Services of the Ministry of Health and with the Rehabilitation and Retraining Services of the Ministry of Labour.

I believe that this Bill will leave its mark on English social history. Workmen's Compensation was devised in the Victorian era. In those days the relation of the employer to his workmen was based on the relation of a father to his children. The spirit of paternalism, which was the Victorian conception of this relationship, has now given way to a new atmosphere of free and equal partnership. It is in this new spirit that this scheme has been born. I believe that it will succeed, and that Britain will give to the world an example of the application of modern democratic ideas to an old and baffling problem. It will bring new hope and a greater measure of security than ever before to the homes of those who suffer injury or death in the service of their fellow men.

4.57 p.m.

Miss Bacon (Leeds, North-East): I am particularly pleased to make my maiden speech in this House on the Industrial Injuries Bill, for all my life I have watched at first hand the working and practice of the inhuman and niggardly Workmen's Compensation Acts. I have always lived among miners and my home has always been one to which men have come with their difficulties and troubles,

[Miss Bacon.]

particularly in regard to accidents. When I was only 12 years old I went down the mine into its inner workings and almost terrifying darkness, but as for miners' wives and as for miners, as the Minister knows, there is even a darker side to the picture when the man who went out so strong and so well comes home in an ambulance or does not return home at all. Among the mining population workmen's compensation plays a very great part and in mining towns and villages there is scarcely an adult man who has not at some time or another been subject to workmen's compensation. This has always been a time to be dreaded not only because of the suffering which accidents have always brought, but because of the poverty which has accompanied them. Even to-day there are many people in this country who do not realise what the old Compensation Acts mean. Until recent years the maximum amount per week, no matter what the size of the family, was only 30s. but it was the exception rather than the rule for this money to reach 30s. per week. I have known men say, when in receipt of compensation, "The doctor says I am fit for light work. I have been to my employer and he says there is no light work for me." And so the already inadequate sum was reduced without the means of earning more to supplement it.

My right hon. Friend the Minister has already indicated what happens in regard to lump sums as death benefits, but very often too, men have been persuaded to take lump sums in lieu of weekly payments. I have known of representatives of insurance companies in the past visiting the homes of men and trying to put before the wives in glowing terms that they would advise perhaps £50, and for this niggardly sum the workmen would be induced to give up all their future payments. We have seen what happened in the courts of law on this question. We have seen that, never before, have we had compensation for injury but only for loss of working capacity. This Bill may not be perfect, but I welcome it because it sweeps away these evils.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Leeds (Mr. Peake) has said that this Bill is not Socialism. There may be differences of opinion about that, but there is one thing that it does—it removes some of the effects of capitalism. I want to leave the main provisions of this Bill to my friends who more directly represent industry and confine my remarks to two things about which I feel very strongly. One has already been mentioned by the Minister, and is in regard to past cases, particularly the pre-1924 cases. There may be practical difficulties about bringing them into the scheme because of the fact that responsibility lies on the previous employer or insurance company, but it is going to be very hard on people who receive lasting injuries perhaps a few days before the date of the operation of this Bill—those people who would always be able to say, "Had my accident only happened a few days later, I should be getting more and better benefit." It is also very hard on the long-standing cases who suffered so much under previous Workmen's Compensation Acts.

I have in mind one case in particular of a man who had a serious spinal injury in 1911. At that time he was a young man of 32, with a wife and two children, and, for 8½ years he received only 17s. 10d. in workmen's compensation. Later on he received additions which brought him up to £1 11s. 2d., but because his accident happened before 1924, he has not been eligible for any of the war-time grants. In our legislation there are always these left-overs, and, again, I am very much afraid that there are going to be people left outside in the queue and in the cold when the shop door is shut and the despairing notice "Closed" is put on the door. Are these people going to be doomed irrevocably to spend their lives at the wrong end of the queue? I hope not, and I hope we shall get some arrangement to see that it is not so.

I know the Bill goes part of the way and gives an addition of 20s. to those with permanent incapacity. There is no mention of dependants in this, and some of these people will receive much less. The case which I have just quoted will, with the addition of that 20s., receive 51s., whereas, under the new Act, he would have been receiving 76s. I hope it will be possible to do something about this, and I would ask the Minister for National Insurance to see if it is not possible to raise the amount and so, perhaps, make these people receive the same as they would receive if they came under this new Act.

I particularly welcome Clause 72 which gives the Minister power to make arrangements to secure maintenance, free of charge or at a reduced rate, of equipment and appliances for any person who, by reason of loss of limb, is in need of them. This is a measure which is long overdue, and I hope that a generous and wide interpretation will be given to this Bill.

The way in which our injured workmen have been subjected to inquisition and charity in the past is simply disgraceful. When injured workpeople are in hospital and are needing these appliances the hospital almoners have to spend their time in approaching the approved societies, the sick lodge, or the welfare scheme, and have to meet deputations in order to meet the cost. I know that, of late years, assistance has been provided by the Queen Mary Hospital at Roehampton but here again, a charge has to be met in the same way. Whatever the source this money comes from, the patient has always been painfully made aware of it. I hope that, in this Clause, the term " reduced rate " does not mean that part of the money has again to be found by these methods.

I hope, too, that the equipment and appliances will include such things as invalid chairs and spinal carriages. The ordinary ones cost £50, and the self-propelled ones cost £100, which is quite beyond the capacity of any injured workman to pay. In the past they have been provided by charity concerts, collections and all sorts of other ways. There are many other spinal cases, in which men are completely paralysed in the lower part of the body, and which need special beds with special rests. It is the exception rather than the rule for these people to be adequately looked after once they leave hospital, but I hope that the interpretation of this Clause will mean that these people will receive the equipment which they need. Very often, if the money is available, much mental anguish can be avoided.

I have particularly in mind cases of facial injuries. I know a man who met with an accident so bad that one eye and the surrounding parts of his face were completely torn away. I know these details are not very pleasant, but these things are happening every day in the coalfields. This man happened to belong to a local fund, which was able to send him to London, and it was not science which came to the rescue, but art, and the man was fitted with a mask, complete with artificial eye, which nobody could detect. It made all the difference to that man between walking among ordinary people and riding on buses and trams or slipping away from the world with people turning away from him in revulsion. I hope again that this class of case will receive equipment and appliances of that kind. We must allow nobody who is physically maimed also to become mentally maimed because of the lack of means.

I hope this Bill is going to be administered in a human manner, and that we shall not only provide the sustenance but restore these unfortunate people to normality. We must remember that this Bill is to deal with the ill, the crippled, and, probably, the depressed, and that, for these people, an ounce of warm humanity is worth a ton of cold legality.

5.10 p.m.

Mr. Clement Davies (Montgomery): There have been so many excellent maiden speeches delivered in this House that it has almost become a commonplace to pay the usual compliment to the speaker, but I assume the hon. Lady who has just spoken, and I am sure she will believe that I speak with the deepest sincerity, that I congratulate her upon her maiden speech. It was obviously delivered from a wealth of experience and deep humanity, both of which have had their effect upon the House. I hope the hon. Lady will often take part in our Debates.

Turning to the Bill, of course, this Bill is an improvement upon the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1935, an improvement on the Act of 1908, and, of course, upon the Act of 1896. Well, so it ought to be. Undoubtedly, it is bringing into its wider scope a great number of people for whom the previous Acts did not provide. It is going to bring relief, as the right hon. Gentleman said, on a much more humane line than is done at present, but, having said that, I go further and say that I am still disappointed with this Bill. As the Explanatory Memorandum says, it is substantially the same Bill as was introduced in June, 1945, by the then Coalition Government. I am very much afraid that some of my right hon. Friend's

[Mr. Davies.]
olleagues—it does not apply to him—lave been so long associated with those vho now sit on this side of the House lut above the gangway, acting as bell-lops and runners for them, that they have leen brought up in a school that has ıot done them very much good. They lave learned a sort of respect for the past ıntil they are now wondering what they an do in this new school here. I should lave thought that a much wider measure than this would have been introduced by he right hon. Gentleman.

Why should we still—if I might refer b the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman from the Front Opposition Bench—why should we still merely ollow on, copying, slightly amending ınd patching Victorian legislation? The ight hon. Gentleman suggested that the elationship between the Victorian em-ployer and employee was that of parent ınd child. Would any parent suggest hat, if his child suffered some accident, he amount of benefit to be given to that child should be half what it used to be? The idea of compensation was that it was for all accidents that had taken place "arising out of and in the course of employment." I agree that it would be difficult to think of simpler words than "arising out of and in the course of employment," but the right hon. Gentleman has very rightly said that these words led to more litigation than any words ever used in any Act of Parliament, and I myself in this House in the past have described that Act of 1906 and those words as not so much giving the workmen compensation in the earlier days as providing a brief for lawyers. Certainly there were many of us who depended upon our work in the County Courts fighting on behalf of the workmen in those days against the powerful insurance companies, or *vice versa*, in order to try to attach a proper meaning to the fact of that case and the words of the Acts.

I come back to the principle that was followed by those Acts. To my mind it was entirely wrong. First of all, it was wrong in this, that it classified employees as different from employers, it classified employees as different from those who were not under a contract of service. In addition, the early Act drew a distinction between certain classes of employment and others, and that distinction has been carried down to the present day for there are certain classes of employment which give rise to what it would be difficult to describe as an accident in the ordinary use of the term but which result in the most dreadful pain and lead ultimately to the most painful death that any human being can suffer and these were outside the purview of the late Acts.

The right hon. Gentleman has referred, very rightly, to the accidents that occur in the mining industries. There are even worse and more terrible conditions obtaining in the quarrying industry. I remember well the evidence of a doctor with regard to a man upon whom he had held a post-mortem examination on the morning upon which he was giving evidence as to the conditions prevailing in the quarries of Blaenau Festinog where, instead of quarrying as they do in certain parts at the open sides of the mountain, they go down to the bowels of the earth and the conditions are so bad that even a candle will not remain alight when it is standing up but has to be placed sideways in order to maintain the light. Men worked, trying to earn their living to keep their families, in conditions of that kind, and they were outside the Act. Men worked in such conditions that they could not be seen by their fellow workmen who were within two yards of them. The evidence of that doctor was that the man upon whom he had held a post-mortem and who was a farmer until he was 28, had died at 41 from silicosis, and the doctor described his lungs as two bricks. And that type of workman was outside the scope of the Workmen's Compensation Acts.

It is now suggested that this Bill will bring those people within the scope of the Acts. I hope it does. We are told that now there will be only one test and that is that the accident arises in the course of the employment and it shall then be assumed that it rose out of the employment. The words "during the course of employment" have given us as much trouble as the others in finding the true interpretation. The only person about whom we could ever give certain advice was the man who was injured while under a long-term service of employment. What about those who are employed from day to day or even week to week and something occurs immediately after the week's work has been completed? Why are we still continuing

along these lines that were satisfactory over 50 years ago but ought not to be satisfactory to-day? Why should this Bill be limited to those who are under a contract of service?

I should have thought it would appeal, certainly to every hon. Member on the other side of the House, that every man and every woman and every child who is healthy is not only a happy person, bringing joy to himself and his relations and those around, but is a potential source of additional wealth to the community, and anybody who is suffering is a liability to the community. I should have thought it would have appealed to the right hon. Gentleman occupying the Treasury bench that it was the duty of all of us to assist everyone to rehabilitate himself so as to become an asset to the community. That ought to be the basis of the legislation. Why go copying and improving upon Bills which have not that idea behind them at all, which only provided a partial compensation for certain people under certain circumstances? Why not take a broader, wider view of the whole matter?

May I put this to the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Privy Seal? Why distinguish between the person under contract of service who is employed by a carpenter and the carpenter himself who has only one employee—the little village carpenter, the village blacksmith, the smallholder who is trying as best he can to produce food for the people? Why are they outside the scope of this Act? It would have been far better if the Government, instead of merely copying what they and their Tory colleagues produced in time of war, had thought for themselves and produced a much broader, wiser Measure than this, bringing in all the members of the community. Then, we could have abolished what the right hon. Gentleman the Minister of National Insurance was complaining about, that assumption that all these matters had to be decided on legal questions. With a broader Measure, it would not be a legal question at all but a medical question, with the medical man saying that the person was fit or unfit, what assistance he would require in order to rehabilitate himself, and what help the family would want in the meantime. Even now, although these payments which are to be made are so much more generous than was suggested in the original White Paper, are they such as will really help to bring the head of the family back into health as quickly as possible without running any risk of going back? There have been so many tragedies in the past.

In my early days I acted for so many workers, when there was the iniquitous system called "Compo" and there was also the question on whether the man could do light work, and what light work, and the most expensive medical men came along and suggested that the man was malingering. It was left to us to do the best we could in cross-examination. Thereupon the man would go back to work in order to help his family when he really was not fitted for it. There would be another breakdown and not only would he suffer, but also his family would suffer. I should have hoped that this Government would have thought along those lines and not along the lines of the past, that they would have started afresh.

If I may refer to the Lord Privy Seal I am certain that this was within his conception. Sir William Beveridge has had the credit of turning out a great Report. Whatever detailed criticisms we may make, it was a great conception, but that was not born in the mind of Sir William Beveridge, it was born in the mind of the Lord Privy Seal who set him to work who wanted to abolish want wherever it existed and bring within the scope of the abolition of want the rehabilitation of the man, wherever he was, who had suffered injury or disease in any form, and to help that family to maintain a proper standard of life.

It is for those reasons that although this Bill will go through, and it is an improvement for it will bring benefits, I would like to know before we part with this Bill on its Second Reading that this is only an instalment which happened to be ready, and that this Government will really tackle the much bigger, broader, more humane problem on wider lines. I have every faith in the Minister, my colleague and my fellow-countryman, and I would like before I sit down not only to pay him a tribute for his great speech this afternoon but to congratulate the Government on having placed in his hands this great matter of national insurance. My right hon. Friend has such wide experience, such broad human sympathy, such a vivid mind and strong courage, that I am perfectly sure that his Ministry will have a wonderful record by the time he comes to lay down the seals of his Office.

5.29 p.m.

Lieut-Colonel Gage (Belfast, South): As is natural and perhaps proper for one who addresses this House for the first time, I do so with feelings of the greatest trepidation. Indeed, I do not think that I would be grossly exaggerating my condition by saying frankly that I am terrified. So I gratefully take refuge in the very pleasant courtesy which is accorded to those of us who address the House for the first time. Indeed, it is a comfort to know that in the hazardous employment we have taken up we are, at any rate in the early part, protected against the accidents that may occur to us in the course of and arising out of that employment.

Turning to this Bill and looking at it, as I am sure the House will look at it, not in any party sense but from the point of view of the man it is to benefit, that is, the point of view of the workman—which is the only point of view from which this Bill should properly be looked at—I think the House will agree that it is to be welcomed because it represents a great step forward from the old workmen's compensations Acts. If it had nothing else to recommend it I would say that the fact that it removes disputes from the realm of employed and employer would be sufficient to commend it. Anyone who, like myself, had much experience of this matter before the war knows that the present system, which was brought about through nobody in particular's fault, engendered great bitterness between employer and employed. That was very unfortunate, and a great thing has now been achieved by removing that cause of controversy. Then there is another matter in which this Bill is a great improvement on the workmen's compensation Acts. Many of us know the bogus offers of light employment that used to be made to partially disabled men. Everyone knew that on many occasions these offers were made simply in order to stop, or to partially reduce, workmen's compensation. They were not *bona-fide* at all. In the new Bill the workman's post-accident earnings will not affect his compensation, which is a great advantage, because these offers will not now be made.

In connection with this and before I leave that subject I think it right to say that in my experience I found that while generally the employer was sympathetic towards the worker many of the matters blamed on the employer arose from the actions of the company with which the employer insured his risk. Often the blame was laid at the door of the employer when it should have been laid at the door of the insurance company. Consequently the workman felt bitter and aggrieved against his employer about the case in which he had not succeeded. But it really does not matter who was the cause of the blame, the fact remains that bitterness was caused. There is, however, one point in this Bill that gives rise to some doubt and disquiet, and that is the insurance tribunals which are created in order to decide disputes which necessarily have to arise. When you consider these tribunals you ask the question: Who will be interested to refuse workmen's compensation? The answer is that in appropriate cases it will be the Ministry. Then you say: Who is the person to decide that dispute? The answer is that it is an official of the Ministry, or someone appointed by them. That is most disquieting.

I do not say for one moment that these people will not do justice, but that is not the whole point. It is important that not only should justice be done but that it should appear to the workmen to be done. If you get a most conscientious official deciding a case against the worker, the workman will go away with a sense of grievance, perhaps quite wrongly. This matter is important because if the Act is to work it must retain the confidence of the worker. Once it loses that it would be far better to have no new scheme at all.

Again there has been a great mass of litigation and decided cases, probably much too much. But those cases have had this effect. They have narrowed down contentious matters. For instance, there will be bound to be, under the new Act, contention as to whether a case arises out of and in the course of a man's employment. That has been fairly well decided, so that before the war one could advise a person fairly precisely as to how he stood. That had the result of reducing the number of contentious cases, because where the law was fairly clear and understood no one was going to waste money fighting a case in which the issues had already been decided. It is not clear how far that mass of case law is going to bind the tribunals. I hope it will bind them and that the insurance officers will

be qualified to understand this great mass of case law, which is not an easy thing to deal with. If they are not, and if this case law is not to bind the tribunals, we will all be thrown back into the melting pot again. We will have to start again from the beginning arguing what the words, "arising out of and in the course of," mean. I think it is a great pity to get rid of all that.

Further, from my own experience I would say that under the present system the arbitrator, normally a county court judge, does have the confidence of the worker. He has it for this reason: that the worker is able to appear and see and hear what is going on. He hears the witnesses examined and cross-examined and, most important of all, at the end of the case he hears the arbitrator decide it and give his reasons for that decision. Although he might not agree with the decision and the result, normally he feels that he has had a fair crack of the whip.

It is not clear, also, how the tribunals are to operate, but if they are to operate as many similar tribunals do what will happen is this: a courteous gentleman will arrive with a large book, listen to all the witnesses and arguments, write everything down, yet never by so much as the flicker of an eyelid will he allow anyone to know what he is thinking, which is a great drawback to the worker or to his adviser who wants to know what line of argument is getting across and whether the official believes or does not believe a particular person. When the hearing is over and everyone is thoroughly exhausted the official will shut up his book, go away, and, three or six weeks later, the workman will receive a printed form which will tell him that his claim has or has not succeeded. I cannot imagine anything which will shake the confidence of the workman in this Bill more than that. I think it is a dreadful way of dealing with such cases. It is important that the workman should know and hear right at the outset, when his case is being decided, what has happened.

It has been said that the formality of the county court does sometimes frighten a worker. Many of us have had experience of cases in which a worker, before the hearing of his case, was in a tremendous state of nervous shock and fright, so much so that he quite genuinely could not work although a doctor had said that there was no apparent reason for that. Many of us are quite familiar with that type of case. I do not think that that was due to the formality of the tribunal; I think it was due to the fact that the dispute had to be decided, and that the result of that dispute was going to affect the man very materially. After all, for many of these men it was a matter of life or death. I do not think that by having a different type of tribunal you will get rid of all that. I do not think that the formality of the courts had much to do with it, but if it had it would be a simple matter to get over it because a county court judge could sit without his robes—indeed, I have often wondered why he did not do so—or he could sit away from his court on days set aside for the hearing of such cases. What is more important than the form of tribunal is that these cases should be heard as quickly as possible. Nothing is worse for a workman than to be kept waiting to have his case decided.

If I may go back to what I said at the beginning, I would say in spite of that drawback I believe this to be a good Bill. A great deal will depend on the people who administer it in seeing that they get the confidence of the worker. I know from what we have heard from the Minister to-day that workmen will have his sympathy and consideration but they must also have the sympathy and consideration of all those who are dealing with their cases. That is essential. Personally, I would like to see an instruction issued that in all disputed cases where there was a reasonable doubt that doubt should be resolved in favour of the worker. At any rate, the worker is entitled to the sympathy and consideration of all the many officials who will have to do with his case. It is up to them to make the new Act workable, and the only way in which they can do it is to give the workman the sympathy to which I am sure the whole House agrees he is entitled.

5.43 p.m.

Mr. Blyton (Houghton-le-Spring): I listened with great interest to the speech of the Minister and it is rather unfortunate that in my maiden speech in this House I should have to make a criticism of this Bill. I consider that the employers will be getting away with millions of pounds which they have been paying in the past

[Mr. Blyton.]

for workmen's compensation. According to the White Paper £17,000,000 has been their liability and £4,000,000 has been their cost in administrative expenses, making a total of £21,000,000. When stabilised post-war conditions are here there will be a fund of £23,000,000 per annum. That is based, I presume, upon equal contributions by workmen and employers, which means that workmen will pay into the fund £11,500,000 per annum and the employers, who have been paying £21,000,000 in the past, will liquidate their liability for £11,500,000. That raises the question that if a workman is to contribute substantially to the fund, he is entitled to expect some accumulated benefits from those subscriptions from his weekly wage packet. But we find that the full compensation to-day of a workman is 40s. per week after he has been off 13 weeks. This Bill proposes to give him, as the Minister announced to-day, a 5s. increase.

I consider that the proposed benefits that have been suggested are not sufficient, because of the fact that, for the first time, the workman is contributing to his own compensation. If the workman is contributing half, then the benefits under this Bill ought to be divided by half, to see exactly what benefit a man is getting for his payment. It is known to every one that there is gloom and despondency both in mining and trade union circles about the proposed rates that are embodied in this Bill. I was pleased to hear the Minister announce that there was to be an assessment on the loss of occupation, but I do not consider that sufficiently takes into consideration the amount of money that the workman is paying in. If we take the case of a coal-hewer who loses four fingers of his right hand, and his injury is based upon the Royal Warrant of Pensions, we find that he would get a 40 per cent. assessment, which would give him 16s. a week. If, as announced by the Minister to-day, there is added to that, compensation for the loss of occupation and inability to follow his pre-accident employment, this man will be given 27s. 3d. a week. Under the present Act he can get a maximum of 40s. a week, and he can still receive his unemployment benefit as a light grade man in the labour market. If we take the case of a man who has lost three fingers and who has just his little finger and thumb, and he is a coal-hewer, he will get the magnificent amount of 23s. 6d. per week, although under the present Compensation Act he can get £2 a week compensation.

On the question of a single man, taking the value of the £ at 8s. 4d., and not forgetting the fact that working men are contributing to this fund £11,500,000 per annum, he is to get 45s. We consider this too low a rate for a single man who most probably would have to live in lodgings and maintain himself after an accident. But the worst position of the single man—and I do not blame the Minister for this, although I think he ought to have been bold enough to break away from the Acts that were framed by previous Governments and come forward with a whole Measure in relation to this question—is that if a man of 18 suffers an injury which incapacitates him, and he gets married and has a family and then dies as a result of the accident, although he may have done a little light work, his wife and children are not to come within the purview of this Act. Under the present Act, if this single man has an injury and he goes back to the pit and works for a while, gets married and has children, and then dies it is possible to get workmen's compensation for his wife and children.

The Minister of Fuel and Power is now urging men to go into the pits to try to get the coal to meet the present economic situation. This Bill will not get lads into the pit. A boy of 17 to-day gets £2 14s. wages. His compensation under the present Act is £1 16s. Under the Bill it is proposed that this boy, now getting £1 16s. a week compensation, will receive 22/6d. as his compensation which is 13/6d. a week reduction. I would ask the Minister, when this Bill comes into the Committee Stage, to consider the whole question as I have seen it, and try to make these rates better, because they will undoubtedly cause concern in the coalfield and among the working-class generally. I ask him, in conclusion of my short criticism of the Bill, to be bold and abolish the three days' rule. If a man is injured he has only his next week's wages on which to live, and he can ill afford to lose two or three days wages at the beginning of an accident period. I do appeal to the Minister to look into these points, because I feel sure that the trade unions and the Miners' Federation are very definitely

concerned about these particular things. I was talking to the Compensation Secretary for the South Wales Miners' Federation, and he tells me quite frankly that if the Bill in relation to partial incapacity goes through as it stands, he would be very wary and very shy of what was going to happen to his pneumoconiosis and silicosis cases in South Wales. I hope the Minister will take into consideration the points I have made.

5.53 p.m.

Mr. Raikes (Liverpool, Wavertree): I have the extraordinary happy task of congratulating two Members on their maiden speeches. Sometimes one hears a maiden speech that is completely irrelevant to the issue that is being discussed in the House. Neither of these two speeches fall into that category. The hon. Member for Houghton-le-Spring (Mr. Blyton) has raised an extremely important point of criticism of this Measure in regard to the return that what one might call the more highly-paid worker will get under it, as compared with what he has got in the past or might have got, if a different method had been evoked in this Measure. The hon. Member for South Belfast (Lieut.-Colonel Gage) has raised a point in regard to the legal Tribunals which had not been raised earlier in the discussion, and they are both points which will have to be dealt with by the Minister in the course of the Debate. I think I can say to any new Members making their maiden speeches that if they can feel, as both these hon. Gentlemen can, that they have each made a substantial point and one which no one else has made, they can advance with confidence in the knowledge that the next time they speak they will be listened to with respect and interest.

My task is slightly different to what it usually is, because I propose to pass certain criticisms upon the structure of this Bill. It is really the fruit of the Coalition Government, and as much has been done in the past to produce it by my own party as by the party opposite. This is an advance, undoubtedly, upon the whole position, but that is not saying much. Workmen's compensation in this country has lagged very much behind over a period of years, and the fact that you have an improvement does not say that you are not going to face a number of very awkward snags. You are sweeping completely over from a basis of earnings to the basis of disability, and you are placing the full load on the State. These are changes which the Minister has explained with great clarity, but he did, I think, gloss over one or two of the problems we have to face. His first and foremost dilemma is this: If you are going to pay a high rate to workers injured in industry you are going to put an intolerable burden upon the contributors. If, on the other hand, you are going to try to compromise, which is what the Minister is trying to do, and pay a much lower rate than the rate that would really give a return to the highly-paid worker, the highly-paid worker is going to suffer in comparison with what he might receive, supposing you were basing the thing on two-thirds earning benefit. If the State is to be the sole payer, I do not think there should be any differentiation between the money received by a man injured in the course of his employment and that received by the man who has been injured by being run over by a train or in some other way.

Finally, on this point, I am convinced that we must watch the figures closely. It would be intolerable if we found that we were paying more through the State to the industrial worker who had been injured than was being paid to the man who had been injured during the war. We have to see that the injured soldier has as good a State pension as an injured worker. The fundamental question is the shifting over in regard to disability from calculation on injury. Strong arguments have been put forward in favour of it. It has been put forward that the old earnings' basis made a man rather unwilling sometimes to get better. A point which has not been made to-day, and it is a strong one in favour of the new scheme, is that by calculating on disability rather than on earning capacity, a man or woman who has suffered disability will get a pension even although disfigurement has not affected earning capacity, which could not have occurred under the old Act. You may say, and it has been argued, that if a man wants a higher rate of compensation he can insure voluntarily.

The argument is substantial but there are difficulties. First of all whether your flat rate is 40s. or 45s. for a single man it is going to be a millstone around the neck of the highly-paid worker. Although

[Mr. Raikes.]
the Minister has made certain modifications the demand that the assessment for the loss of a limb be an assessment not for the loss of occupational fitness but an assessment upon a citizenship basis means that there will be a tendency for doctors to say that the amount of incapacity for the loss of the foot is such and such an amount, quite irrespective of whether the injured person is working in an industry where such an injury is vital to his earning capacity or merely an unpleasant inconvenience.

Facing that, one has to ask oneself whether there was any possible alternative. I am inclined to think there was, and that this Measure, even to-day, could be substantially improved if consideration were once again given to what was called the double decker scheme produced by the hon. Member for Oxford City (Mr. Hogg) last November. That scheme amounted to this: Flat rates and supplements were accepted but over and above that the difference between the 40s. or 45s. and two-thirds of the man's pre-war earnings should be met by workman's compensation by the employer. If that was done it would not affect the general basis of the scheme. While the lesser paid worker would be getting his flat rate the man who had had big earnings in the past would get extra money on the basis of his earnings. It would, in point of fact, still retain one part of the old workman's compensation idea that the employer has a very special responsibility to the worker who is injured, and at the same time it would ensure that the ordinary worker got a pretty fair rate of compensation. The scheme would not involve an enormous amount. It would simply mean that the employer would have to insure against the difference between the flat rate and two-thirds of the earnings, and it would take away every grievance of the better paid worker. At the same time it would avoid a criticism that there is differentiation in favour of industrial injury by the State giving a certain differentiation in benefits within one comprehensive scheme. The employer would pay the difference, and there would otherwise be a flat rate as between every kind of injury whether in industry or outside.

I do not want to stress that any further, but I believe that even at this stage it is a suggestion well worth considering. We do not want to penalise the well paid man; we do not want to raise the rate of contribution in a way which would make those contributions intolerable for the ordinary man to make. The argument was raised in this House against the double decker scheme that it meant a double kind of administration, that there would be on the one hand the social security scheme and on the other hand workman's compensation. What is the scheme we are considering to-day? All the spokesmen on the Front Opposition and Front Government Benches have said that they thought it would be advisable that the better paid workers should voluntarily insure through various supplementary schemes. If a man voluntarily insures he goes to the insurance company, and there you have a double administration with regard to the scheme. The difference between that suggestion and the double decker scheme is that a man is properly covered up to two-thirds of his pre-war earnings, and alternatively in the Bill there is a way of allowing a man to supplement by voluntary insurance at his own expense. Up to this moment there has not been laid down a rate which insurance companies should pay. If the double decker scheme is not adopted I hope certain rates will be laid down in regard to specific insurance companies, and that it will be made clear that workers who insure with other companies do so absolutely at their own risk.

Mr. House (St. Pancras, North): Would not the double decker scheme be an incentive to an employer to reduce wages, in that his premium would increase with higher wages and decrease with lower wages?

Mr. Raikes: I should have thought that on the whole the amount which employers would have to find in insurance premiums to meet the difference between 40s. or 45s. and supplements and two-thirds of the rate of wages would certainly not be anywhere near a figure which would make it worth the while of an employer to risk a storm with the trade union.

Turning for one moment to the question of tribunals, the hon. and gallant Member for South Belfast (Lieut.-Colonel Gage) raised one or two substantial points. I am conscious of the fact that the pensions officer in the first instance will do his job to the best of his ability and conscientiously, but I do not much like the method

of appeal. One goes from the pensions officer to a court consisting of a chairman, appointed, I think, by the Minister, with a representative of the employers and a representative of the trade unions sitting beside him. I do not think that that is an ideal court for interpreting law or for looking at this problem of compensation with complete impartiality. There may well be a fear, it may be a foolish fear, on the part of a non-unionist if he appears before the court and is a little nervous of the union representative who is on that particular tribunal. It is all very well having employers and employees sitting on tribunals dealing with questions of conciliation, but in places in which the general run of legal justice is being dealt with I think the less a person on a tribunal has to do with either side of the industry the better it is for all concerned.

I would say of the courts that whatever may be their history, in the course of the last forty years the British workman has had a pretty good deal from the courts, taking it by and large. [*Laughter.*] I notice some hon. Members on the other side are laughing at that, but the very statement I have made was made from these Benches—just before we changed sides, as a result of the Election—by the hon. Member for Gower (Mr. Grenfell), whose long experience in the mining industry and in the Labour Party should ensure that his view of what the courts have done in the last forty years be listened to with respect.

I leave this point by saying that these *ad hoc* tribunals have a certain disadvantage about them. The final appeal is to a Commissioner who, the Minister pointed out, would not be appointed by him. I think the Minister was a little ingenuous. The Commissioner is not appointed by him but by His Majesty. All that means is that he is appointed by the Government, and the Government will, as usual, take the advice of the Minister who is running the whole of this scheme. He will have a lot to do with the appointment. I am not suggesting that he will be a bad person to make the appointment, but there will be a completely different atmosphere from that of the courts. The appellant comes from the pensions officer to an *ad hoc* tribunal to somebody appointed by the same Ministry. Then the appeal goes finally to a Commissioner appointed by the Government. I do not think that, however good this Commissioner is, he will equal the House of Lords sitting in a judicial capacity or the Court of Appeal in wisdom.

I have made my criticisms. I think it is only right that the Government should have something to answer other than a mere chorus of praise when they reply to-night and to-morrow. I reiterate that in my view this Measure is an improvement on the past. If the suggestions I have made with regard to the double-decker scheme were adopted they would constitute a considerable improvement on the Measure as it is now. One final point occurs to me which I think will be a problem for the Minister. Under this Measure, I think I am right in saying that in the case of a fatal accident it is possible for more than one person to benefit. I think a widow and a parent can benefit at the same time. That places the Minister in a difficult position in regard to the general stucture of the social services. In the case of injury there are two beneficiaries, but in the case of death by accident there will be only one. Why should there be any differentiation between the two cases? I prophesy that the Minister will have to face some storms with his own people in the course of the Committee stage. Finally, I would say that a little more elasticity in this scheme. a little more remembrance of the highly paid workman and the occupational basis of disability are points by which this Measure might still be made one which will really be a jewel on the brow of the Government that introduced it. Do not, by haggling over small points, make the Measure a second-rate one when, if advice is taken, it might be made much better.

6.13 p.m.

Mr. Clitherow (Liverpool, Edge Hill): I wish to claim the indulgence of the House for this, my maiden speech. I am certain that the industrial population of my native city Liverpool, a division of which I represent, will welcome this Bill as a humane Bill and a great social advance. That city, as is well known, is a great port, and has big shipbuilding industries and light and heavy industries of most kinds, and the question of workman's injuries is one of great consequence in my own division of Edge Hill, which is perhaps most famous for its railway grid. The number of injuries there must be considerable, and men in that division

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who are injured must welcome this Bill as being a relief to their minds as well as to their bodies.

I have perhaps a little more intimate association with a number of these cases than have many people in the House. I am a final year medical student. That happens to be a part-time hobby of mine. In the orthopaedic departments there are men who would be better mentally and physically if this Bill were passed into law. They are frightened to go out into the world. They are frightened to take on light or heavy work in case there is a recurrence of their injury. There is no doubt about that, and they suffer from it. They are scared in case of a recurrence. They deteriorate mentally and physically, and then you lose good men.

I want to speak on this Bill for a class of people who have been completely neglected in the past. Among them are the finest people in this country; I am thinking particularly of the nursing profession. I use the expression "health workers" to cover everybody, and I would like the Minister seriously to consider inserting in words so that this Bill shall include health workers who contract tuberculosis through being directly in contact with tubercular patients in the course of their normal duties or within some reasonable time afterwards. I make that suggestion because of my own observations both as a medical student and as a member of the local city council, sitting on the hospitals committee. I want it to be realised that nurses and health workers, whether they be X-ray workers, physiotherapists, rehabilitation workers, or medical students, and, of course, the medical profession themselves, have a thorough medical examination before they start. They are a far healthier body of people when they first start their profession than the average.

I would like to give one or two examples. A brilliant young man who took his M.Sc. Degree was two years ahead of me. Towards the end of his finals two years ago he felt ill. He had an X-ray examination and pulmonary tuberculosis was disclosed. By the humanity of the Liverpool University he was allowed to complete his final degree, a dying man. On the day on which his diploma was on the Philharmonic Hall table to be given to him, and almost at the same minute as his name was being called, he was being lowered into the earth. A year later there was a similar occurrence. In my own year a man went into the sanatorium for six months, and at the present moment there is a man going for his examination who has been three years in a sanatorium. His medicals were interrupted. My observations—I have no statistics—are these: one in every 50 medical students go down with tuberculosis during the three years' clinical work.

I can talk of the nursing profession from my association with the Liverpool Corporation Hospitals Committee. It is distressing to see the number of nurses whose names appear before the Committee as having gone down with colds and eventually tuberculosis. We pay them a full salary for about three months, half salary for a further three months and then cast them off like an old glove. That is not humanity. Those people have gone into a calling and there is no doubt at all that they take added risks. They go to work among the sick who have our greatest sympathy. Tuberculosis is the white scourge of this country. We have practical examples to quote to prove how the tuberculosis germ still remains. The walls are washed with soda water, the water is neutralised and centrifuged, and the deposit injected into guinea pigs. If it can get to the wall from the patient, cannot it get to the nurse in between?

I have suggested that there should be within the framework of this Bill provision for a specific class of workers who do a specific job of work in contact with tubercular patients. I am not asking for anything further. In Liverpool we have had cases about which we felt strongly. We have felt our responsibility keenly because we have had the X-rays of these girls and their full medical reports before they started, and they have gone down perhaps in two years. We have applied to the Town Clerk to take over the responsibility. We have been told we are out of order. Counsel's opinion has been sought and counsel's opinion has been that tuberculosis is not an industrial disease. If a girl can prove that on a given date a patient with an active lesion coughed in her face and pulmonary tuberculosis can be attributed to that, that is an accident. That is not humanity, and I hope that before this Bill goes through

it will have an amendment in the Committee room so that these girls who do probably the greatest job of work in this country are included.

I do not want to labour the case unduly. I think I have made the point that I really wanted to make. Others are much better able to discuss the money side with regard to compensation and various other matters. All I wish to say is that this Bill is a great advance, but I say " Please do not leave out the health workers who work among tubercular patients."

6.23 p.m.

Mr. Harold Roberts (Birmingham, Handsworth): I stand in great need of the indulgence of the House in addressing it for the first time. I believe it is customary that new Members should abstain from being unduly contentious. Never has anybody had less temptation than I in that respect, because I am speaking on a Bill introduced with the good will of all parties. We have heard much criticism of detail, all of it helpful. I desire to give the Bill my very cordial support, and anything I say about it relates only to detail and the desire to make it better. We can all work together to make it as good as it can be.

May I first refer to the remarks made by an earlier speaker to the effect that legislation appeared to distinguish between employers and employed? I think he commented on the fact that this Bill appeared to perpetuate that distinction. If that is due to historical causes, it is not surprising that in this Bill, which is professedly one to abolish workmen's compensation and establish a new system, there is a little over-hanging. If one looks at the Title of the Bill one will see that it is intended to benefit people in employment and I think, without being pedantic, one can say there is no reason why the village carpenter, who was mentioned by an earlier speaker, should be excluded. Indeed, I hope it may be possible for the Government to bring within the framework of this Bill small employers who share with their workpeople risks of an industrial character. Another reason why they are left out is the difficulty of the standing cost. In the first classic legislation of this sort, the Act of 1911, there was provision for voluntary contributors, and I see no reason why small employers should not be voluntary contributors under this scheme. I suppose it might be said there would be a slight risk that only those employers in dangerous trades would avail themselves of that privilege, but the fund would be so large that I think the risk might well be taken.

There is one other matter to which I should like to refer and which has been mentioned by one or two previous speakers. The old law did suffer undoubtedly from an atmosphere of litigation. There was a good side to that, however. The litigation was open and above-board, and it enabled the workman to go to the highest court. It is most important that the benefits given under this Bill should be received with the full confidence of those who seek the benefit. My experience as a public man is that the disappointment of a disappointed litigant is nothing to the baffled frustration of a man who tries to get his way with a Government Department and cannot. I think these courts—we may as well call them courts, because that is what they are—should sit in public. Their hearings should be open, their decisions should be given speedily, and advocates should be allowed. I hope I will not be thought to be speaking in self-interest, because I am not an advocate and am not likely to undertake any work of this kind. What is an advocate? He is a man whose task it is to supply the skill which the poor litigant has not got. He may be, and very often is, a salaried advocate, a trade union secretary, of high competence and very great specialised knowledge. He may be an *ad hoc* advocate, a barrister or solicitor, paid a fee on each occasion. But it is my opinion that advocates assist courts and are conducive to the cause of justice. I consider that in courts, at any rate in the higher ones, advocates, both trade union and legal, should be allowed because it is of the utmost importance, as a previous speaker said, that justice should manifestly appear to be done.

Those are the only two points on which I feel any competence to offer any real contribution to the Debate. I make them with all deference and in the hope that perhaps they or something of the sort may commend themselves to the Minister in Committee, and with the assurance that I regard the Bill as a great and momentous advance, and I feel it is a very great privilege to have been able to say a few words in support of it.

6.30 p.m.

Mr. George Griffiths (Hemsworth): I feel that I have as much right to speak on this Bill to-night as any man in the House. I have a family history attached to compensation, but, before I deal with that, there are one or two other things I want to say about the Bill. I would like to say to the hon. Member for Wavertree (Mr. Raikes)—he went up North instead of stopping down South because he thought he would have a safer seat there—that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Leeds (Mr. Peake), with whom he did not agree, has spoken better to-day on compensation than he has done in the last 11 years. The hon. Member for Wavertree told the Minister, "You must look out for storms in Committee." He said, "The Bill is very decent, but we want to make it better." One way in which he wants to make it better is by retaining the lawyers. We think the lawyers should be out of it, because of the tremendous cost they mean to all trade unions. I will give some percentages. The percentage for lawyers is 53 per cent. and the percentage, for the man who gets hurt is 47 per cent. The hon. Member for Wavertree is a barrister; that is why he pleaded that the lawyers should still be retained to plead for us. I can give the cost to the Yorkshire Miners' Association which will startle the House, but it will not startle some others, because they already know about it.

Mr. Pritt (Hammersmith, North): Will the hon. Member forgive me for interrupting? I do not often seek to defend the legal profession, but the figures to which the hon. Member is referring include the profit of the insurance companies. The insurance companies are worse than the lawyers.

Mr. G. Griffiths: I refer to the profits and also the lawyers' charges. I believe the doctors are in it also. Those are the figures, so far as we are concerned, and we do not want the lawyers in the Bill. I ask the Minister to keep them out. Now I want to give a bit of the history of my own family in the matter of compensation. I have a brother who is 72 years of age. He has never had a penny compensation in his life. He has never worked in the pit, or at the pit top since he met with an accident, and has never been able to pick anything off the floor without going on his knees to do so. His injury was received before the first Compensation Act came into operation. He took out a bit of insurance and, at about 68 years of age, he retired with some kind of superannuation. He is wearing a special jacket now, for which he had to pay himself; the colliery company did not pay anything towards it. That is one of the things that makes me so bitter against the colliery companies. I had another brother who died of silicosis. He had a little compensation—not 30s. A man's compensation was based on the periods when he was not working as well as on those when he was working. The amount was totalled up for 12 months, and there were exceptionally few men in the mining industry that got anything like 30s. a week.

I worked as regularly as any man in the pit, at the coal face, for 25 years with what bit of muscle I had. I got hurt and was away for 28 weeks, and when I got my compensation it was 16s. 2½d. a week for myself, my wife and my two children. That is not so long ago as the case of my brother who was suffering from silicosis. When his widow went to draw compensation for herself, it had been almost used up. She got the bit that was left out of £300, and it was not long before she had to go to the poor law authorities, as they were in those days. I could not help her, and it was a bitter pill to me to see my brother's widow going for this assistance. That is my family history.

I would like to point out to the Minister that there are some lads in the industry to-day who are doing men's work, pushing the pan shovel. They earn £5 or £6 a week. Some of these lads will now have to come down from 40s. to 22s. 6d. compensation. If an injured lad waits nine days before drawing his compensation he will draw 22s. 6d. plus a half—33s. 9d.—instead of 80s. What do hon. Members think he will say to the Minister of Fuel and Power when he gets that in his hand? He will say, "You had better go down the pit and get the coal yourself."

I do not want to keep the House, but there is just one other point. I was at a miners' meeting last Tuesday night addressing my men. I go to their meetings occasionally, and I get a good deal of knowledge from them. They are always asking questions. I would like to ask whether persons injured before 1924 will get the advance, because I have two men

in my district, both living in the same street, one of whom was hurt a fortnight before 1924 who gets the previous advance, and the other, who was hurt a fortnight after 1924 who does not get that advance. One says to the other, "Jack, this is a bit rough on me," and the other fellow says, "I am sorry you were not hurt on the same day as I was." I am desirous that whoever is living when this Bill is put on the Statute Book, and who is unable to work, shall be paid the same as anybody else.

6.42 p.m.

Mr. Popplewell (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, West): I rise with some diffidence to address this House for the first time. It is an ordeal which we must all go through, but it is with pleasure that I have caught your eye, Mr. Speaker, to speak on a Bill of this description. It is something many of us have been asking for, and clamouring for, for a tremendously long time. On broad lines of principle, I wholeheartedly congratulate the Minister of National Insurance for the effort he has made in connection with this Bill. Naturally, many of us who have been dealing with compensation in the industrial field for several years cannot be entirely satisfied. The first thing that leaps to one's mind, remembering the people who are going to be claimants under it—is the greater payment of 45s. a week. This is an advance of 10s. on the previous compensation payment. We are pleased the Minister has raised it to-day from 40s. to 45s., but we hope that before the Bill is finally agreed upon, that he will increase it to 55s. because, when all is said and done, these people are injured through no fault of their own, although one of the speakers on the other side did suggest that there was a large contributory factor to injuries in industry. Injured people have to live and maintain a decent standard of life during the compensation period. Furthermore they are desirous of getting back to work at the earliest possible moment. Therefore their rates of pay, when they are away from work owing to accident, should be such as to give them that additional nourishment which we all know is more necessary at that time. I therefore express the hope that the Minister, having made one advance of 5s. will see his way, before the Bill becomes an Act, to increase the sum still further.

I congratulate the Minister very much on the complete changeover he has made in workmen's compensation. Quite distinct from the hon. Gentleman opposite who has been arguing for the preservation of the legal mind in compensation, we are very pleased to see the end of those legal charges and costs which some of us in trade unions have seen mounting up on our balance sheets year by year, even to the House of Lords, the most costly assembly possible. In order to get a measure of justice for a poor fellow who has unfortunately sustained an injury, it has been necessary for us to go through all the complications and the expense involved in getting justice. I compliment the Minister upon the complete change in procedure which he is bringing about by his insurance officers, local appeal tribunals and, ultimately, the Commissioner himself. I deprecate that the Minister has not yet seen fit to pay an injured man from the first day, but I hope he will change his mind on that point. He has brought the waiting period down to two days, but there is a principle involved. Where is the logic and where is the reason in continuing to penalise for two days a man who has suffered an injury before he is entitled to benefit? I sincerely trust that the Minister will be able to make alterations later on, so that a man will be entitled to benefit upon the first day that he is actually away from work owing to injury.

There is another important point. I venture to suggest that the procedure suggested will result in a tremendous speed up in the benefits paid to people. We have often seen men injured in industry having to wait week after week before an insurance company decided to pay the benefit, deliberately holding it back for some obscure reason. The change of procedure in bringing the matter under the Minister himself gives one reasonable ground to hope that there will not be waste of time, and that there will not be the heavy cost, owing to the ramifications of insurance companies. One feels that insurance companies will naturally be aggrieved at the passing of this Measure but the more they are aggrieved the more will be the benefit for our people. I am pleased that the Minister has cut out the old question of lump sum payments. There is not one of us in the trade union movement taking an active part in these matters but has times out of number come across the poverty and

[Mr. Popplewell.]

degradation brought about among our people because they have been tantalsed by £200 or £300 lump sum payments. It is therefore pleasing to know that our people will be protected against themselves in this manner.

Another welcome and important feaure is introduced in assessing the amoun of compensation. Instead of taking the pre-accident and post-accident earnings when a man gets back to work, and so ariving at a mean figure to decide what his capabilities are, it is much better to folow the principle accepted by the Minister, and followed in the Service Departments, of deciding on a percentage basis accordng to actual disability and not according to what might be the gross earning capacty. One can further see in the suggestions of the Minister an end to the controvesy which we have had in the past in gettng diseases scheduled as industrial diseaes. By the proposed method of applicaton one can see that commonsense will be brought to bear and that we shall not have to go through the old legal procedire which has cost us so much in the past.

I feel that the Bill is a real step towards establishing the freedom about which an hon. Member opposite spoke so glibly yesterday. He said he was afraid it vas going. The freedom to exploit our people in industry is decidedly on the wane, while the freedom is growing for our people to enjoy a reasonable measure of protecton and to know that they are assured at long last, should they lose a limb or an arm or suffer some injury which requires a surgical appliance, that there will not be tremendous delay and playing about with National Health Insurance and approved societies and suchlike. Here is something that will give them an opportunity to get back into industry far earlier and that will make them far happier than many of them have been.

We have all seen some of these people. There is a man in my own village at the present moment, walking about with artificial legs. He was injured in the mines and lost his legs, and he had great difficulty in getting the artificial limbs. His experiences were too disgraceful for words. For those things, if for no other reason, I think the Minister is performing a useul job of work. I sincerely trust that he may go a little further, taking his courage in both hands, and say: " We are coming forward with something of which we may be proud. We are giving people benefit somewhere near their earning capacity and we are not continuing to bolster up the figures which have obtained for so long in the past."

6.54 p.m.

Mr. Basil Nield (Chester): At the outset of my observations perhaps I might be allowed, and I am sure the House would wish it, to offer congratulations first to the hon. Member for Edge Hill (Mr. Clitherow), who made a most sincere appeal on behalf of that most deserving section of the community, the nursing profession; secondly, to my hon. Friend the Member for Handsworth (Mr. H. Roberts), who made most useful suggestions which I hope the Minister will remember; and lastly to the hon. Member who has just sat down, and who made a most able speech. This I do with the utmost sincerity, in spite of some of the harsh things he said about the profession to which I belong.

In the course of this Debate, and, indeed, in the course of the Debate on the White Paper some time ago, most speeches have indicated that there is general agreement with the proposals which form the basis of the Measure now under consideration. I think that the reasons for that general welcome are these: First, it is thought right to bring the whole problem of industrial injuries into line with the wider plan for Social Insurance. Secondly, it is recognised in this Measure, as it has been recognised for some 50 years, that some special rights should attach to a workman who is injured at his work. Lastly, I think it appeals to people because, by its administrative arrangements, it seeks to eliminate friction between employers and employed. My object in addressing the House is to endeavour to put forward certain suggestions which I hope are of a constructive character and to which I know my right hon. Friend will give attention. Before I come to those specific matters, there is one general problem to which I desire to address myself.

I noticed particularly, in reading the report of the Debate on the White Paper, that a wide and robust criticism was levelled at these proposals by a certain section of hon. Members, on the ground that it was not right that the workman should bear any part of the burden under the new scheme. It was cogently pointed

out that hitherto the whole of the burden had fallen upon the employer; why now impose one upon the workman? I feel that hon. Members would do well to consider the answer to that wide criticism. One of the principal answers is that when the new Measure becomes an Act, as it undoubtedly will, there will be an additional benefit for the workman and a corresponding additional obligation on the employer.

May I explain what I mean? Under the existing law a workman who is injured at his work may have two remedies. He may seek his workman's compensation, or, if he can establish negligence on the part of the employer or breach of statutory duty, as, for example, failure to fence dangerous machinery, he can recover damages. Under the existing law these remedies are alternatives. Hon. Members may recall Section 29 of the principal Workman's Compensation Act, 1925, which makes it clear that a workman must elect which of these remedies he will choose.

As I construe the new situation—and my right hon. Friend in his opening speech, which we all admired so much, indicated that this was his view—the workman who is injured will recover his insurance benefit as of right, because he has paid his contributions, but he will also be able to recover damages if the employer has been guilty of negligence or breach of duty. Therefore, there is the double obligation now on the employer. It has already been mentioned that a Departmental Committee is considering the whole question of employers' liability. It is a matter of the utmost importance, and we await their report with great interest. I hope that eventually it may be thought right to do away with the Employers' Liability Act of 1880, which I regard as quite valueless, and also to do away with the doctrine of the defence of common employment, which, in my experience, has been responsible for some injustices. Another argument in favour of the equality of contributions is that, in my view, a man always prefers to accept a benefit which he is entitled to as of right, having paid for it. This brings the whole matter into line with the general plan of social insurance.

Let me turn to the specific suggestions which I urge deserve some consideration. One or two hon. Members have already mentioned the position of the self-employed man. It is plain that those who are to receive the benefits of this Measure are in effect defined in the first part of the First Schedule as those who are under a contract of service or a contract of apprenticeship. That plainly excludes the self-employed man who may be working for himself, either with or without a few workmen under him. It seems to me hard that that not inconsiderable and very deserving section of the community should be kept outside the benefits of this Bill. I would ask my right hon. Friend to consider if it is not possible to insert a new Clause so that such men are enabled to make their contributions to the central fund and to draw benefits equally with those who are under contract of service.

Mr. Logan (Liverpool, Scotland): That would be something similar to the voluntary contributor in National Health?

Mr. Nield: I am much obliged to my hon. Friend, and I agree with him. It would conform with other enactments which embrace such permissive Clauses.

The next matter about which I want to say a word is the determination of clams, and I hope I shall not disagree too violently with the hon. Member for West Newcastle. At first sight, I felt considerable disquiet at the removal from the courts of the question of the determination of claims under this Bill, and I feel that the hon. Member and I are at least at one in this, that while he conplains of the expense of litigation, he makes no complaint of the real justice which is ultimately obtained. I felt that it was perhaps dangerous to remove from the purview of the court these often extremely delicate questions, and I saw little reason for the establishment of what is, in effect, a new judiciary in the shape of commissioners to act as the final appellate tribunals. On reflection, however, and after discussion and after having listened to most of the speeches to-day, I do not feel disposed to quarrel with the set-up which is envisaged in the Bill, with one or two qualifications which I will mention.

The reasons I have reached this conclusion are that I agree strongly that we should seek to eliminate, if possible, the antagonism which litigation often causes, and I think that there is much to be said for an informal tribunal. The qualification I would make is that I strongly feel

[Mr. Nield.]

there should be a last resort to the courts, and I suggest for my right hon. Friend's consideration that the best way to achieve that is to permit a case to be stated for the opinion of the High Court on a point of law. I imagine that, with the machinery envisaged in this Bill, such cases would be few, and that there should be that last resort to the judges who have such vast experience in these matters, seems to me to be right. I further agree with what my hon. Friend the Member for Handsworth said, namely, that these inquiries should be in public and that those who appear should be entitled to be represented even by Members of my profession, and, possibly, by others more intimately connected with the hon. Member for West Newcastle. It seems to me that that is right and fair.

I have not had an opportunity of investigating very closely the enforcement Clauses in this Bill, the rights of inspection, and so forth. Representations have been made to me that they are a little too harsh and that they might be brought into line with, for example, enforcement Clauses of the Wages Council Act of this year, whereby only limited inspection can be allowed, and an employer who is found not to have himself committed the offence and can show that it was the offence of a third party, may put the liability on that third party.

There appears in this Bill many times a Clause allowing the Minister to make Regulations. One hopes that that does not too much deprive this House of its right of discussion and debate. I could not help noticing that under Clause 23 the time in which notice must be given and a claim made is left to Regulation. Under the old Workmen's Compensation Act the House decided what the proper time was, and my right hon. Friend might think it proper to specify a time so that the House may discuss and decide the point. Indeed it may be thought proper to avoid this delegated legislation and to allow the House to decide these matters. I trust that the Minister will be good enough to give consideration to this point which I have endeavoured to make.

7.10 p.m.

Dr. Stephen Taylor (Barnet): Anyone who knows the workings of the old Workmen's Compensation Act must welcome this Bill as a big step forward—as big as any we can take in this sphere. It gets rid of lump sum compensation, it gets rid—at least I hope it does—of the endless legal and medical wrangles which have wasted so much money, and takes Workmen's Compensation out of the market place, to put it into the field of social insurance. But when we are taking a step forward, it is always well to look at the next step ahead. The Bill perpetuates the distinction between industrial injury and disease and non-industrial injury and disease. This is a distinction born of history, and it is very hard, indeed, almost impossible, to explain to an ordinary person why, if he falls on the way to work and breaks his leg, he should get less money than if he falls or trips in the factory and breaks his leg there. The remedy for this is perfectly simple: it is to raise sickness benefits to precisely the same level as those applying to Workmen's Compensation under this Bill, and I hope very much that when the time comes the Minister will consider equalising those two rates of benefit. Once that is done, all the difficulties arising from the phrase "or in the course of employment" and the schedule of industrial diseases will disappear.

This Bill is the prototype, as it were, for future social legislation, and there is one provision in it which I fear may be common to all the proposals which will be made for social insurance. I hope that it is a proposal which the Minister will look at again with a view to seeing whether he cannot get rid of it. It is the proposal to deduct 10s. a week in respect of home saving when a member of the household is a patient in hospital free of charge. Of course, every patient will be in hospital free of charge when the national medical service comes into operation; this is a piece of parsimony which was invented by Sir William Beveridge. He was very generous in many respects in his Report, but occasionally he would put in some apparent piece of abstract justice which was really a swindle and bore no relation to reality. Every housewife knows perfectly well that when the wage-earner or some other member of the household is in hospital the family budget is little, if at all, decreased. Rents, rates, washing, heating and the tallymen go on just the same, and the only thing that is saved is the cost of the absent member's rationed food. But even the food bill is very little changed in practice, and against that the

housewife has to set the cost of visiting the hospital and buying some small luxury to take to the patient—flowers, a cake or a book or whatever it may be. The result is that for practical purposes there is no reduction in expenditure when the wage-earner is ill. I do hope that the Minister will look again at that point.

Now a word about the position of nurses, which the hon. Member for Edge Hill (Mr. Clitherow) mentioned. Partly for the sake of the nurses themselves and partly because they illustrate a general principle, in the past nurses have often been excluded from benefit because of doubt as to whether they were working under a contract of service. I hope that the Minister will be able to assure us that all nurses will be covered, particularly those working on private nursing. Then, as the hon. Member for Edge Hill said, nursing is a risky job. If everything possible is done to make it safe, it is still more risky than the average. With every safeguard the nurse is still liable to certain pathogenic affections, to whitlows and septic fingers, kidney infections and septicaemia; she is more liable to these when every precaution is taken, but unfortunately every precaution is not always taken at present in many hospitals. Regular X-rays, Mantoux tests and blood counts are not done, and I am convinced in my own mind that nurses are more liable to tuberculosis than the rest of the community—although this is disputed. If one takes sanatorium nurses alone, admittedly in good sanatoria they are not more liable, but if one takes the nursing profession as a whole I am pretty sure that they are more liable to tuberculosis. But the ills of nursing are not in the Schedule of Industrial Disease, and that is the general point. In the past, unless there has been absolute legal proof of connection between the disease and the occupation —and overwhelming proof—the disease has not been scheduled, and what has been the result? The trade unions have had to waste their energy getting diseases scheduled when that energy should have been used in getting rid of the diseases. The same applies to research workers, who have spent their time proving a connection between the disease and the occupation instead of trying to get rid of the disease. In the interim, if the National Health benefits are not brought up to the same level as industrial benefits, I hope the Minister will at any rate be very generous in his scheduling of industrial diseases.

The Minister said that this Bill gives him power to promote and assist research into the causes, incidence and methods of prevention of industrial disease. I hope that the Minister will add to this research into the methods of treatment of diseases, because the treatment of industrial accidents and disabilities, especially minor accidents, is still far from perfect. As hon. Members on this side know full well, many minor accidents can be completely or very severely disabling, particularly when they affect the fingers. I hope also that the Minister will add to his charge in this respect to publicise the results of his researches. Between the two wars much good work was done in this field by the Industrial Health Research Board, but it remained absolutely locked up, in the rather dull reports which they produced which were full of solid material, when it should have been applied in industry. Since the war the Industrial Health Research Board has acquired a very energetic and able new secretary, Dr. Schilling, with whose help have been produced a number of short, snappy, well-produced reports on industrial disabilities, injuries and accidents, and that has helped a great deal to get research work across, and unless research work is got across to the people who can act on it, it might as well not be done.

There is one danger in official research, and that is the danger of putting all one's eggs into one basket. It looks neat if there is a co-ordinating agency for research, and it appeals to the Treasury mind to have a single body doing the research. But if that agency should fall down on the job you are sunk, and I trust the Minister will not hesitate to use the Industrial Health Research Board and the Medical Research Council. I trust also that he will not hesitate to strike out on his own in the research field, despite Treasury protests, and in doing that I hope he will treat his research workers generously—not merely as to cash or equipment, but also as to field workers, staff of a clerical type, and laboratory technicians. It is a shame to waste the time of research workers on routine clerical or field jobs when they should be getting on with their major projects.

[Dr. Taylor.]

Finally, a word about industrial neurosis. Mental disability makes up a large part of industrial disability. Many doctors, including those on tribunals, have been in the past, and I am afraid still are, inclined to treat the neurotic patient as a malingerer or at least as someone deserving of little sympathy. The truth is that the neurotic person is launched into life with a nervous system which is not perfect, and he finds it more difficult than most to "take it." They are the people who deserve more sympathy, and who get less of it, than almost any class. It is sometimes said that the level of a civilisation can be judged by the treatment it accords to its old people, I would like to add that it can be judged by the treatment it accords to its neurotics. The barbarian concentrates his neurotics; the civilised person compensates them and, even more important, rehabilitates them. That is no easy job; we often fail because we do not know enough, and I hope the Minister will generously finance research into industrial psychiatry. I hope he will be eclectic in his choice of psychiatrists and research workers. I hope he will help to further the work of Dr. Craik at Cambridge on what may be called the mechanistic side of industrial psychiatry, the measurement of fatigue, of accident proneness, and so on. I hope also he will help and encourage the work of those psychiatrists who have been busy in the Army and have done a very fine job from the emotional angle. He may be warned against these people. I hope he will disregard that warning, because if we are to help these particular lame dogs, the industrial neurotics, over their very difficult stiles we must be ready to use every method, even some of those which do not find favour in official circles.

7.21 p.m.

Mr. Tom Smith (Normanton): I am sure the House will agree that the hon. Member for Barnet (Dr. S. Taylor) deserves our congratulations. During the Debate we have heard many excellent maiden speeches based on knowledge and experience which will be valuable to the House as time goes on.

I do not want to detract in any way from the congratulations that have been poured upon my right hon. Friend the Minister of Social Insurance in regard to this Bill. He said rightly that the Bill was the product of the Coalition Government. The right hon. Member for North Leeds (Mr. Peake) rightly said that he had had something to do with the preparation of it. Apart from slight exceptions, the Bill is the same to-day as it was before the General Election. That does not detract from its merits. I wonder whether the House appreciates fully how this Bill breaks with the past. The right hon. Member for North Leeds detailed to the House what he regarded as the four weaknesses of the 1897 Act. Had he been actively engaged in this matter just after that Act came into operation, I think he could have detailed more of its weaknesses and limitations. When that Measure was before the House in 1896, there were responsible industrial Members of Parliament who declared that the Measure, meagre though it was, would destroy every friendly society in the country and cause some pits to close down. The Measure was extremely limited. The most it gave in maximum compensation for total incapacity was 20s. a week, but a person had to wait three weeks before he could draw the first week's money. He had a fortnight to do for nothing. When I was injured in the pit I had to wait three weeks before I drew my small bit of compensation. But it did something else. It said that for fatal accidents £300 should be paid, but that in cases where the man died as a result of an accident some time after its occurrence there was to be a deduction of every penny piece that had been paid in weekly compensation. It was only in 1923 that we were able to get the Government of that time to put in a minimum of £200 in order to safeguard a woman from having to go to the Poor Law because she drew no weekly compensation. The Act of 1897 had its humorous side, too. It provided that if a man fell off a building less than 30ft. high he was to get nothing. He had, so to speak, to fall the first 29ft. for nothing. Moreover, there was no reference in the Act to industrial diseases.

Let it be said that there is no subject of more importance to industrial workers than the question of what is to be paid to them in the case of industrial injuries and fatal injuries in industry. There is no subject that arouses more bitterness in the heavy industries than the inadequacy of the present Workmen's Compensation Acts. There is no subject on which audiences listen with keener attention than

that of the inadequacy of workmen's compensation and the need for putting it on to a fair basis. While this Bill is welcomed as a step forward and as a break with the past, some of my hon. Friends feel that it is not quite good enough. I make no apology for saying this. The Bill, good as it is and better than the existing law, is not as good as the Bills which labour Members brought forward when they were in opposition. In 1938 the last Bill that we brought forward asked for three-fourths of the normal earnings, with a minimum of £3 a week for total incapacity. For fatal accidents it asked for one-third of the normal earnings for the widow or 30s., and the children's allowances were one-third of that. This Bill is the result of Coalition thinking at a time when nobody knew when the war was going to end. It is regarded by a good many hon. Members, including myself, as not being quite good enough, because certain things have happened. There has been a General Election and change of Government. This Bill was introduced in the first flush of victory. In my opinion, it would have been far better to have held it back and overhauled it to bring it into accord with the policy that we have been preaching for many years.

The Minister of Social Insurance, along with many others, has for years shown courage and boldness in advocating what he believed to be the right thing. I want him to believe that I speak in no spirit of antagonism. I believe we have an opportunity here to make a decent Act of Parliament that will bring something like tranquility where previously there has been hostility and suspicion. In putting through a Measure of this sort, let us do it in such a way that we will stop these questions being constantly debated in the House. Let us do it thoroughly, and leave Parliament to deal with more fundamental problems. I and some of my hon. Friends make no apology for submitting to my right hon. Friend the Minister of Social Insurance what we believe to be the inadequacy, anomalies and weaknesses of the Bill. I hope no hon. Member opposite will deny us that right. I want my right hon. Friend to appreciate that what we want him to do is to make the Bill worthy of this House.

I would like to give one or two indications of amendments that we think can be made. I welcome the 5s. advance on the 40s. as being some little instalment of what was asked for. I also welcome the 25 per cent. addition to partial compensation, but I would like to look at the exact wording of that provision before I deal with its implication. The industrial workers with whom I am connected believe that the 40s. provided for in the Bill is inadequate, for this reason. Earnings to-day are higher than they have ever been. How many times have we said that when a man is sick or is injured at work he ought not to lose his income? In many cases he earns more than he was getting before. During the war the principle of the guaranteed week in industry has grown up, based on the idea that a man who was out of work through no fault of his own ought not to be denied a week's wage. We welcome the extra 5s. for total incapacity. We shall possibly put down Amendments on the Committee stage with regard to partial compensation. Frankly, I think that the method in the Bill is far preferable to, and an advance upon, the existing law. Those of us who have had the handling of trying to get partial-compensation men back to work know that there are no light jobs in the mining industry. I was at a colliery on Monday where fellows I had known for 30 years came along with walking sticks saying that they were sorry that they had not a penny-piece of partial compensation now. We welcome the present proposal as being better on balance but we reserve the right to try and improve it.

There are one or two other things which I ought to mention. Under the Bill we deny a pension to the widow of a man who dies from an accident unless the man had been in receipt of unemployability allowance. Why cannot we make up our minds on what we want with regard to this marriage question. We urge young men and women to marry, and yet we say in this Bill, " If you marry after the date of the accident, unless you are receiving the unemployability allowance, there is no pension." I know the argument that will be used. It will be said that the old man in receipt of an industrial pension will marry a young woman in order that she may get a pension, but in practice it does not work out like that. I know of a case relating to a couple who intended to marry, where between the reading of

[Mr. Smith.]
the banns and the date fixed for the marriage the man met with an accident and had to remain on his back for weeks.

When he was better, they married. If this Bill had been in operation and that man had died from the effects of the accident, unless there was unemployability, there would have been nothing for the widow. Why not put in a specified period of so many weeks or months after the accident in order to avoid these anomalies and pinpricks in administration? Therefore, while welcoming the Bill in principle and knowing it to be advantageous and a break with the past, we claim the right to put down any Amendments that we may think necessary in order to try and improve it. I would ask my right hon. Friend not to have a closed mind on this Bill. Let us jointly examine it in detail when it gets into Committee and see if we can do anything to improve it and so put on to the Statute Book a Measure of which we shall all be proud. I hope that he will do this.

7.34 p.m.

Mr. John McKay (Wallsend): I am glad to have this opportunity of speaking upon this particular Bill, and I want to approach the subject from a different direction altogether from that of other speakers. In anything that I have to say, I do not intend to deal with the difference between injury in the pit, factory or workshop—that is well known by everyone—nor do I think we ought to approach this particular subject from the same angle as social insurance. We must, of necessity, take into consideration the different circumstances relative to compensation, compared with ordinary questions of benefits for health and so forth. We are dealing with this particular matter from a given position. What is that outstanding position with regard to compensation? The outstanding thing with regard to it is the fact that, without the introduction of this Bill, there is a given and definite liability upon a section of the community for the payment of compensation to the workman. Knowing that that liability now exists, we must of necessity, when we begin to change the structure and the method of paying compensation and dealing with claimants under the Bill, take into consideration the liabilities now existing among certain sections who will now have to contribute under this Bill.

What then is the position with regard to compensation itself? We have had the historical aspects of compensation laid before us and it has been indicated that from one stage to another we have gradually increased the benefits. Why is it that we have definitely in the past, and right up to the present, stepped out with regard to giving benefits to men and others who are injured? It is for the particular reason that when men are injured at work, they have had to be there for the purpose of keeping people engaged in trade and industry. Were it not for the fact that they must of necessity be in the mines, factories and other places in order to produce the wealth of the country, these particular accidents would not happen. Therefore we introduced compensation law. What is the liability of the employers at the present moment with regard to compensation? It is admitted in the Government White Paper itself that the present liability of the employers is practically £21,000,000—£17,000,000 in the actual benefits paid and practically £4,000,000 in administrative charges.

That being so, when the promoters of the Bill decided to change the whole structure of compensation payments and liability with regard to building up a fund, what was the chief motive? I would have expected that the motive, particularly of a Labour Government, would, as far as possible, have been to increase the benefits above and beyond what are provided at the moment without a contribution equal to the extra and additional contribution that they were getting from the workmen. What would that have been in actual £ s. d.? Before the Minister gave his attention to this Bill the contribution that was to be paid by the workmen was £10,000,000, and, why is it, when we are to start with this new structure, that the workmen who are to contribute this £10,000,000 are not to receive extra benefits accordingly? Under the first proposal in the Bill the extra benefits are equal to £23,000,000 in place of the £17,000,000 received under the present law.

At the moment, the employers are contributing £21,000,000. Before the Minister of National Insurance explained the new attitude of the Government, the workmen

had to contribute £10,000,000. Now, because of the pressure put on the Government to increase the benefits, we find that they have decided to try to meet that pressure, which has been sustained for many weeks, by increasing again the penalty of the workman. Instead of contributing 3d. under the Bill, against the 4d. by the employer, with the 5s. extra which they now suggest, we are to get an increased liability to contributions of 4d. instead of 3d.

I want to put this proposition to hon. Members of this House. There is not the slightest difficulty, either with questions of health insurance or pensions or compensation, in giving the people anything they want, if the people have to provide the money. That is what we are doing, and what is the result? The employers, under this Bill, instead of contributing their present liability of £21,000,000, are to contribute £13,000,000. No wonder we get their support. While putting that general position, I want also to give a little more detail which has not yet been put before the House, but which I think ought to go down on record in the proceedings of this House. Despite the fact that we were contributing £10,000,000 and now have to contribute £13,000,000, there are any amount of cases to-day under the present law where men and youths are getting more benefits than they will get under this Bill. That is rather amazing to me—to think that we have to contribute so much more now than we ever did before, while the employers are the section to get relief.

Let us get at the facts. I have had a good deal to do with compensation myself. There are any amount of intricacies with regard to it which you are now attempting to estimate in terms of £ s. d., in finding out what claim an individual has. Having had a long experience in regard to this matter, and having consulted people in responsible positions who are dealing with these questions every day of the week, I want to put to the House the position of the underground workers in the mines. When I speak of the youths in the pits to-day and the wages they are receiving, I want to put it to the House, that, on the average, they will not have very much more than youths are getting in other industries. I have looked at the Ministry of Labour Gazette to-day with regard to this particular matter, and you get the figure there that youths under 21 are, on the average, receiving 44s. 3d. per week. The figures regarding wages that I want to give now are the actual minimum wages received by underground workers in the pits to-day, and I want to indicate the compensation benefits which these youths of from 14 to 17 can claim under this Bill as compared with what they would have claimed.

The minimum wage underground for a youth of 14 is 38s. 6d. Under the present Act, he would claim 22s. 1½d., plus 5s. There are any amount of funny regulations with regard to this which I cannot attempt to explain here. For the first 13 weeks, that boy gets 27s. 1½d. By this Bill, he gets 20s., and therefore loses 7s. per week. A boy of 14½ gets a wage of 40s. 6d., claims 22s. 8d., plus 5s., making, for the first 13 weeks, 27s. 8d. For a boy of 15, the wage is 43s., his total claim comes to 23s., but here there is a peculiar regulation, which I do not intend to detail, but which provides that, after the 13 weeks, he gets another 5d., making the average over the six months 28s. 5d. per week as against the 20s. under this Bill. I understand that the 20s. may be raised to 22s. 6d., but, in any case, there is a big margin between the two rates. The boy of 16 has a wage of 48s., with a total claim of 29s. 6d. for the first 13 weeks, and of 32s. for the next period, averaging for the six months 30s. 9d., against the 22s. 6d. he will receive under the new Bill. A boy of 17 has a wage of 54s., and for the first 13 weeks gets 32s., with 36s. for the further period, making his average for the six months 40s. against 22s. 6d. The boy of 17½ gets 57s. 6d. a week, has a total claim of 33s. 9d., later increased to 38s. 4d., with an average of 36s.

These are tremendous differences, and, to get over that difficulty, the Minister and his supporters put in this Bill that youths who have dependants may receive 16s. more. Not all of them have dependants, so that there are many youths who are living with their families who will not receive these additions. I do not think it is necessary to go into cases of other boys with perhaps lower wages, but the same principle applies. That is the position with regard to wages, and that is after we, as workmen, will be called upon to contribute £13,000,000 the

[Mr. McKay.]
same as the employers, despite the fact that they have at present a liability of £21,000,000.

Let us get back to the position of the married man. The married man with a wife and one child is getting that benefit under this scheme. That applies also where there is a wife with three children. There are many families with more than three children in the mining industry and other working class industries—you get limitation of families more in the upper classes. While it is admitted that the married man's position is somewhat improved, the next position we have to consider in detail is that of the man whose wage is about £6 5s. I am putting it in detail because many people who are not constantly dealing with compensation do not realise the general position when it is given in a general way.

I looked in the "Gazette" to-day to see exactly what wages were received by the workers in general and I found that the average was £5 19s. 11d. or say £6. That was the average wage in January, 1945, paid throughout the country so far as men are concerned. I worked these figures, therefore, on £6 5s., for if you have an average of £6 there are many men who are getting far more than that. If you take the position of a married man with three children who receives a partial injury—say two fingers or a thumb off—who cannot follow the work in which he was formerly engaged, he may have to get light work. In the mining industry there is constantly that position. Many of them cannot get work in the pits and so they have to go on the general labour market to secure employment and they receive somewhere about £3 per week.

The question then is, what can the man receive to-day with the wage which is, on the average, similar to the prevailing wage in the country? You find this position, that a man with £6 5s. per week, having lost his capacity to follow his ordinary work, goes into the labour market and gets £3 per week. What compensation does he claim? Under the original Act, without contributing £13,000,000 towards his benefit, he claims as a maximum for himself and his wife the difference between £6 5s. and £3. He therefore retains his full compensation. In the small colliery which I have just left, I had the cases of two men who are doing light work and receiving full compensation. When that man goes on to the labour market he claims 43s. 4d., that is two-thirds of the difference between one wage and the other. He claims supplementary benefits for his three children amounting to 13s. 6d. That brings him to seven-eighths, which is the most he can claim. Therefore, that man claims 56s. 10d. per week as compensation, although he is actually working. What kind of compensation does he get under this Bill? About 20s., probably 22s. 6d. now or something similar to that. Is this the thing that the Labour movement is standing for when we are contributing £13,000,000, where we have never contributed a penny before, because of a special liability in regard to compensation?

Where the family has four or three children, he still claims the 56s. 10d.; where two children, 53s. 4d.; where one child, 48s. 4d. A married man with no children claims 43s. 4d., and a single man claims 40s. The chances are that a man with similar wages and a similar light job would get under this Bill, before it was revised, about 20s., and now it will probably be 22s. 6d.

That is the position with regard to the youths, and with regard to the partially incapacitated people. The point is this: Are we doing justice to the people who sent us here? It was all right tying ourselves down to what the Coalition Government decided upon, but what about our own people? What was the cloud of disability under which they were negotiating? They were negotiating upon that compensation question with the actual fact before them that, whatever else it was, the Coalition was a Tory Coalition with a Tory majority. While there was an election pending, the most optimistic man even in the Labour movement never expected to get the majority that we have obtained. The question then arises, are not these changed circumstances? Are we carrying out the mandate of the Labour movement? Are we carrying out the mandate of the people who put us here when we are tying ourselves to a Coalition Bill and when we say to-day that because of the then beclouded atmosphere we told some employers that we believed for the moment in the principle of equal contribution? Does that tie us here to-day in this

House? Does it tie the whole of the Labour movement who have never had the chance to get at this Bill and to understand it fully? To me it does not. I see no liability. I see no moral obligation to our people to-day to fasten themselves down to the principle of contributions laid down by the Coalition.

I suggest that the benefits themselves are not satisfactory. Many other speakers have indicated that they are not sufficient, and I want to conclude what I have said to-day in a general way to try to understand if I can. Am I a bad judge? Do I misunderstand the people I represent? Do I misunderstand the Labour movement? Do I misunderstand the Labour Conference. Certainly I have never spoken there but I have an obligation to speak here and I am carrying out that obligation according to my conscience. I believe that the men of the Labour movement attending this House should break themselves away from the strings that tie them down at the moment and examine the position freely as a Labour Government in the House of Commons with a strong majority, a Labour movement that naturally and reasonably expects to do something much better than a Conservative majority and to do something much better than a Coalition.

I want to ask our people here in this House to examine their consciences despite the influences of the leaders who, I think, have been beclouded by the Coalition position. I believe they themselves think that we ought to do better; with pressure I am sure they will do better. Therefore, despite the general feelings of our leaders in this matter there is an obligation on us who are ordinary back-benchers to express our views freely. That being so, we believe that by this Bill we are subsidising the employers. Our leaders should examine the position very carefully, and see whether they cannot maintain the difference between the employers and workmen's contributions, as was agreed by the Coalition Government. The Government have decided to increase the contribution of workers by a penny, and there is an easy way out of the difficulty by increasing the employers' contribution by a similar amount. By that means the benefits could be increased to our satisfaction.

8.3 p.m.

Mr. David Williams (Neath): May I, first of all, thank you, Mr. Speaker, for giving me the opportunity of addressing the House for the first time and, may I, through you, crave the indulgence of the House in this, my first, effort? I have been told by some of my colleagues who have been here for many years that a maiden speech should be brief and modest. I can assure you, Sir, that my speech will be brief and, I hope, as modest as the urgency of the subject permits. In the constituency which I have the honour to represent, and the industry which I left but a short while ago, the subject matter of this Bill is one of very great urgency. I sincerely hope that as a result of our deliberations we shall be able to produce an Act which will relieve workpeople of many injustices, and remove many of the defects with which we have to contend in the past.

Many aspects of this Bill have already been dealt with, and I do not propose to travel over that ground again. Since the publication of the Beveridge Report a great deal of interest has been shown by the people of Britain in the whole question of social services. There was a tendency for a while for that interest and enthusiasm to wane, but I believe that since 26th July the tendency has been the other way, and that there is, at this moment, especially among the wage-earning population, a greater interest than ever in the whole question of social services. The Minister has told us—and I would like to congratulate him on his excellent and lucid exposition of this Bill—that this Measure is an integral part of the whole scheme of social services to be introduced by the Government in the course of the coming Session. This Bill is, in fact, the first instalment of the whole programme of social security. As such, it will be scrutinised very keenly by the people of this country, and will be the standard by which coming legislation will be judged. Because of that it is extremely important that the Bill should satisfy the longings and expectations of our people for a comprehensive and satisfactory Measure to deal with the many problems connected with industrial injuries. This is the first major legislative effort of the new Government and, as I have said, will be scrutinised very carefully and regarded as the standard of what our people can expect in the days and months to come.

[Mr. Williams.]

For my part, I welcome the general structure of this Bill. I think everybody will agree that it is by far the most comprehensive and humane Measure we have ever had to deal with the whole problem of industrial injuries. It marks a complete revolution in the whole structure of workmen's compensation, a radical change in administration, a radical change in method and a fundamentally radical change in spirit. If there was one thing which we have suffered from in the administration of the old Acts since 1897 it was a complete lack of any sort of humanity in the administration of those Measures. A man was simply a unit. Insurance and other companies were concerned with making a profit out of his disability, and because of that the whole structure of workmen's compensation was entirely devoid of humanity or any sort of human spirit. I hope that we shall be able to say that when this Bill becomes law its outstanding feature will not be its Sections or Paragraphs but an entirely new approach, a new spirit, in the whole treatment of the victims of industrial diseases and accidents. Some of the disadvantages of the 1897 Act have been listed already to-day. Many on this side could add to those disabilities and disadvantages, but I do not propose to weary the House by attempting to give any such list. The first and most obvious drawback of all compensation legislation up to now has been the utter inadequacy of that compensation. Indeed, I think the word, "compensation," very often was a misnomer.

The old Acts never laid down a minimum for compensation but always established a ceiling which, in 99 cases out of a 100, was never reached. Another great drawback of the old legislation was that it was never clearly laid down what were a man's obligations and responsibilities. Almost everything that cropped up under the old legislation had to be taken to the county court for interpretation. I think somebody has said that workmen's compensation, as we know it, was largely court-made law. That certainly was my experience. In addition, there were so many technicalities surrounding the whole structure of workmen's compensation that few people realised and understood what they were entitled to get in a court of law.

The whole structure of average earnings, the assessment of average earnings, the calculation of a hypothetical wage—all these things were entirely beyond the ken of the average man, and not one in hundreds of people who received compensation knew how that amount was arrived at. I hope that in this Bill we shall get away from all that. One very great disadvantage about existing legislation is that many people who have been seriously disabled in industry receive no compensation at all. I know of one case, in my own area, of a man who worked on the colliery surface and whose leg was later amputated in hospital, who, after many months, went back to his old job and received nothing whatsoever in the form of compensation. I am glad we are getting away from that.

There are two aspects of this Bill which I particularly welcome. First, there is the Clause which gives the Minister the right to investigate the causes of disease and accident. That is a thing that never has been done before as part of a compensation measure. Under the old compensation Acts, once a man received a certain cash payment he was nobody's responsibility; no one was concerned as to what happened to him. His employer met his obligation by giving him a cash payment; the Government was not concerned; the court was not concerned; but very often the P.A.C. had to be concerned. I am pleased to note that the Minister will now have power to investigate the causes of disease and accident and, above all, the power to rehabilitate and restore these men to full social and civic status. I think it has been one of the great drawbacks in past legislation that once a cash payment has been made everybody's responsibility seems to have ceased. I want, in particular, to refer to a problem as it affects my own constituency and the constituency of my right hon. Friend the Minister for Social Insurance. I refer to the problem of silicosis and pneumoconiosis. We have this on a staggering scale in West Wales. In my own street, during the last few years, there has been hardly a home without a victim of silicosis, and in one colliery undertaking in my own village we lost 200 men from 1st January, 1945, to 29th September—more than one in eight. I wish the Minister of Fuel and Power were here, because the point I am driving at is of direct and intimate con-

cern to him in his effort to increase the coal production of Britain.

I now come to the Third Schedule of the Bill. As I have said, I welcome many aspects of this Bill, but this Third Schedule is going to cause us a great deal of anxiety and is going to cause other people a great deal of dissatisfaction. At the moment, the procedure in the mining industry is that a man who is suspected of suffering from silicosis and pneumoconiosis is examined by the Medical Board, and the Board decides whether he is totally or partially disabled. If he is partially disabled, he is naturally suspended from the mining industry, and his compensation is assessed on his average earnings. Because earnings are relatively high to-day as compared with before the war, partial compensation to-day means, in the case of colliers and coal face workers, the payment of the maximum compensation rate. I do not know exactly how that is going to operate under this Bill. It has been part of our agitation and campaign in the mining industry, for a long time now, to save these victims of silicosis and pneumoconiosis in the earliest possible stages.

Ten years ago, a man worked until he fell, and he did not know the reason. Later, when the doctors examined him, they would find that his lungs were simply congealed masses of dust, hard as a rubber truncheon, and the man was completely disabled. Since the pneumoconiosis Order of 1943, we have been able to get our people out of the mining industry, in the early stages, while the degree of disability is very slight and the health of the man has been but slightly impaired. They will come under the Third Schedule of the Bill to be assessed for the degree of disability, and I am wondering what is going to happen when a man whose degree of disability is very slight is assessed, say, at 20 per cent., which will give him compensation of 12s. instead of £2, £2 5s. or £2 10s. as he is getting now. I hope it will be possible for this matter to be carefully reviewed by the Minister, who knows more than anyone in this Chamber about this matter, and who has been, for many years, my tutor and mentor. I am sure he will appreciate that the operation of this Schedule on these men, suspended from the mining industry because of slight disability, will have very serious repercussions indeed in his own constituency and in mine.

We have been trying to get these men out of the industry as early as we can. Once a man is certified to be partially or totally disabled, he no longer returns to the mining industry, so that 20 per cent. disability in a case of silicosis or pneumoconiosis must cause infinitely greater hardship than 20 per cent. physical disability caused by accident. These men are suspended from the mining industry; they do not return and cannot return by law, and in the areas where this disease is most prevalent and disastrous in its implications there are no other industries in which these men can be placed. Imagine the position when a man comes out of the mining industry slightly impaired in health, certified to be 20 per cent. disabled, getting a compensation of 12s.

I suggest that that sort of arrangement is going to have calamitous consequences on the campaign of the Minister of Fuel and Power to recruit men into the mining industry. If a man has to go into the mining industry and work for 10, 15 or 20 years, until his chest is afflicted by dust, and he is then suspended and his degree of disability is 20 per cent. or 30 per cent. and his compensation becomes purely a nominal sum, I am suggesting that the father and mother will warn their boys not to go into the industry. We in this House must make better provision for the safeguarding of their health and their future. This is a matter of very urgent concern in my constituency and in my own industry. I believe, too, that it is a matter of major concern to this House. I want to stress this: Unless we can provide better conditions and better facilities for the men who have been affected by silicosis, everybody will keep away from this industry, because the victims that a man sees there he will regard as the shadow of his own future. I hope the Minister will carefully reconsider some of the points I have tried to stress in the hope that we will ultimately be able to get a Bill which we can take into the coalfield and say, " This is a new Charter for the miners, for the workers, of Britain." It will, I believe, be a substantial step forward in putting this mining industry of ours on a permanent and satisfactory basis.

8.21 p.m.

Lieut.-Colonel Rees-Williams (Croydon, South): I had not intended to speak in

[Lieut.-Colonel Rees-Williams.]

this Debate, but I felt that I must join issue with the hon. and learned Members on the other side of the House who have raised this question of the courts. My experience of workman's compensation is that I practised for several years before the war in one of the great cities of the Kingdom, and part of my practice was in workman's compensation. Sometimes I acted for insurance companies, sometimes for men who were injured, so I can claim to speak with some impartiality. I found that in these cases the subject had become so technical that it was almost impossible for the layman to understand it. Much legislation had developed, and on that legislation there had been hundreds, indeed, thousands of cases, all or many of which had to be read through before one could decide whether one's client had a claim or not. The hon. and learned Members on the other side of the House to whom I have refered were, generally speaking, Members of the Bar, and Members of the Bar look at these things in a slightly different manner from that of members of my profession, because as in the medical world with specialists, they only see the exceptional cases and we see the nornal cases. We, too, have to justify, or try to justify, to our clients the costs that have been imposed in any particular case, and it has not always been easy to do so.

I am speaking from memory, but I think I am right in saying that when the first Act dealing with workman's compensation came before this House it was intended by the then President of the Board of Trade that the cases should come before some informal tribunal as is now contemplated, and it was only under pressure, such pressure as we have heard to-day from members of the legal profession, that he was persuaded to alter that proposal and to allow cases to go before courts of law. I was often amazed at the patience of the trade union movement and of the leaders of the movement when I sat in courts and listened to arguments going on hour after hour and day after day on some trifling point of construction which did not really seem to affect the matter at issue at all. I know that costs to trade unions must have been enormous, and must have taxed their resources to the full.

There is a type of person for whom I should particularly like to speak on this matter, and that is, the injured workman who has no trade union. He is put in a very difficult position indeed, and there is a type of insurance company, I regret to say, which tends to delay paying compensation to the workman in the hope that he will settle for a lesser figure than that to which he is entitled. One was often up against this difficulty, so I fully support the proposal in the Act. I think it is bound to act to the benefit of all persons who are, unfortunately, injured in industry.

There is one larger aspect upon which I should like to touch. I would commend this to the notice of the Minister of National Insurance and his colleagues in the Cabinet. If, some years ago, a legal professor in a university were asked to differentiate between English law and Continental law, one of the things he would have said would have been that in English law there is no such thing as administrative law and no such things as administrative tribunals. On the Continent matters concerning the Government, either the Government as opposed to the individual, or local authorities as opposed to the Government or one another—all that mass of litigation in other words comes before special courts called administrative courts, and does not go to the ordinary courts of the land at all. Partly owing to the jealousy of the King's Courts in this country we have never had administrative courts, but I suggest that the time has now come, in view of the great body of the administrative law which is growing up in this country, that some such system should be encouraged.

We already have pensions tribunals and tribunals under the Unemployment Acts, and now there is to be the workman's compensation tribunals. They have been called *ad hoc*. They are supposed to be set up in quite an informal way. I suggest that it would be far more economical and efficient if we followed the example of the Continent in this respect and set up a series of administrative tribunals to deal with all these matters. I feel that very soon, with the legislation which this Government will be passing—and we have a mandate from the people to do so—the State will be entering into the lives of the people very much more than it has done in the past. The ordinary man will no longer be suing his employer, who is a private individual; he

will be suing the Government in some way or other. It is very difficult indeed for him to do so now in the King's Courts. If the system of administrative courts was set up that man would be able to pursue his remedies in quite a cheap and efficient way. I ask the Minister that when he deals with this Clause in Committee to bear in mind this suggestion and to see if we cannot, at least, lay the foundation of administrative courts in the country.

8.27 p.m.

Dr. Morgan (Rochdale): It falls to me to congratulate the last three speakers on their maiden efforts in this House. It is a special pleasure to do so, because all three of them have been excellent speeches. Having congratulated them I wish to say in the few minutes at my disposal that I regard this Bill with misgiving. For the last 25 to 30 years workman's compensation has been my life, especially from the disease side. What I am keen about in regard to workman's compensation is not so much the monetary benefits, not even so much—keen as I am—on seeing that they get excellent medical treatment from the point of view of medical rehabilitation; I want to secure justice for the injured workman, whether injured by disease or accident. I have seen so many cases of a poor workman, in court and out of court, having to fight the whole power of the law and the full influence of the medical profession. In private consultations I have so often seen injustice done to the workman, and I am very anxious that any improvement in workman's compensation should be brought about in a way which could be accepted with pleasure and the feeling that we had done something for the workman.

I am sorry that temperamentally I am not very nimble at turning political somersaults very quickly. For the last decade and a half I have been thinking, talking and discussing Labour policy and trade union policy with regard to workmen's compensation on the lines of the T.U.C. Bill based on the Ontario scheme which has been presented to this House time and time again. I am not speaking in any official capacity. I am speaking purely as a Member of Parliament. I know the Ontario scheme, accepted by the workmen, the employers and the Government, is a far better scheme than this one which we have now had put forward. I feel that in this Bill, both from the point of view of the treatment of the injured workman and especialy from the point of view of the diseased workman, we are not doing what we should do for the man who suffers from a disablity through no cause of his own. I see no reason whatever why workmen's compensation—let us call it workmen's compensation because it is a protective and compensatory Measure—should be brought in as a part of a general social insurance scheme. I regard it as a very special phase of life demanding special legislation. It is the responsibility of the employer.

The workman goes to work in conditions over which he has absolutely no control. As a citizen he has his vote; he can do some controlling there. Going to work he has no control whatever. Take the case of a man who goes into a workshop where they are using one of the new organic solvents, a solvent which has never been investigated and which has had practically no research made upon it. Nobody tests its qualities. There are in use in some of the finest factories in Great Britain these solvents which the workman, because of his industrial environment, is being forced to inhale and which in three months will give him anaemia from which he will never recover. We have only recently discovered one. The workman has no choice in the matter. When that workman, who may have worked hard to build himself up into an efficient worker, getting wages rising from the bottom to £7, £8, £9 or £10 a week, with a family of four, five or six, gets a disease his whole economic standard crashes to the bottom and he will only get what we are going to give him in this Bill, up to a maximum of £3.

I object very much, very much, to the whole procedure of compensation by which the benefit is not related to a man's rate of earning. The Ontario scheme—and I admit that this scheme is better than the present system—has a common pool provided by the employer. It is his liability. It is run by the Government. It avoids litigation. I am one of those who are terrified of these appeal tribunals, with a commissioner and with perhaps a medical assistant. I have seen what happens at appeal tribunals. I have seen them nearly every week. I have seen infamous decisions depriving poor men of their pensions on the ground that their disability is not attributable to or even aggravated by their service. I

[Dr. Morgan.]
am afraid the same sort of things will happen under this Bill. In the Ontario scheme, with the consent of the workmen and the trade unions, they take away the right of going on to common law, and yet they have a medical board. This scheme has been run for ten years without complaint. The last report was very good. Here you have an example of a scheme being run in one of our Dominions for the benefit of the workmen, accepted on all hands as being a very good scheme. It has been accepted by the trade union movement and the Labour movement, and it has been passed at Congress after Congress, and yet suddenly, when a new Government comes in, this new Bill is produced because of a report by a body of Civil Servants at the head of which was a very famous Liberal. I really cannot see that being accepted.

Let me deal with a question in which I am very interested—accidents. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Leeds (Mr. Peake)—and I am sorry that he is not here now—said rather unfairly that accidents were either the fault of no one or the worker or the worker's colleagues—a very unfair statement for any Member to make. That is what office does to some people. They get into office and they become coloured at once by the idea that if an accident occurs in industry it is the fault of no one, or of the workman or else it is an act of God. Is silicosis an act of God? Is it the fault of the workman when he gets a disease, when he gets benzine poisoning or when he absorbs industrial solvents, when nothing is done to prevent him getting it? Is that an act of God? Is that the man's fault? I am very surprised to hear a statement of that kind from a man of experience.

Colonel Ropner (Barkston Ash): The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Leeds (Mr. Peake) certainly did not say that all accidents were attributable either to a fellow workman or to the man himself. He said that many were.

Dr. Morgan: I took his words down carefully; I noted his words very carefully. He said that if any accidents occurred in industry they were either the fault of no one or of the worker or the worker's colleagues. [HON. MEMBERS: "No."] HANSARD will show to-morrow. We shall see if I am mistaken. Let us take industrial diseases. The Minister has power to make research. Presumably he will have special researchers of his own. I know it is not the present Minister's fault—I know the whole situation—but take the disease called pneumoconiosis. Is it not true that the number of cases awaiting decision by the silicosis boards in Wales and the north-west are two years in arrears? Is it not true that you are doing practically nothing to train doctors for those positions? Ask if any tuberculosis officer has been trained for these positions. The number of boards has been increased from eight to 12. Twelve boards cannot deal with 5,000 or 8,000 cases still awaiting decision. Think of the homes of these workmen under present conditions, in which their wives and children are waiting to know if they are going to get compensation for a disease contracted in industry.

I am very sorry I must stop now because I could go on giving case after case with regard to all sorts of diseases. You will never get anywhere with certain diseases, for which the work is responsible for a man's disability, until you amend the third test which requires that the disease must be so specific to the industry that it can be put down to a cause in any particular case. This Bill provides for a better compensation scheme than the present workmen's compensation legislation, but I hope the Minister will be agreeable to having, not only the accident side, but the disease side, radically altered in Committee, and I hope that even when this Bill is passed, the Government will consider the feasibility of considering this subject afresh, to see whether they cannot improve upon the Measure.

8.42 p.m.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of National Insurance (Mr. Lindgren): The discussion in to-day's Debate has been on a very high level. Many hon. Members have made maiden speeches which have been a credit to them, when taking the Floor for the first time. I am, therefore, very conscious of my responsibility in addressing the House for the first time to-night and in winding up this Debate. Should I, through nervousness or lack of experience, forget some of the courtesies of Debate usual in this House, I hope you, Sir, and hon. Members will excuse me. First, I would like to say that the Government, generally, are gratified by the acceptance of the

scheme by the House to-day. I hope that the Debate will proceed in the same tone to-morrow, and the indication is that we shall get complete agreement on its acceptance. If I may, I would like to deal with the various points raised by hon. Members in the Debate.

The right hon. Member for North Leeds (Mr. Peake) paid a very generous tribute to the Minister of National Insurance. In return, he was paid a generous tribute by the hon. Member for Hemsworth (Mr. George Griffiths) who said he had made the best speech in regard to workmen's compensation for 11 years. Not having been in the House during that period, I cannot confirm that, or otherwise, but I would like to add my tribute in regard to the work which the hon. Member did while he was at the Home Office in connection with workmen's compensation and the general measures concerning this Bill. It has been my pleasure to read some of the minutes prepared by him, and they have been of considerable assistance in the preparation of this Bill.

As is legitimate in debate, he twitted us about a visit by the Prime Minister to the Trade Union Congress at Blackpool. I went there, too, to watch the proceedings and to get firsthand knowledge of what that great assembly was feeling about such matters as this. He asked why it was that at a late stage, after the Bill had been published, changes in benefit had been made. Quite frankly, those benefit changes were made for the very reason that the hon. Member for Normanton (Mr. Tom Smith) entered the Debate to-day—because they were considered not to be good enough so far as this Government were concerned.

The right hon. Member for North Leeds further asked from where was this House governed. May I assure him, as I believe other Junior Ministers have assured other hon. Members of the Opposition, that this House is governed from this House, but that that does not mean that His Majesty's Government is not prepared to discuss and negotiate, and even come to tentative agreements, with interested parties outside this House. Who is more concerned with regard to injury within the industry than the workers who suffer that injury? There have been negotiations and discussions, and there were discussions before the present Bill was produced, with the Trades Union Congress and with the British Employers' Confederation with regard to it. Here, if I may, I would like to pay a tribute on behalf of the Minister to the very generous way in which both the workers' organisations and the employers' organisations have so readily placed themselves at the disposal of the Minister to undertake these negotiations and discussions, very often at extremely short notice and at great inconvenience to themselves. As a result of such consultations, we agreed to make improvements in the Bill, although I am afraid that they are not, as has been evidenced by the Debate to-day, to the entire and complete satisfaction of the workers' organisations. They will never be completely satisfactory until we get to a very much greater benefit. Whether we are ever able to get to that will depend very much upon the progress of the Fund and the rates of contributions which are to be borne by the workers in industry.

We then had a very eloquent and moving maiden speech by the hon. Member for North East Leeds (Miss Bacon), and if I get through this ordeal of a maiden speech with the same credit as that hon. Member did, I shall be well satisfied. She and other hon. Members raised the matter of what are known as the "old cases," the pre-1924 cases. May I make it quite clear that, in so far as the unemployability allowance is concerned, every accident that has come under Workmen's Compensation Acts, right the way from 1897, is included so long as the injured person is still drawing a weekly compensation benefit. Unfortunately, of course, those who have commuted their compensation are outside its scope.

The leaving of those old cases with the varying benefits which they derive, with simply the unemployability supplement, is, so far as the Minister is concerned, not good enough. He is very much concerned, and very desirous, that there should not be this difference of benefit for workers who are injured. He would like a neat, clean, tidy scheme where every worker was treated on the same basis, irrespective of when his accident happened. But, as the Minister pointed out in his opening speech, that depends very largely on whether the employers' organisations and the insurance companies are prepared to meet the Ministry in regard to a payment to the Fund covering that liability. Here again, there have been discussions with

[Mr. Lindgren.]
the employers' organisations in regard to that matter. They, too, have expressed their desire for a clean arrangement into which those schemes can be brought. The only disagreement is on what basis the payment shall be made. I can assure the House that the Minister is most anxious to bring them all in on a basis of equality. Any proposal which the employers and the insurance companies make will be very seriously considered and negotiations that take place will have the object of bringing about a satisfactory conclusion. I am certain, from the approach that has already been made from the employers, that their attitude, and their desire, are the same as our own that there should be this clean, neat arrangement and the inclusion of everyone within the scope of the scheme.

Further, the hon. Member for North-East Leeds raised a question of artificial limbs and surgical appliances. It is the desire of the Ministry to be as wide as possible, within the provision that we make, so that all shall be included and none shall be excluded from the benefits that can be given, even including larger kinds of equipment such as were referred to, wheeled chairs, spinal carriages and the rest. It is equally true of the equipment that is necessary for sick rooms and the treatment of a patient whilst bedridden at home.

One difficulty about the Bill, if I might say so without being thought presumptuous as a new Member, is that the introduction of this Injuries Bill and of Family Allowances is the wrong way round. The main Bill should have come first, and then these subsidiary Bills, which are complementary to it, should have followed. Many of the Bills, and many of the provisions within this Bill, are related to provisions which will be included in the main Bill. When we bring in the main Bill special provision will be made, in conjunction with the Ministry of Health, for a service which will make available to all classes of persons who need them, these types of equipment which are so essential but are so often lacking now in the homes of the workers when illness arises. They will be included in the National Health Scheme which are complementary for the injured workman and the sick workman.

The hon. and learned Member for Montgomery (Mr. C. Davies) spoke as a lawyer, and we were glad that he paid tribute to the scheme in as much as it took the injured worker away from the law courts. Many other hon. Members have referred to the point that the lawyer goes out of Workmen's Compensation under the Bill. Whether it pleases lawyers or not, that is the intention of the Bill. The injured worker has not thought that justice has been done to him through the lawyer and he has been more than ever convinced that far too often the lawyer and the doctor have been combined together in an unholy alliance to do him out of that to which he was justly entitled.

This is a scheme to enable an injured workman to receive benefit when incapacitated by accident at work. The whole intention of the scheme will not be to prevent him receiving benefit but to see that he gets his benefit. We feel, and I hope it will be proved in practice—we are certain that it will—that the combination of the employer and employee in industry on—we have, of course, to bring the lawyer in as an independent chairman—the local tribunals, will create a sense of justice in the mind of the worker and that there will also be brought to bear in Workmen's Compensation what seems to be impossible within the law, and that is common sense.

Major Ungoed-Thomas (Llandaff and Barry): If a point of construction arises on the Act, how will it be disposed of under this régime?

Mr. Lindgren: Apart from the local tribunal there are the Commissioners. Again, the Commissioners are lawyers appointed by His Majesty in the same way as are judges. I take it, subject to correction by my right hon. Friend, that the Commissioners would deal with points of construction in that way.

Another point made by the hon. and learned Member for Montgomery was that the Bill ought to have been wider in conception and that what we really should do was not simply provide benefits for the workman but make it possible for the workman to be a man again and work as a workman. That is the intention of the scheme, but the tragedy is that it is not possible at the moment. When we met some of the miners in regard to the Bill and discussed with them the injuries which arose in the pit, they were generous enough to say that with the best will

in the world some colliery owners could not find light work. They had sometimes combed the pit to find a job for Tom Smith or Bill Jones. Employment would have been there if the job could have been found, but they never found a job. The Bill will work in conjunction with the Ministry of Labour Rehabilitation Scheme and the training of men to take alternative work. What is more, there will be the provision of alternative work in the area. Discussions are proceeding with the Board of Trade in order that, in single-industry areas, other industries might be placed in order to provide alternative employment for men who have been trained in rehabilitation centres. It is not much good giving them rehabilitation if the job is not there. We have to see that there is redistribution of industry and availability of employment in the full sense. These will come into play in order to give the workman that opportunitiy he has previously lacked.

The hon. and learned Member also asked why it was that the self-employed man could not be brought in. Other Members have raised this same point. It is very difficult to bring those men in. There is not the obvious arrangement that can be made with the normal employee and there is not the responsibility. Let me say here that this is one of the disadvantages of bringing the Bill in prior to the main scheme coming before the House. Those persons will be included within the main Bill. The self-employed person will be eligible for benefit in the main scheme, irrespective of whether an accident is within employment or outside employment.

The hon. and gallant Member for South Belfast (Lieut.-Colonel Gage) raised a point about the tribunals. If I understood him correctly he rather suggested that because local tribunals were appointed, and particularly their chairmen, by the Minister, they might be influenced by the Minister in coming to their decisions. That is a little unfair on the lawyers, because the chairman will be, generally speaking, a lawyer, and I have yet to hear it said that members of the legal profession are subject to outside influence from those who appoint them in regard to their decisions in a judicial capacity. That objection cannot be raised to the Commissioners, because they are appointed by His Majesty in the same way as judges, and the final decision rests with them alone.

The hon. Member for South Belfast made the point that it was important the workers should have confidence in the running of the scheme. The whole future of this scheme depends on whether it is accepted by the worker in the belief that it will be fairly worked. Well though the Bill may be constructed, and though it may be improved in Committee, its real test will depend upon the insurance officer in the field in his relationship with industry and the injured workman. The success of the scheme will depend on the confidence the workman has in the insurance officer's interpretations and the way he carries out his duties. There are, in spite of all the bad workings of the Workmen's Compensation Acts, some very good officers of mutual insurance companies, of employers and of trade unions who are operating the Acts. Very often one can see a difference of treatment as between injured workers, largely because of the type of officer who is employed by any of these three. This Ministry wants many of these officers to offer themselves as officers under this scheme, so that we may have the advantage of their accumulated knowledge, their skill and the general confidence that they will be able to create in the operation of the scheme.

The hon. Member for Houghton-le-Spring (Mr. Blyton) made a number of points. One was with regard to the post-accident widow and her children. That question is tied up with other Ministries, and if the hon. and gallant Member for Lonsdale (Sir I. Fraser) were here, he would rise and talk about the post-war-injury marriage. I cannot say more at the moment than to repeat the hint that was given by the Minister in his speech that if the matter is discussed in Committee more might be heard of it. I hope that this and many other points will come up in Committee so that they can be dealt with in a satisfactory manner. A number of hon. Members raised the question of boys under 18 and the fact that they would get less under this Bill than under the Workmen's Compensation Acts. Let us face facts. Present wages for these youths are abnormal. One might say that some are too abnormal and that the youths will suffer for it in the years to come. There must in a general scheme such as this be some people who will

[Mr. Lindgren.]

suffer. We cannot cover everything so that everybody is no worse off. If a youngster under 18 has dependants, he will be much better off than at the present time. I am not so concerned about the youngster under 18 unless he has dependants. Under this Bill, if he has dependants like a widowed mother, he is entitled straight away to benefit for her and to the adult rate for himself. Where there is dependancy upon that youth, he gets much greater benefit than he would under the Workmen's Compensation Acts.

A further point raised by the hon. Member related to the three waiting days. There are waiting days in all other spheres of insurance, health and unemployment, but that is not the main reason why they are included in this Bill. The reason for their inclusion is purely administrative. The number of accidents which require absence from work for only one or two days is very large indeed, and if the local insurance officer were to be faced with a flood of one and two-day accident claims, an undue proportion of the income of this fund would be spent in administration, because claims, dealing with claims and the payment of claims cost money. The point is whether we are to use what is available in the fund created by this Bill for the benefit of people who are injured, or whether we are to spend an undue proportion of it in administration. Our advice is that the three waiting days save a considerable portion of administrative costs. As a mater of fact the day of injury is counted as the first waiting day and the waiting days, therefore, really only number two.

The hon. Member for Wavertree (Mr. Raikes) made a number of points, and I would like to deal with what has come to be called the double-decker scheme—the flat rate with additional payment according to the wage of the individual, giving a greater measure of compensation to those with higher earnings. Again, that is foreign to the conception of this Bill. This Bill gets away from earnings, it makes a payment on account of injury or loss of faculty. That payment is at a flat rate, and if there were to be varying rates of benefit, surely the only way to deal with it would be on the basis of a percentage deduction from earnings. That would be a very cumbersome method, and surely where there is a very high earning capacity a better way of solving the problem would be that suggested by the right hon. Member for North Leeds, by way of independent insurance. A violinist for instance, is as much concerned about his hands as is a compositor, but he would be unwise as a musician if he relied upon this Bill for compensation in the event of injury to his hands, and he would be well advised to ensure against it.

I was not present during the latter portion of the speech by the hon. Member for Wavertree, but I understand that he rather disliked the tribunals and would prefer the courts. I hope he was in the House when the hon. Member for Chester (Mr. Neld) spoke of the improvement that is likely to arise from the institution of the tribunals. We agree with the hon. Member for Chester and disagree with the hon. Member for Wavertree. A point was raised by the hon. Member for Edge Hill (Mr. Clitherow) on the inclusion of nurses and health workers in regard to such diseases as consumption and other illnesses arising from their work in hospitals. There are great difficulties in the way of making special provision for health workers within workmen's compensation measures because of the incidence of the diseases with which they deal and the lack of proof that diseases arise out of, or in the course of, their employment. The Minister would desire, if possible, to provide for them, and we would like to have discussions between the Ministry of Health, ourselves and those who can speak on behalf of those engaged in such work to see whether it is possible to bring them in.

A further question was raised by my hon. Friend the Member for Hemsworth (Mr. G. Griffiths) about the tribunals being in public and whether or not advocates could attend at the tribunals. As far as the Bill is concerned, there is nothing to the effect that tribunals should not meet in public or that they should. It is very questionable whether public tribunals are altogether the blessing which some people think they are. The injured workman very often feels at a complete disadvantage at a public hearing and dislikes the publicity that arises from it. We want these tribunals to be friendly, homely meetings to discuss what has happened and what can be done. The further we can get away from the atmosphere

of the law court and all that arises from a law court the more we shall like it. As to advocates, as far as the Bill is concerned we can allow or encourage that an advocate should attend on behalf of the injured workman. That advocate can be a trade union officer or a friend. I understand that a friend is not a lawyer, and the lawyer is excluded from the tribunal.

My hon. Friend the Member for West Newcastle (Mr. Popplewell) raised the question of further increased benefits. I will tie up my reply on that with the reply that I made to the right hon. Member for North Leeds in regard to the reason for the increase of benefits. Increased benefits under this Bill can be given only if there is an increased contribution to the fund. It is all a matter of what is in the fund, the contributions to the fund, and how we can build up the fund. After it has been working for some time we hope it will show a balance which will enable benefits to be increased. A point was also made by the hon. Member for West Newcastle about the speedy payment of benefits and the lack of speedy payment by insurance companies up to now. I would like here to pay a tribute. Many workers have been saved from the indignities which insurance companies would have inflicted on them through lack of acceptance of liability, by the friendly societies and the approved societies making interim payments pending the insurance companies making their payments.

There are many other points I would have liked to have dealt with, but my time is limited. I want before I close to deal with the one criticism that was made by my hon. Friend the Member for Wallsend (Mr. McKay) in regard to the putting of a penny on to the workers' contribution. The hon. Member asked whether this House was bound by an undertaking given by a previous Government in regard to contributions. The House is not bound, the House is master of itself; but the Government accept responsibility for pledges made to bodies outside the House in good faith by the previous Government. Those pledges are not all one-sided. If we had been in opposition we would have expected hon. Members who are now sitting opposite to have honoured pledges given to the Trades Union Congress. The Government are prepared to honour those pledges, and recommend the House to do so.

I conclude by saying that with the passing of this Bill workmen's compensation will pass. The atmosphere and the spirit in which the Workmen's Compensation Acts have operated will also disappear. With the passing of this Bill the benefits paid to injured workmen will become a social service, and it is in the spirit of a social service that this Bill, when it becomes an Act, will be worked. The House may be assured that the Minister will bring to its administration that humanity for which he is well known.

Ordered: "That the Debate be now adjourned.—[*Mr. Mathers.*]

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—[*Mr. Mathers.*]

GERMAN POPULATIONS (EXPULSION)

9.14 p.m.

Mr. Stokes (Ipswich): May I, in a brief moment before the House adjourns, offer the congratulations of the House to the Minister on his maiden speech at that Box. It was a very much better one than I could have made if I had had the opportunity of making my maiden speech at that Box. We all appreciate his performance to-night and realise what a great success he has made on his first effort in this House.

I sought the Adjournment of the House to-night in order to raise what seems to many of us a very vital question of international importance. It has been recently announced in the Press in this country that some 4,500,000 persons are to be expelled from Eastern Europe.

It being a Quarter past Nine o'Clock, the Motion for the Adjournment of the House lapsed, without Question put.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—[*Mr. Mathers.*]

Mr. Stokes: I was saying that it has been recently announced in the Press that some 4,500,000 Germans from Eastern Europe are to be expelled from that territory, commencing on Monday next, at the rate of some 30,000 a day. I do not wish in any way to anticipate a debate, which, I hope, is likely to take place in the comparatively near future on the broad issue of the situation in Germany, and

[Mr. Stokes.]

therefore I propose to confine my remarks as briefly as possible to the plain issue of the announcement which is being made, and which purports to come, as far as my investigations go, from the German refugee organisation in Berlin, which has published these figures with the approval of Marshal Zhukov. What is precisely proposed is that, as and from Monday next—that is why there is urgency in raising this in the House to-night, because I think all Members will agree the Adjournment half-hour is not the appropriate moment to raise such an important issue—20,000 Germans will be expelled from Poland every day, 6,000 from Czechoslovakia, and a smaller number from Hungary and other places. The approximate figure for the purposes of simple arithmetic—and this House hates figures—will be of the order of 30,000 a day. The total stipulated in the report is that 4,500,000 persons are to be expelled from their natural homesteads, starting on 15th October, 1945.

What does that mean in human misery? It means that for 150 days after next Monday, 30,000 people are to be driven from what they regard as their natural homes and compelled to walk across Europe, trying to find habitation and asylum elsewhere. I do not know where to lay the blame and indeed I do not seek to-night to try and do that. My appeal is fourfold, and it is the appeal, I think, of every hon. and right hon. Member who thinks like me, and of every right thinking person in this country. His Majesty's Government should do everything in their power to stop this ghastly process taking place, first of all, on humanitarian grounds. The horror that it is going to bring to literally millions of comparatively innocent people, though you cannot regard them all as absolutely innocent, simply baffles imagination. It is a great mistake to think that the question of immediate retaliation on the Nazis comes in. As can be so conveniently shown, those who were responsible went away a long time ago. A great number of them, from the information we have received, have fled and are probably now, under other names and in other conditions, seeking refuge and getting much better treatment than they ever dreamed of getting even under our own western zone in Germany at the present time. The terrible thing is that it is the innocent people who, in the main, will suffer under this system.

The third reason, which I wish to develop later at greater length, is that, so far as I understood the Potsdam Conference, this is entirely in contravention of the Declaration of the Three Powers at that great Conference. Finally, I wish to record the belief that it is going to make—and it is perhaps a rather cold-blooded but nevertheless important issue—the position in Western Europe even more difficult than it is at the present time, and heaven knows that it is just about as difficult as any situation ever created by mankind. On the humanitarian side, one can tell the most heart-breaking stories of what is happening. I had a visit yesterday from a young flying-officer of the R.A.F. who had recently been in Czechoslovakia. He was wearing the R.A.F. uniform, covered with ribbons, the D.F.C. and Bar and so on, and I asked him, "How did you do it?" He replied, "I am really a Sudeten German, but I am an anti-Nazi. I got in and saw precisely for myself what was going on." I have not the time to develop this theme to-night, because the Minister must have time to reply and there are other hon. Members who would like to speak. This officer said, "The pitiable situation is that people are being taken out of the anti-Nazi camps formed by the Nazis and marched off into the Czech camps and turned into slaves. It is not as if families are turned out wholesale and told to march to the west. If that happened—not that there would be any merit in it—it would be a little better, but the young and able-bodied are taken away to slave camps in the centre of Czechoslovakia and the old women, children and old men are turned out with practically nothing—simply told to get out and march west. I do not need to develop that point, because the House will realise what a terrible state of things is going on. This officer told me that he went to his own town, where 40,000 inhabitants had existed before and where he was a Social Democrat, and where there are now only 8,000 left. "My own homestead has gone," he told me. I speak with the greatest responsibility and will give the Minister the name of this officer, who will tell him all the facts. He told me, "All the people I knew as utterly opposed to the Nazis are now being

treated in the most inhumane manner by the Czech Government."

I leave it at that, because that theme can be developed on a larger scale on another occasion, and I turn to the Potsdam Conference to look up what was decided there. I cannot do better than read two essential extracts from the report published on 3rd August 1945 in the "Manchester Guardian." That report, speaking of the Three Powers, said this:

"They agree that any transfers that take place shall be effected in an orderly and humane manner."

Now, who, in the name of all that is truthful and serious, can suggest that to start to drive 30,000 people out over 150 days from east to west in Europe in the middle of winter is dealing with them in a "humane and orderly manner"? It went on to say this—and I say this without any passion whatever:

"The Czechoslovak Government, the Polish Provisional Government, and the Control Council in Hungary are at the same time being informed of the above declaration and are being requested meanwhile to suspend further expulsions pending the examination by the Governments concerned of the report from the representatives on the Control Council."

So far as we know there has been no report from the Control Council. All that we do know is that there is an intense feeling everwhere that this horrible thing should not be allowed to go on in Europe during this winter, and I am sure it was the intention of the persons who signed the Potsdam Conference Declaration on behalf of the great nations that this horror should not be perpetrated in Europe.

To turn to another aspect of it, what is the position in the Allied Zones? We are told that 4,500,000 persons in the next 150 days are to be driven out of Poland and Czechoslovakia and Hungary into the Russian Occupied Zone in Germany. We are already in such a mess over the muddle there that we hardly know what to do. We have already agreed to take 2,000,000 more persons in our Zone than ever we anticipated having to take, and the deplorable stories of what is happening at the Berlin railway stations, and so on, would make everybody in this country rise in revolt if they really knew the truth. I listened to a gentleman the other night who had witnessed for himself what was happening at the Anhalter railway station in Berlin——

Mr. Soollan: Is it as bad as Belsen?

Mr. Stokes: Perhaps my hon. Friend will let me finish. I am sure he feels very strongly, just as I do on this subject. It is unbelievable to me that these things can be allowed to happen without the loudest possible protest in this House, and that is why I am speaking to-night. He told me what was happening. People pouring into Berlin, not wanted, no room for them, no food, nowhere to put them, and so, whilst they are allowed to stay for 24 hours, they immediately have to evacuate to the West. What happens? At the Anhalter railway station, which apparently leads to the west and north-west, is found this state of things: the station has been so bombed that it is impossible to control the people on the platforms, so they are herded into a side street. He told me, and a large public audience, that it takes four days—not four hours—to get from the back of the queue into the train, with nothing to eat meanwhile. A perfectly deplorable condition already exists. What is going to happen if this new proposal for 4,500,000 evacuations is allowed to take place is that it will accentuate that condition and perpetuate it throughout the winter months.

I speak simply as an ordinary person who has had some experience of war. I am sometimes accused of being pro-German; it is not true, I am simply pro-humanitarian. I have killed more Germans than possibly anybody in this House, but that is enough of that. The fact remains that this suicidal policy, this terrible policy, is being allowed to go on in Europe with insufficient protest from people who really hold the beliefs that we all hold in this country and the principles for which we really believe we fought this war. What will happen if we allow this to go on without protest is simply this: we shall sow these very seeds which will bring about another war —I do not know when, but in the not too distant future.

There is no sense in believing that simply because we are in a mess at the present time we should allow this sort of thing to go on without protest. The paradoxical situation to me is this, that the very people to whom we have given asylum in this country are now perpetrating these horrors in central Europe. It is unbelievable, but it is true, and it is time that protest went out from this country.

[Mr. Stokes.]
I know perfectly well that there are differences of view as to what is to be done with enemy peoples, but I take my mind to the very simple issue, which is that women and children are women and children wherever they are, in whatever country they reside, and I could not sit down to-day without having raised my voice in protest and asking that His Majesty's Government shall use whatever power they can, and make whatever protest they can, in whatever quarter they choose—and I am not seeking to lay the blame in any particular quarter—to represent to their friends in Russia, in Poland, in Czechoslovakia and in Hungary that this thing must stop, because if it does not stop it will be damnation for civilisation.

9.30 p.m.

Mr. Boothby (Aberdeen and Kincardine, Eastern): I rise for only three minutes to support, in a few words, the eloquent plea which has just been made by my hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Stokes), and I do so mainly because I feel that there has been something in the nature of a conspiracy of silence upon this matter upon both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, in the United States as well as in this country. Terrible things are going on in Europe to-day, to-night, every day and every night. The easy course is for us to avert our eyes, and that is the course that I think we have taken on the whole. The result can only be famine and pestilence and, as my hon. Friend so rightly pointed out, misery.

Nobody realises more clearly than I do that the high aspirations expressed in the Atlantic Charter have long ago gone by the board, but few can have thought, even a year ago, that we were fighting this war in order to turn Central and Eastern Europe into a desert containing a decimated population. That is what is happening to-day. I read that at the moment the United States are considering cutting down food shipments to Europe. I cannot understand it. I feel that we are now drifting—largely because of political events which have no immediate connection with the subject we are discussing—into a situation which is fraught with the gravest danger. The last time I spoke in this House I said that events of the last five years had perhaps inevitably seared the conscience and blunted the compassion of humanity. That is true, but there are limits, and I think those limits have been reached at the present time. I urge His Majesty's Government to do something, if only to make a public protest against what is going on now, because it is not in accordance with the traditions or wishes of the vast mass of the people of this country.

9.33 p.m.

The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. McNeil): Although I am very much indebted to my hon. Friends the Members for Ipswich (Mr. Stokes) and East Aberdeen (Mr. Boothby) for giving me this opportunity of making a short statement on behalf of the Government, I want to repudiate utterly the suggestion that there has been a conspiracy of silence on this subject by the Government. That is not so, as I think I shall be able to show to the House. Everyone must have been arrested by the sincerity of my hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich. It is, as he said, impossible to overpaint the potential gravity of this situation or to over-emphasise the misery and great suffering which we may see in Central and Eastern Europe this winter. But I cannot quite accept the suggestion that these are comparatively innocent people. They are Germans and either through their rulers or themselves they visited on Poles, Czechs, Russians and on Christians, as well as Jews, monstrous cruelties——

Mrs. Manning (Epping): Babies?

Mr. McNeil: I wish it were so simple just to draw a line and say, "They are babies," and, "They are Nazis." I wish it was so simple as to say, "They are people who were in the fight," and, "They are people who took no part in it." Unfortunately, that is not so. It is suggested that the Government are not most concerned with this subject——

Mr. E. L. Gandar Dower (Caithness and Sutherland): What is the Government doing?

Mr. McNeil: Perhaps I shall be able, if I am permitted, to say what we are doing. No one in this House can escape the consequences. We are partners to the decisions. I want to deal with a newspaper report my hon. Friend quoted, but,

as I indicated when we were speaking previously, it is not possible to give very accurate figures. I would agree that for Czechoslovakia there probably are some 2,250,000 to 2,500,000 people concerned; in Hungary, perhaps, not so many, but in Poland, I very much fear the figure will prove to be in excess of 10,000,000 souls. About the figures my hon. Friend quoted and the newspaper sources to which he referred, up to date the control commission has no knowledge of the agreement to which he referred between the Russians, Poles, Czechs and Hungarians. That was what the hon. Member quoted from "The Times" of 8th October. The second of these reports that 2,000,000 Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia are to be received into the British zone at the beginning of this month, to which my hon. Friend also referred, is, I must say, without qualification, speculative. This Government has in fact given no such undertaking to any one that we would accept these 2,000,000 people. Of course, although the Government are not directly or exclusively responsible for this condition, it is true that we are indirectly responsible, and it is very true that we have made repeated representations upon this subject. I think the House would like to be reminded of some which we have made. As the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Stokes) quoted so aptly, at Potsdam it was agreed that the transfer to Germany of German populations or elements thereof remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary will have to be undertaken, and that any transfers that took place should be effected in an orderly and humane manner. The Allied Control Council in Germany, should in the first instance, examine the problem with special regard to the equitable distribution of these Germans among the several zones of occupation. At the same time, the Czechoslovak and Polish Governments and the Control Council in Hungary were requested to suspend their expulsions, pending examination by the Governments concerned of the report of their representatives on the Control Council. I greatly regret that this report has not yet been made. I understand that a report, covering part of the field, may be available, but, again I very much regret that I cannot go past that. It just may be available and will only cover part of the problem.

Mr. Stokes: Has His Majesty's Government got any knowledge whatsoever of the declaration made in Berlin that 30,000 people a day, as from next Monday, are to be expelled from this territory?

Mr. McNeil: I have already indicated to the hon. Member that the report from which he quoted does not lie within the knowledge of His Majesty's Government. I want also to make this plain, if I may refer again to the point raised, that following the representations made at Potsdam the Czechoslovak Government did, in principle, at any rate, suspend these expulsions.

Mr. Boothby: What does "in principle" mean?

Mr. McNeil: Well, as I am sure the hon. Member knows, it is very difficult to get exact information on this subject. I do want to make it plain that the Czechoslovak Government did most earnestly attempt to co-operate in this matter and the Hungarian Government numerically was not so substantially concerned. But despite repeated protests by His Majesty's Government, I am afraid I have to admit that there is no similar picture that can be drawn for Poland.

Some expulsions went on unchecked after Potsdam and other migrations, which I do not think can be legally described as expulsions, but migrations nevertheless, continued to take place. His Majesty's Government remonstrated directly with the Polish Government and at the Council of Foreign Ministers. My right hon. Friend appealed through M. Molotov to M. Bideaux and Mr. Byrnes to their respective Governments to make the strongest approaches to the Polish Government on this subject. I wish I had time to quote the letter but I hope the House will believe me that it was blunt and direct upon this subject. We pleaded with all the earnestness my right hon. Friend could command.

I wish to state this one other fact. As recently as 1st October the new Polish Ambassador came to the Foreign Office, and in course of conversations he said that on instructions from his Government strict orders were given to stop all further expulsions of Germans from Polish-occupied territory. Again I do not want to mislead the House. Obviously, if there is any substance, even remote substance,

[Mr. McNeil.]

in the figures quoted by my hon. Friend, it makes nonsense of this assurance. But what more can His Majesty's Government do immediately beyond this? At any rate I wish earnestly to repudiate that there has been any conspiracy of silence or that the Government is not gravely concerned in this matter. It has made repeated and strong remonstrances on the subject.

I have two other things to say. Conditions in the Russian area are the responsibility of the Russian Government. As my hon. Friends know, the Russian Government, as they were quite entitled to do, have not invited U.N.R.R.A. to take part in relief in their zone. His Majesty's Government are considering what further relief measures we could undertake inside our own zone. I have only this qualification to make. Our area has been the most heavily bombed one. It is a most intense trouble to find even roofs, and we must leave it to the military authorities as to how many can be taken into our zone, at what rate and how soon. It would be no kindness to take in these poor people if we cannot in fact provide that.

I conclude by assuring the House that the Government are fully seized of this problem, that we will continue to take all measures upon the subject that lie within our competence. We are grateful to my hon. Friend, not only for giving us this opportunity of making our position plain but for bringing once more to the attention of the House what we have to admit may prove to be a catastrophe which has not been paralleled in Europe for centuries.

Question put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at Seventeen Minutes to Ten o'Clock.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

HOUSE OF LORDS

OFFICIAL REPORT

(UNREVISED)

Expulsions

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HOUSE OF LORDS

Wednesday, 30th January, 1946.

The House met at half past two of the clock, The LORD CHANCELLOR on the Woolsack.

Prayers.

CORRECTION.

The speech reported in columns 13-15 of the Official Report yesterday, in the name of Lord Woolton, should have been attributed to Lord Llewellin.

LORD INMAN.

Philip Albert Inman, Esquire, having been created Baron Inman of Knaresborough in the West Riding of the County of York—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

BRECONSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL BILL. [H.L.]

Read 2ª.

CITY OF LONDON (VARIOUS POWERS) BILL. [H.L.]

Read 2ª.

LEICESTER CORPORATION BILL. [H.L.]

Read 2ª.

MANCHESTER CORPORATION BILL. [H.L.]

Read 2ª.

MID AND SOUTH EAST CHESHIRE WATER BOARD BILL. [H.L.]

Read 2ª.

ROTHERHAM CORPORATION BILL. [H.L.]

Read 2ª.

TYNE TUNNEL BILL. [H.L.]

Read 2ª.

BROMBOROUGH DOCK BILL. [H.L.]

Read 2ª, and referred to the Examiners.

LONDON MIDLAND AND SCOTTISH RAILWAY BILL. [H.L.]

Read 2ª, and referred to the Examiners.

LONDON NECROPOLIS BILL. [H.L.]

Read 2ª, and referred to the Examiners.

RUSHDEN DISTRICT GAS BILL. [H.L.]

Read 2ª, and referred to the Examiners.

MASS TRANSFERS OF GERMANS.

2.40 p.m.

THE LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER rose to call attention to the mass transfers of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the East of Germany; and to move for Papers. The right reverend Prelate said: My Lords, I rise to call attention to certain proceedings which have not, I think, made any special impression on the public mind but have a considerable bearing on the future of Europe. I have taken some trouble to get at the facts and I have had much help from those who have first-hand information in the territories concerned. I am afraid that the story which I have to unfold is a melancholy one, but for the simple reason that we are one of the three great Powers that were parties to the Yalta and the Potsdam Agreements we cannot free ourselves from the responsibility we have accepted for attention and action.

I would first like to tell you the facts. At Yalta in February last year, Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt and Premier Stalin agreed to certain alterations in the boundaries of Poland. Included in these alterations was a promise to compensate Poland for its loss east of the Curzon Line by substantial concessions to the North and the East, and Danzig, East Prussia and Upper Silesia were specially mentioned. Great stress was laid at the time on the freedom, independence and sovereignty of Poland, and Mr. Churchill, in his speech of February 27, undertook a direct responsibility for

[The Lord Bishop of Chichester.]

the settlement as head of the British Government. The Potsdam Agreement last August registered the necessary consequences of Yalta, and pending a final delimitation of frontiers at the peace conference, East Prussia, all Silesia and Pomerania were handed over to the administration of the Polish State.

This is the point for our consideration this afternoon. The three Governments of Soviet Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States agreed to the removal of all Germans out of all these territories in advance. They also agreed to a similar removal from Czechoslovakia and Hungary. But the governing clause is in Article 13 of the Potsdam Agreement entitled *Orderly Transfer of Geman Populations,* which runs:

"The three Governments, having considered the question in all its aspects, recognize that the transfer to Germany of German populations, or elements thereof remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, will have to be undertaken. They agree that any transfers that take place should be effected in an orderly and humane manner."

The three Governments go on to request the Allied Control Commission to examine the problem with special regard to equitable distribution in the several zones of Germany, to report on the numbers already admitted into Germany and to estimate the time and rate at which further transfers may be effected. In the meantime they request that further transfers be suspended.

In anything that I say this afternoon, I shall not suggest that these three great Governments are themselves conducting expulsions from Poland, Czechoslovakia or Hungary, but what I claim is that all three have a great responsibility of which they cannot divest themselves, both for the fact of the expulsions and for the manner in which they are being carried out. I further beg you to understand that I feel deeply for the terrible sufferings which Poland and Czechoslovakia have endured during the war. Poland in particular is a martyr nation. It is impossible to speak of her to-day without admiration for her courage, without pity for the tragic losses of the flower of her manhood and for the ravaging of her land. I am also aware of the reality of the problem caused by the presence of alien minorities of a defeated nation in a victorious State.

Let me turn to the numbers affected by the expulsion orders. It is very difficult to be precise, and the Government will no doubt check my figures, but the information which I have obtained is as follows: German populations in pre-war Poland west of the Curzon Line, approximately 1,000,000; in East Prussia, West Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia, approximately 9,250,000; in Czechoslovakia, Sudeten Germans, approximately 3,200,000; in Hungary, approximately 500,000—a total approximate figure, if anything on the conservative side, of about 14,000,000 deportable people so far as those countries are concerned.

VISCOUNT SAMUEL: Do you mean West of the Curzon Line, or East?

THE LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER: I beg your pardon. In pre-war Poland, East of the Curzon Line. Thank you; I am very grateful.

It is very difficult to know how many of these 14,000,000 or so have already been transferred into Germany. It is certain that millions had been transferred before the Potsdam Agreement and that more had been transferred by the end of September. Marshal Zukhov, in a statement from his central office in Berlin on October 9, said that already there were 8,000,000 deportees in the Russian zone and that 4500,000 more were expected. Your Lordships will agree that the numbers are vast; indeed, it is a transfer of population without precedent in the history of Europe. There was a Turco-Greek exchange of populations after the first world war which made perhaps the best of a bad job; but it was not a model of either humanity or wisdom, and its repercussions, economic and political, are still with us. Only just over 1,000,000 Greeks were transferred from Turkish territory and, as Sir John Hope-Simpson, who was intimately concerned, has remarked, it involved an appalling amount of misery and hardship.

There has been nothing like the present transfer of population in ancient Asiatic history. This transfer is not simply a handing over of territory, but a root-and-branch removal of immense populations for racial reasons to clear the ground for the new occupiers. It is bad in itself. It involves a denial of human rights and it is extremely difficult to see how to distinguish it in principle from the mass deportations of civilian populations for which

the National Socialist leaders are now on trial as for a war crime at Nuremburg. I know it is urged that some measure of removal from Poland or the Sudetenland was necessary in view of the Czechs' experience with Himmler. I agree that safeguards are necessary, but perhaps the best safeguard is a demilitarized Germany, with genuine democratic Governments in Czecho-slovakia, Poland and the other countries concerned, with political equality and economic security for all without distinction of race.

But be that so or not, in any event we are obliged to consider the ruthlessness and the unmitigated racialism involved in the setting up of these homogeneous national States and the magnitude of the precedent created. Where are the nations to stop if so much is allowed? We have also to consider the incalculable danger to the future peace of Europe created by the flaming national resentment which is bound to arise. But whatever difference of opinion there may be about the policy of the transfer, I think all your Lordships will agree that the method ought to be humane. Mr. Truman, Mr. Attlee (who was then Prime Minster) and Premier Stalin agreed at Postdam that any transfers that took place should be effected in an orderly and humane manner. I should like to ask His Majesty's Government what machinery has been established for securing this, whether any authority representing the three Govemments has been set up to see that it is orderly and humane, what is the result of the examination by the Allied Control Commission as to the equitable distribution in the several zones, and what estimate has the Allied Control Commission made as to the time and rate of further transfers. Unfortunately, there is only too good reason for believing that there is litte order or humanity in the method of the transfer. The Czechs have a better way of presenting their story than others. In *The Times* of January 26 we were told that 1,209 Sudeten Germans, mostly women and children, had begun their transfer to the American zone in cattle trucks, with a liberal allowance of personal belongings. Nothing was heard of compensation for the property they left behind. There is not much humanity in a transfer starting in the dead of winter in cattle trucks, even when those cattle trucks have stoves.

We are not told what are the conditions in which these deportees are awaiting their fate. I have had this week an account sent from Vienna by an old Social Democrat about the condition of the internment camp near Prague. He writes:

> "Long before the formalities of expulsion have been agreed, a great number of Sudeten Germans have been herded together in camps where they slowly perish from famine and disease. In Kladno, near Prague, for instance, thousands of Germans are kept in a camp irrespective of their age or political creed. Their daily 'food' consists of black coffee in the morning potato soup at noon, and black coffee in the evening plus 20 dkg. of bread. Inmates are dying day by day. The half-naked corpses are rolled into coffins and then thrown into mass graves, the empty coffins being taken back for further use. The burial is performed by fellow prisoners, who get a piece of bread and margarine extra for the job and are, therefore, fighting each other for that privilege."

I have plenty of other evidence about the conditions of those being prepared for deportation. All Sudeten Germans are by decree deprived of civic rights; they have no appeal to any Court; their property is nationalized; they are robbed of their homes; payment of pensions and social insurance to them has been stopped; and they have starvation rations. The introduction of unpaid forced labour is rapidly increasing by the decree of September 7; medical aid is severely restricted by hospital rules and the expulsion of doctors; entry is refused to theatres, cinemas, concerts and, for the children, schools. People are obliged to wear white armlets around their left arms and they are obliged to stay within doors from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m.—very much like Hitler's treatment of the Jews. In August, when the transfers were proceeding, they were given only half an hour and sometimes no more than ten minutes' notice to leave their home—not very orderly or humane.

The method adopted by the Poles in the transfer of populations from East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia is no better. I have in my hands the report of a Silesian priest who describes the expropriation, the looting, the arbitrary arrests, the forced labour and the starvation of the Silesian population, but I will content myself with one quotation from a report on the problem of food and maintenance on the continent of Europe which reached me only the other day from the International Red Cross at Geneva. It runs:

[The Lord Bishop of Chichester.]

"The inhabitants of both urban and rural communes were ordered to leave their residences at short notice, each person being allowed to take with him 20 kilos of his belongings. The aged people and the sick were left behind, without medical assistance, nursing facilities or medicaments. All the evacuees assembled on the high road, with their belongings stacked on perambulators, hand carts and other vehicles. There were only a few horse-drawn carts for invalids and the aged or infirm, so that the people themselves had to push or pull the heavily laden vehicles. Belongings, including bags and trunks, bedsteads and bedding, shoes and foodstuffs, kept on disappearing by night and by day. Owing to the steady rainfall there was no possibility of drying clothes and underwear. The luckiest managed to find shelter in barns, cellars or ruined houses; the others remained in the open. Children were born on the roadside, in the most difficult circumstances; villages destroyed, no cattle. Babies are therefore condemned to die; the ditches by the roadside receive the corpses. The aged collapsed, and implored the younger ones to abandon them to their fate. Many who could march no further attempted to board passing trains, but here they soon lost the few possessions they had managed to save. Torn from their native soil, these homeless people are roaming along the high roads, a prey to hunger, exhaustion and disease. Covered with vermin, they strain every nerve to attain their sole aim—a new home. Wherever they seek shelter they are met by point blank refusals. They are sent further on, directed anew, conveyed back again, and then told to retrace their steps."

We all know, of course, that these things happened under the Nazis, but we expected that these things would end with their régime. It appears they are being re-enacted in the case of millions of people.

The last matter raised in this report is their aiming at a new home. Where are they all going? That is a vital point in orderly and humane transfer. I hope that His Majesty's Government will enlighten us on this, and will tell us what the Allied Control Commission is proposing. Is it true, as Field-Marshal Montgomery stated on November 11, that between four and eight million deportees are expected as the British share in their zone as a result of the Potsdam Agreement? Does this accord with the statement of the Allied Control Commission on November 21 that the British zone is receiving one and a half millions from Poland? How is it proposed to fit four million persons into a zone which normally contains 17,000,000, and now, according to Field-Marshal Montgomery, actually contains 20,750,000 inhabitants? Where are they all to be put, when the whole territory is made less industrial and in the great majority of the large towns the great majority of the houses are in ruins? It is a huge task for the Military Government, who are doing such magnificent work in very difficult conditions.

When will these deportations end? Your Lordships will agree that the picture which I have painted is melancholy. There is also the fate of those left behind, who are not deported. For example, three million of the original population in Silesia are said to be in a state of despair, with suicides frequent, with a desire to get out at all costs, and they are being put to forced labour. In Czechoslovakia numbers of deportable people are sent into the interior to do slave labour, so that besides mass expulsions we have the perpetration of a system of slave labour by one or more of the United Nations after Hitler's fall in the centre of Europe. Is this really the wish of the three great Powers? Does this really represent the ideal for which Britain and other free countries fought?

President Benes, on October 28 of last year, speaking to the Provisional National Assembly at Prague, said this:

"We decided to get rid of our Germans by sending them into the Reich. Our Allies everywhere agreed with our point of view in this matter."

In the same speech he went on to say:

"It is obvious that all preparations for the transfer of Germans must be well organized, and that this action must be carried out in a human, not a Nazi-like manner, and in full accordance with our Allies."

I would emphasize those two phrases—"a human, not a Nazi-like manner", and "in full accordance with our Allies." They cover both the policy and the method, and I would again make the claim that a responsibility does rest upon the British Government as a joint partner with the Americans and the Soviet Russian Governments to the Potsdam Agreement, not only for making strong representations, which I am sure they have made, but for intervening through the Allied Control Commission to secure that the transfer, if not ended, shall be orderly and humane. Indeed, as the supremest authorities under whose sanction the agreement was made, and the provisions for the transfer decided, they have, it seems to me, a duty to the world to intervene.

There is one other point to which I wish to call attention. It concerns the provision of room for the Poles from east of the Curzon Line who have to be settled elsewhere. There is some dispute as to their numbers. President Truman gave the figure of 3,000,000, and Mr. Bevin 4,000,000. I believe that both are over-estimates. Recent reports from the Commission for Repatriation, published by Radio Warsaw, said that only 1,356,592 applications for repatriation had been received by the end of November. The whole population of pre-war Poland, including Jews, Ukrainians and White Russians, was 35,000,000. The Poles have lost the flower of their manhood; they have had terrible losses. Their losses through death, deportation, slave labour and so on, due to the war, are estimated at 12,000,000. I am informed that a maximum figure for the present Polish population, including repatriable Poles, is 23,000,000. If that is so, then without any addition of territory Poland proper could re-absorb the repatriated people from the Soviet Union three or even four times over. If that is so, there is no surplus population.

In any case, it is an extraordinary proposal that Poles should be given territory of great dimensions—26 per cent. of the total arable land of Germany, occupied by over nine million persons—for one or three or four million (whatever be the figure) Poles from east of the Curzon Line. It seems to me, and I am sure that it will seem to history, incomprehensible that this part of Germany should have been incorporated into the Polish administration before any decision has been taken by the Peace Conference. Is it the intention to present the Peace Conference with a *fait accompli*? The state of the area is described as pitiful and devastated now to the last degree. What is the purpose? Why turn an industrial and agricultural territory into complete chaos? Why try to concentrate Polish energy here instead of on real Polish soil west of the Curzon Line? Is this the way to protect Poland from war, to counter the war spirit of Germany or to achieve—I am quoting the words of Mr. Churchill—" the establishment and future welfare and security of a strong, independent, homogeneous Polish State "? If the freedom of Poland is, as it must be, more important than the frontiers of Poland, the Potsdam Agreement has surely very badly failed. Apart from what is done to the Germans, apart from the woe inflicted on the body and soul of Europe, it is a most grievous and far-reaching wrong done to the Poles themselves.

I am trying to put before your Lordships a picture of the facts as far as I can learn them, and also to take a stand on the rights of man. I have already asked certain questions of His Majesty's Government as to the principles and the machinery, but there are many other matters on which information is desirable which can only be obtained from a visit to the country. So I would ask His Majesty's Government to consider the sending of a British Parliamentary delegation, with the necessary consents of other Governments, to Poland and Czechoslovakia and all the zones concerned, in order to investigate the conditions in which deportation is being carried out and the arrangements being made for distribution and resettlement. The report of such a delegation would be a document of first-class importance. Again, this is a matter which concerns all the United Nations—not least the small ones. It is fortunate that the United Nations Organization is meeting now. According to their Charter the United Nations are determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women of all nations large and small. I would, therefore, ask His Majesty's Government to move the Economic and Social Council to take the whole question of these transfers of population into their purview, to investigate the position of those dispossessed former citizens of Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and other countries involved, from which expulsions are proceeding or are in contemplation, particularly the case of the former minority citizens of Czechoslovakia, deprived of rights, homes, property and appeal to Courts, and put to forced labour.

I thank your Lordships for the patience which you have shown in listening to the tale I have had to unfold. I hold no brief for the Germans as Germans. My first speech in your Lordships' House, made eight years ago, was for the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution. I honour the Czechs and the Poles as brave and friendly nations deserving a great future.

[The Lord Bishop of Chichester.]
I appeal only for human beings to human beings. We, in Great Britain, once stood alone in a world conflict against tyranny and oppression. Then by the help of our Allies, and the help of God, we prevailed. We are still the champions of human freedom. We must not fail to give a lead to the world in the same great cause to-day. My Lords, I beg to move.

3.16 p.m.

THE EARL OF DARNLEY: My Lords, I am only too glad to come to your Lordships' House to-day to support, if only for a few minutes, the plea which my right reverend friend has made for abatement of the sufferings of the nationals who are now being, or are about to be, transferred from Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Prussia. That plea he has advanced to you, as always, with eloquence and, if I may say so, with Christian fidelity. As the right reverend Prelate told your Lordships, there are two ways of looking at these transfers of population to-day, and he has touched on both of them most ably. The first way is from the point of view of human pity for the actual sufferings undergone on the journey, under conditions of extreme hardship and difficulty, in ice and snow, and packed into cattle trucks, by the old and infirm and the children, many of whom must inevitably perish by the way. The second angle is that of consideration as to what the result of such sufferings is going to be on the future peace of Europe and of the world. I would like, for the few minutes for which I am going to detain your Lordships to-day, to touch upon this second aspect.

At the end of every war, so history tells us, there is always a lot of political manœuvring and the object is always a good one—it is the prevention of a similar outbreak in the future. But I think I can quite justly say that this result has never yet been attained. The method followed is always the same. It consists in the physical weakening of the recent aggressor by various forms of deprivations, of money, of territory, of machinery plants and arsenals and the establishments generally where he can make weapons for war and collect his guns and his troops. It also consists in the grouping of the victors together into different forms of *blocs*—without a " k "—of such difficulty of maintenance as your Lordships have, perhaps, already been able to note since this present conflict ended. All this manœuvring is based on the assumption that the danger to the peace of the future lies solely in the recent aggressors and that the victors are capable of permanent unity and ability to keep the peace.

I venture again for the " *n*th " time to disagree *in toto* with these assumptions. Peace between nations—I say this again, and I am going on saying it—will come when no nation has any reason to wish for war; and in no other way. At Nuremberg the other day there was read an affidavit by a previous War Minister in Germany, Field-Marshal von Blomberg. In it he said that he considered that there were three critical territorial questions confronting Germany after 1919. These were the Polish Corridor, the Ruhr and Memel. He went on:

> " I myself, as well as the whole group of German General Staff officers, believed that these three questions outstanding, among which was the question of the Polish Corridor, would have to be settled some day, if necessary by force of arms. About 90 per cent. of the German people were of the same mind as the officers on the Polish question. A war to wipe out the desecration involved in the creation of the Polish Corridor and to lessen the threat to separated East Prussia, surrounded by Poland and Lithuania, was regarded as a sacred duty, though a sad necessity. This was one of the chief reasons behind the partially secret rearmament which began about ten years ago before Hitler came to power and which was accentuated by the Nazi rule.'

No one could possibly approve of the methods taken to fulfil such a statement of what he called a " sacred obligation," but no one on earth in his senses could deny that it is a true revelation as to why nations make war. The United Nations have said exactly the same thing themselves. In the indictment which they issued the other day against the German warmongers, Item 2 states that one of the causes for their trial at Nuremburg is that " they tried to get back by force what they lost in the last war " or words to that effect.

I venture to say once again that it is as certain as it is possible to be in this life that in the future some new Hitler with another name will urge the Germans to revenge for various things which are taking place to-day, the loss of East Prussia, of the territories in East and West, and to these will certainly be added the evacuation of these Germans to which

the right reverend Prelate has referred this afternoon. The proclamation which this new regenerator will produce will doubtless be adorned by the portraits of past leaders who may have achieved canonization by that time, especially if they get executed as a result of the Nuremburg trial. It is a proven fact that you cannot prevent a nation from making war if it wants to. Take away the contemporary potentialities for making war weapons and they will invent something else. You can see that to-day with the introduction of the atomic bomb. The army of the future may merely be an atomic bomb corps of a few hundred men of a scientific variety clad in suits of lead!

Any proposals made to-day for limitation, suppression or dismemberment are pointers to another war. No one with any sense would either excuse or condone or do anything else but deplore the recent doings of the Germans, Japanese and Italians, but anybody who thinks that such deeds are going to be stopped in the future by any other method except that of bringing the nations concerned into some form of amicable co-operation or that they can remove any tendencies to revenge by suppression, dismemberment and eviction, or punishment or forcible education is just imperilling the future not only of the youth of the world and the age-long era of civilization, but possibly even the existence of the planet itself. Therefore, these evictions of which the right reverend Prelate has spoken of in his melancholy story, are in fact taking their part in forming a new war, so I pray that the Government will do their very best to stop them. I was much moved, as I am sure many of your Lordships were, by a poem in a Sunday paper by the noble Lord, Lord Balfour of Inchrye. It was a message from the spirit of an airman who had gone above and the last verse read as follows:

> "Hello down there! I call again
> Though free from earthly base
> I charge you; banish fear and pain
> From colour, creed and race."

I wish the noble Lord were here to-day, for I believe he would agree with the contentions of the right reverend Prelate and myself.

There is not much time left now for the reversal or cessation of the acts which are now begetting the nucleus of a new war, which will surely accomplish the destruction of human existence as we now know it. There is not much time, for the wheels will soon be deep in the old ruts again. A lot of punishment may be deserved, but punishment is a difficult matter for the human mind to apportion correctly. But punishment should not fairly be meted out either to the old and infirm or to the innocent children either of to-day or of a future generation who must inevitably suffer unimaginable horrors in a new conflict. There is very little information given to the public about these evictions and I hope the noble and learned Lord, who I believe will answer for the Government, will be able to tell the right reverend Prelate and myself that we have taken an unnecessarily gloomy view, that the evictions are far less than was supposed and that there is only a little suffering. I think the public ought to be given more information about this. This question of evictions and also the question of the food situation in Europe seem to be shrouded in what I might call almost a suspicious silence.

But what would be most welcome to-day, far in excess of hearing such details, would be the knowledge that His Majesty's Government see this question in the light of the future of the world's peace; that they are using their best offices to resist any persuasion that may be urging them to agree to a process so perilous for the future of that peace which it is their avowed aim to produce; and that they would be willing to endeavour to get these evictions stopped, even if that does mean an attempt to repeal decisions taken in past conferences. I think that, to-day, such evictions must either be justified or brought to a close.

3.31 p.m.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (LORD JOWITT): My Lords, the Motion which we are discussing is thus phrased: To call attention to the mass transfers of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and the East of Germany; and to move for Papers. To deal with that Motion I have come prepared with all the information which is in the possession of His Majesty's Government, but, except for its closing passages, the speech to which we have just listened bore very little relation to the Motion on the Paper; and the speech of the right reverend Prelate, in so far as he based his animadversions on the boundaries of Poland to-day, the

[The Lord Chancellor.]
provisional boundaries of Poland, equally bore no relation to the Motion on the Paper. I am bound to say that I think it is a little unfortunate that observations of that nature should be made when the Government spokesman, by reason of the form of the Motion, has no opportunity to answer him, and the statements must, therefore, go by default.

With regard to the Motion on the Paper, I shall, as I say, give your Lordships the most complete exposition of the facts in the possession of His Majesty's Government. Let me start by saying this. His Majesty's Government were parties to the Potsdam Agreement. The Potsdam Agreement, as the right reverend Prelate says, recorded the fact that the three Governments recognize that the transfer to Germany of German populations remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary will have to be undertaken. To that decision His Majesty's Government adhere. My Lords, do let us be realists about this thing. We in this country have led a comparatively sequestered and cloistered life. We have not seen our women lined up naked in the snow to decide which of them should, and which of them should not, be sent to the gas chamber. If we are realists about this matter, I believe we shall come to the conclusion that the best chance of peace—I am not talking about punishment at all; I agree with the noble Lord there—in the future of Europe lies in preventing the continuance of German minority populations in those countries.

Let me take one illustration, if I may, from a country I know very well—Czechoslovakia. I honestly believe that if any country really tried to give its German minority population a fair and reasonable chance of assimilation, it was Czechoslovakia. And what happened? Henlein, who posed as being the national leader of the Sudetens, and wanted to maintain his place in the country, was, as we all know now, a mere agent of Hitler. I do think we should be lacking in realism if we were to ask these people to risk the very experiment which proved so disastrous in the past, and therefore, I believe, not on the ground of punishment, but on the ground of future peace, that future peace is best secured by removing the German population, which has proved that it is not digestible or assimilable, back from those countries to Germany. When the right reverend Prelate referred to these things as being bad in themselves—the denial of human rights and analogous to the things we are hearing of at Nuremburg—I think he failed to realize what these people who have suffered in the past must feel with regard to the future. We must realize too that one cannot possibly move populations on this vast scale without considerable hardship and suffering. When the right reverend Prelate referred to that matter, I think he carried us all with him. It is the duty of every one of us to do all we can to see that this necessary transfer is accomplished with the minimum of human suffering.

After the Potsdam Conference, in July, 1945, your Lordships will remember that the Three Powers requested the States concerned, that is, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, to suspend further expulsions pending the examination by the Governments concerned of the report from their representatives on the Control Council. In the case of Czechoslovakia—I think it is fair to say this and I think acknowledgment should be made of the fact—that request was acceded to and expulsions were stopped. When I say "stopped" I mean that, although there may have been some, very few persons were expelled. Equally, it must be admitted that in the case of Poland expulsions were not stopped and, despite repeated representations, continued or at least—I want to be quite fair—a very large number of Germans migrated. It was at that time, during the summer and autumn of 1945, when the request to discontinue expulsions had been made, that the worst sufferings were experienced. The Control Council worked out its plan by November 20. By that time the transfers had died down and they have not since been resumed on any large scale under the terms of the Agreement. Your Lordships will be aware that the Agreement provided for numbers and for the monthly instalments of those numbers. The Control Council's plan has broken down, but that breakdown is not unwelcome because, had that plan been adhered to, very considerable numbers would have been expelled in the months of December and January, whereas it has been recognized, I think, by all concerned that transfers on any considerable scale are quite impracticable during the winter months, and, in fact, can only be

got going in the spring. At the present time, so far as is known, virtually no transfers are taking place.

I will now refer to particular countries. In the case of Poland, under the Control Council plan the Poles were to expel a total of three and a half million Germans from November, 1945, to July, 1946. Two millions of them were to be settled in the Soviet zone, and one and a half millions were to be settled in the British zone. Under the plan the Soviet zone was to accept immediate transfer, but so far as is known to His Majesty's Government, transfers are not yet taking place. The British zone was not obliged to accept transfers until the spring, on account of the fact that, of all the occupied zones in Germany, accommodation in the British zone available for refugees is already stretched to the limit; the British zone of all the zones is the furthest from being self-supporting in the matter of food; our zone suffered far more from bombing, and already had received a large influx of Germans fleeing before the victorious Russian Armies. Already there has been a net increase of some 800,000. But although our obligation to accept these Germans does not begin until the spring of the year, we have agreed to accept 5,000 Germans from Poland daily. This movement has not yet begun, but we are prepared to accept these immigrants as soon as the Poles can arrange their delivery on the frontier of the British and the Russian zones of Germany. We have camps side by side on the inter-zone border, and when we receive the refugees they will be fed, medically examined and sent forward to their destinations in our zone in enclosed and—unless it proves impossible to obtain fuel—heated railway carriages. Meals will be provided on the journey and ration cards for the districts to which the transferees are going will be issued. We should, I say frankly, prefer to use the sea, but we have agreed to take 4,000 of the 5,000 by rail.

In the case of Czechoslovakia, the Control plan provided for the transfer of 2,500,000 Germans, of which 1,750,000 were to be received in the American zone and 750,000 in the Russian zone. Transfers were to have begun in December, and had they been carried through 15 per cent. of the total—that is, 375,000 persons—would have been moved in December. But although this movement has begun it has been only on a small scale and this situation is likely to continue until the end of March. Both the occupying authorities in Germany and the Czechoslovak authorities realized that at this time of year a large-scale transfer is impossible without inflicting considerable hardship, and that more time is needed for the elaborate preparations which will be involved. The main transfers therefore will not begin until the spring. That means that the spread over, which was December to July, will last longer, but that, I think, is all to the good. In the meantime we are advised that the conditions in the transit camps in Czechoslovakia are regarded as not unsatisfactory.

With regard to Hungary, the Control plan provided for the transfer of 500,000 Germans from Hungary to the American zone. It seems likely that somewhat less than this total will be transferred, and here again in order that the proper arrangements can be made, transfers have been postponed. Very few persons have so far been transferred from Hungary. British officers who attended to see the departure of the first train of emigrants, reported that conditions were on the whole orderly and humane.

Let me now say a word or two about the responsibility of His Majesty's Government. I need hardly say that we shall do our best to see that, so far as the operation lies within our control, these necessary transfers are carried through in as humane a manner as is possible, to reduce to the lowest possible degree suffering which will do no good to anybody, which may do much harm and which is revolting to all of us. In Hungary, the Soviet Chairman of the Allied Control Council has proposed that the three controlling Powers should ensure, by meeting together, that the transfers are carried out at the Hungarian end in an orderly and humane manner and we very much welcome that proposal. In Czechoslovakia, the Czech Government have thoughout cooperated to the best of their ability with the Allied Council. We feel confident that the Czech Government will do all they can to ensure humane treatment, and we think it probable that they will gladly allow our representatives in that country to observe the process. In Poland we have not so far been able to observe the process of the transfers from that end, and it seems unlikely that we shall

[The Lord Chancellor.]

be given any such opportunity. Furthermore, we ourselves cannot be responsible for resettlement in zones other than our own. We receive reports, and the reports indicate that the conditions for Germans remaining in Poland are bad. It is fair to add that the reports also indicate that the conditions for the Poles are far from good. It is for that reason that we have offered, before our due date, to accept the daily number of 5,000, rather than see them exposed to the rigours of three or four more months in Poland.

Now I come to the specific questions which the right reverend Prelate asked. He asked: What is the estimated number of deportable Germans from Poland, including the new territory, and from Czechoslovakia and Hungary? From Czechoslovakia it is 2,500,000; from Hungary 500,000; and from Poland, including her new territory, the figure may be as high as 10,000,000 but it must be borne in mind that probably more than half that total have already got to Germany, very many of them by voluntary evacuation before the end of the war. Then the right reverend Prelate asked what is the machinery for carrying out the agreement that any transfers would be effected in an orderly and humane manner. There is no international machinery for carrying out transfers or for supervising their execution. The arrangements are left to be worked out directly between the Government of the expelling country and the authorities of the zone in Germany to which the immigrants are to be expelled. But it is considered that, except perhaps in the case of Poland, our representative in the country concerned will have the opportunity of observing the manner in which the transfers are in fact to be executed.

The right reverend Prelate next asked what is the situation of those Germans who have not yet been deported. In Czechoslovakia, a large proportion of the Germans to be expelled have been assembled in transit camps, and the reports we receive indicate that their conditions in these camps are tolerable. In Hungary most of the Germans have not yet been removed from their own dwellings, but those who have are likewise in transit camps, and the rest will be put through these camps as the move progresses. The situation of Germans in Hungary not yet transferred is believed to be satisfactory. In Poland, as I have said to your Lordships, the same cannot be said, and conditions for the Germans there are undoubtedly bad.

The next question is, what is the present result of the examination by the Allied Control Commission of the equitable distribution of the deported Germans in the several zones? If the right reverend Prelate will look at the report of the Control Commission, which has not been altered—they adhere to their figures—he will find all the information which I can now give him. To what extent have the Germans already entered Germany from Poland? This is hard to estimate. From Poland, probably more than half the Germans have already entered Germany; from Czechoslovakia, probably less than one-tenth; and from Hungary, virtually none. Then I am asked about Marshal Zhukov's estimate that 8,000,000 Germans had arrived in the Russian zone by October 9, 1945. His Majesty's Government have no means of checking those figures; nor indeed have we a record of the statement. We should have thought it unlikely that as many as 8,000,000 Germans had entered the Russian zone by October 9, although half that number might well have done so.

Then I am asked about Field-Marshal Montgomery's statement. He is supposed to have said on November 11—I have not seen the statement—that between 4,000,000 and 8,000,000 are to be expected from the Russian zone and Poland and Czechoslovakia in the British zone. It is not true that so many Germans are to be expected in the British zone. Adding together the net immigration from the Russian zone and the number of Germans from Poland transferred to the British zone under the November plan, we do not think that the total of newcomers should be much more than 2,500,000. When is it expected that the deportations will come to an end? Under the November plan the transfers should have been completed by July, 1946, but, owing to the fact that transfers have been virtually suspended during the winter months, it is quite certain they will be spread over a longer period. However, I am sure the right reverend Prelate will agree with me that on balance it is a great gain that we should have suspended them during the winter months.

On the question of a visit by a delegation of British members of Parliament, we really cannot assume responsibility for

transfers except in respect of our own zone. For instance, transfers from Czechoslovakia to the American and Russian zones are not the responsibility of this country, except that this country is a member of the Allied Control Commission. In that capacity we will certainly do all we can, but I could not, although I would be very glad to consider the matter, hold out much hope in these circumstances of a visit by British Members of Parliament. What is the responsibility of the United Nations? The United Nations is responsible, under its Charter, for promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and the Economic and Social Council, under the General Assembly, are charged with the task of implementing those provisions.

I would point out to the right reverend Prelate that the whole object of these transfers—a policy which none of us like, because we know it involves hardship, but a policy which most of us believe to be inevitable—is to prevent the existence of a hard core of German minorities which connot be assimilated. Surely it is far better to do that, and to give peoples a fresh start without these minorities in them, than to do what the League of Nations tried to do after the last war—namely, to have some kind of international supervision over minorities living in a different State. I venture to think history has shown that that has failed.

I have not embarked on the large question of the frontiers of Poland—what Poland's frontiers should be and why Poland has had these provisional frontiers fixed; neither have I embarked on the large question of the causation of war, to which the noble Earl referred. But I think I have, in regard to the question on the Paper, given your Lordships all the information which is in the possession of His Majesty's Government. Though I say frankly that the matter is one which causes grave anxiety in certain respects, yet I can assure your Lordships that day by day His Majesty's Government, by example, by advice and precept, will do everything we can to lessen the hardships which, unhappily, in a matter of this sort, must be caused.

3.57 p.m.

THE EARL OF PERTH: My Lords, I apologise to the right reverend Prelate for not being in my place at the beginning of his speech. I think that those noble Lords who oppose the transfer of populations are not really serving the cause of ultimate peace. Those of us who believe in it (and I am a firm believer in the necessity for it) wish, above all, that these transfers shall be carried out under the most humane conditions possible and with such mitigation of suffering, which we all detest and deplore, as is feasible. We had, happily, an assurance from the noble and learned Lord Chancellor that His Majesty's Government were doing all that lay in their power to give effect to this desire which we cherish.

I would like to put to the right reverend Prelate whether he really believes that the continuance of these minorities in countries of different race and different mentality, countries which have suffered terribly, is really desirable. I put to him another point. Are these people going to settle down to a happy existence in countries such as Czechoslovakia and Poland? I believe it is in the interests of the minorities themselves that they should be transferred to their mother country. I happen to have seen a great deal of these German minorities, and I believe you cannot get the Germanic idea out of their minds—namely, that they are the master race and are going to remain so.

Your Lordships probably remember the transfer of population between Greece and Turkey. All transfers of population cause intense misery, that cannot be helped. But if anybody asked me whether that transfer was advantageous to the people concerned, I would say that in about four years the region to which they were transferred became the most prosperous region in Greece and Greece became a united nation, for it got rid of people it did not want and got people it did want. It is with that example in mind that I support most strongly the principle of transfers of population, provided always that humanity is exercised in the carrying out of that very difficult task.

3.59 p.m.

THE LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER: My Lords, I should like first of all to thank the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack for his reply and for the fullness of the answers which he gave to the series of questions I put to him, of which I had given him notice. I am a little surprised that he should take such vigorous

[The Lord Bishop of Chichester.]
exception to my allusion, in a small corner of my speech, to the frontiers of Poland.

After all, as I explained to the noble and learned Lord, my remarks were founded on Article 13 of the Potsdam Agreement, which in itself depends on this great proposed change of frontier. When you are dealing with the effects, or alleged effects, there is something to be said for an allusion to the cause. I was mainly concerned, however, with the transfers themselves, and with the conditions in which the transferable people now are and under which the transfer takes place. When my speech is read to-morrow, it will be seen that I was more concerned with the details of the transfer than with anything else.

My noble friend asked me whether I thought that it was possible to leave the Sudeten Germans as a minority in Czechoslovakia or as another minority in Poland. The answer to that requires a very considerable background. It is fair to remind the noble Earl that the conditions under which the Sudeten Germans were incorporated in the Czech State were quite different from the conditions under which Slovakia was incorporated. It is also fair to point out that there are many people of high authority who in the period between the wars maintained that the Sudeten Germans were not getting their economic and political rights in the same way as the other minorities in Czechoslovakia. It is also, perhaps, fair to remind the noble Lord that when it was suggested to President Masaryk that he should deport these minorities, which have resided in that part of Czechoslovakia for centuries, he absolutely repudiated embarking upon such a barbarous policy; so that if I err, I err in good company.

I was concerned, however, with the conditions under which the transferred persons are now living, and under which the transfer is made. I am not quite so optimistic about the satisfactory conditions in which the Germans detained in Czechoslovakia are now living, though I have not all the sources of information which are open to the noble and learned Lord. I gave a good deal of evidence, as the noble and learned Lord might expect me to give in arguing the case, which goes to show the denial of human rights to persons now living in Czechoslovakia.

I am very glad, however, to note two or three things which the noble and learned Lord said. He did accept a measure of responsibility on behalf of the British Government. That responsibility is a tripartite responsibility so far as the Allied Control Commission is concerned. He also quoted with approval a move made by the Hungarian Government in asking that the three Powers should actually inspect the proposed transfer from Hungary. That in itself is a good precedent for other transfers. I was also very glad to find how warm his sympathy was towards the hardships of which I tried to draw a picture, and which I do not think that I exaggerated, under which these people are now being transferred. However, I do not wish to detain your Lordships any longer; you have been patient enough in all conscience. I thank the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack again. I hope that he will continue to give his study to these matters, and look into some of the points that I have mentioned. I am glad that he does not altogether rule out the possibility of a Parliamentary Delegation, in spite of its difficulties. I ask leave to withdraw my Motion.

Motion for Papers, by leave, withdrawn.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AND THE LOAN.

4.6 p.m.

LORD BEAVERBROOK had the following Notice on the Paper: To ask His Majesty's Government how they reconcile the statement of the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs in the House of Lords on January 23, 1946, that the projected commercial conference had no relation whatever to the American loan, with the statement of the President of the Board of Trade in another place on 12th December, 1945, that the loan and the Commercial Proposals are " all interdependent . . . all essential parts of the whole scheme ", and the statement of Mr. Vinson, United States Secretary to the Treasury, on 24th January, 1946, that, as an additional consideration for the loan, Britain has agreed with the United States on the principles that should be followed by the proposed International Trade Organization; and to move for Papers.

The noble Lord said: My Lords, it is my hope that I have not misled the House in any of my speeches on Bretton Woods,

the Loan agreement and the commercial proposals. I am very conscious of the danger of speaking without reference to a text, but I do not think that I have blundered so far. Several statements made by me, however, have been denied, and it is my intention to clear up all statements and statistics that are questioned, or to make an adequate apology to the House for misleading it. There was such an issue on Wednesday last between the Secretary of State for the Dominions and myself. Speaking on agriculture, I declared that the commercial proposals inflicted upon our agricultural industry a limitation of production. We are required to confine our production to a limited output not exceeding our pre-war production, or some other basis termed "the previous representative period." The noble Viscount replied that the Government's policy was price stabilization. We were talking on two different issues; I addressed myself to limitation of production—the old restriction policy to which we are so accustomed—and he spoke about Government policy for State purchase and subsidy, directed to the stabilization of prices in Great Britain.

However, it is not the purpose of my Motion to-day to return to these issues. I am concerned with the charge of misrepresentation directed against me by the noble Viscount. No doubt he meant innocent misrepresentation, but it is necessary to clear up the issue. On January 23 (Column 1084 of *Hansard*) he said this:

"... so far as this commercial conference is concerned, notwithstanding what the noble Lord has said, that it had no relation whatever to the negotiations for the loan. The loan was not agreed to or discussed with this as a condition. That is an entirely truthful, honest statement. This was not a price for the loan; it had not relation to it."

On December 12 last Mr. Marlowe in another place addressed a question to Sir Stafford Cripps. His question was this:

"May I get this point clear, because I am certainly not clear about it? Could we be told whether acceptance of these proposals is a condition of the loan or not? The right honourable and learned gentleman has referred to them as a basis for discussion, but it has not been made clear whether these have been taken into consideration as a condition of receiving the loan, or whether they are quite independent, and whether we are bound to accept these proposals before we get the money."

Sir Stafford Cripps answered:

"They are not quite independent. They are dependent, in this sense, that both we and the Americans desire to come to a conclusion about Article VII at the same time as we were concluding Lend-Lease and all the other matters and the loan, and they are all interdependent. We cannot, at this stage draw out and stick to two of them and drop the third."

The third being the commercial proposals. Mr. Marlowe put another question. He said:

"If we were to say 'No' to these proposals, should we get the loan or not?"

Sir Stafford answered:

"I have just said that we cannot draw out from any of these agreements and leave the other two, or whatever it may be, standing. They are all essential parts of the whole scheme."

Then there is the statement of Mr. Vinson, United States Secretary to the Treasury. Speaking in Virginia on the 24th January, the day after the delivery of the speech in this House by the noble Viscount, the Secretary of State, Mr. Vinson said—and here I quote from the hand-out of the Treasury in Washington—

"Repayment of the loan and interest is not all the consideration or benefit which the United States receives under this financial agreement. Britain promises in addition to repay the loan with interest to remove currency restrictions, to avoid trade controls which would discriminate against American products, and on top of this Britain has agreed with the United States on the principles that should be followed by the proposed International Trade Organization to improve world trade practices."

That is, of course, the commercial proposals. I do not wish to labour my complaint. It is easy enough, as I know full well, to make an error in debate, particularly when the Secretary of State does not slavishly follow his manuscript like so many of us do. I quite understand and in moving for Papers I hope to have the opportunity on this occasion of withdrawing my Motion with good grace. I would like to avoid the usual nonsense of declaring the Minister's explanation unsatisfactory and, at the same time, declining to go to a Division. I beg to move.

4.14 p.m.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS (VISCOUNT ADDISON): My Lords, I am sure that we shall all feel confident that the noble Lord, whatever phrases he may use, will withdraw his Motion in a graceful manner.

[Viscount Addison.]

On that, I am sure, our expectations will most certainly be fully justfied. I would like to remind the House once more of what I said. The noble Lord has quoted me, but in order to make the matter clear from my point of view I will read the passage again. It appears in Column 1084 of the *Hansard* Report for January 23:

"I would like to say, so far as this commercial conference is concerned, notwithstanding what the noble Lord has said, that it had no relation whatever to the negotiations for the loan. The loan was not agreed to or discussed with this as a condition. That is an entirely truthful, honest statenent. This was not a price for the loan; it had no relation to it."

That statement stands as true to-day as when I made it. It is an entirely correct statement.

May I now just refer, if the noble Lord will allow me, to what he said? I take it that the noble Lord's point is that the commercial agreement was a sort of price for the loan.

LORD BEAVERBROOK: The proposals.

VISCOUNT ADDISON: Wait a minute! Let us say a consideration for the loan. I will read what the noble Lord said. It appears in column 1075. Referring to the United States authorites the noble Lord says:

"But they say: 'Sign here now. Sign here for Bretton Woods. Sign there for the commercial proposals.' And then becomes apparent the full meaning of this loan from the United States — this borrowing of £1,000,000,000 at 1.65 or 2 per cent. interest. We agree in consideration of the loan (1) that duties will be reduced; (2) that Imperial Preferences will be wiped out; and (3) that agriculture—that is agriculture in Britain—shall be limited to a production comparable, in all probability, to the pre-war output or at most to 10 per cent. in excess of the pre-war production."

It was in reply to that group of statements that mine was made. And I say—to use the noble Lord's own words—that the loan was not negotiated on condition that duties will be reduced. It was not negotiated on condition that Imperial preferences will be wiped out. It was not negotiated on condition that British agriculture will be reduced. None of those considerations entered into the discussions at all. We would never have consented to a loan on those terms. Of course not.

But the noble Lord, quite rightly, wishes to know more clearly, if he can, the meaning of what I said in relation to what others have said. Of course, I am not responsible for what others say, but I do recognize how important it is that the statements should be in accord. I am responsible for what I said to the House. I have read it, and I say that it is correct. It is very easy to quote, shall I say "in bits," I would refer to the noble Lord's question. He quotes some words from an answer by Sir Stafford Cripps. As, he puts them, they are to the effect that the loan and the Commercial proposals are all inter-dependent . . . all essential parts of the whole scheme. It is, obviously true that, if the commercial agreements enabled us to do trade on a better scale than we did before, we should be more easily able to pay interest on the loan. The purpose of entering into a commercial agreement was to help to improve international trade; and, so far as international trade is improved, of course it is easier to pay money that is due on the loan. But that is quite another matter from suggesting that this commercial agreement with these implications was a condition of the loan. I can assure the noble Lord—and I, myself, was on the Committee that dealt with these negotiations for the loan from start to finish—that never at any time was the loan conditional upon the acceptance of this commercial agreement or upon anything outside.

Now I come to Sir Stafford Cripps. He said:

"They are not quite independent. They are dependent in this sense, that both we and the Americans desire to come to a conclusion about Article VII"—

that is the reduction of trade barriers—

"at the same time as we were concluding Lend-Lease and all the other matters and the loan, and they are all inter-dependent. We cannot at this stage draw out and stick to two of them and drop the third."

Later he said:

". . . we cannot draw out from any of these agreements and leave the other two or whatever it may be, standing. They are all essential parts of the whole scheme."

Now what he said was quite correct, and it does not in the least conflict with what I said. I was referring to the negotiations applying to the loan agreement. Of course the better we can do in all these international matters the better able we shall be to pay the loan. In that sense, these things are all inter-dependent. But my

statement was, and is, that the negotiations for the loan were on their own, and were not made conditionally on these other matters.

Now I would refer to the noble Lord's quotation from the statement made by Mr. Vinson, the United States Secretary to the Treasury, on January 24 of this year. I quote:

"As an additional consideration for the loan Britain has agreed with the United States"—

and so on. I have not received a full report of Mr. Vinson's speech, but I am taking the quotation I am going to read to the House from the *Daily Express*, which I am sure would quote anything from Mr. Vinson's speech which might be appropriate to this contention. I think that is a fair way of putting it. I am reading from the *Daily Express* of January 25. It says:

"On the top of this (repayment of the loan with interest and removal of currency restrictions and trade controls which would discriminate against American products) she (the U.K.) has agreed with the U.S. on the principles that should be followed by the proposed international trade organization to improve world trade practices."

I looked for the particular words quoted in the question, namely, the words "as an additional consideration." That is to say, it was a consideration of the loan, but I cannot find them in any report of Mr. Vinson's speech. They are not even in the report given in the *Daily Express*. But of course they are the vital words. They are the words that matter, and that justify my contention. It was not a "consideration." They were separate negotiations—both of them, I am happy to say, fruitful.

Of course I cannot help but wonder—if you will allow a little rejoinder on this loan—if the noble Lord really adheres to what he said. I was going to cut it out and paste it on a bit of paper for the House, but I discovered it was spread so widely over the *Daily Express* of January 24, on the front page and on the back, that I found that, if I cut it out, there would be nothing of the paper left. So I thought I had better do the best I can and bring the whole paper. What the noble Lord has said and contended—what is really the case between us—is this, and I will quote the spicy bit. It says, that the Americans instructed us to:

"Sign here now. Sign here for Bretton Woods. Sign there for the commercial proposals."

Then there is a long piece about the decline of British agriculture. Well, I read that, and I could not help thinking of that verse from Omar. I wondered if the noble Lord gave it the attention it deserved. Your Lordships will remember the verse:

"The moving finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on: nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it."

I cannot but think that if the noble Lord reflected over this description of these transactions, he would be glad to wash it out. At all events, I do not think it is particularly useful to take little pieces from what different speakers have said. As I have been reminded, a very appropriate person can quote Scripture for his purposes sometimes, if he likes to take the proper bits, and truth is many-sided. I think the right thing to claim and to do is to take what is on record as a whole, and not to pick out odd sentences or phrases in order to see wherein my statement and that of the President of the Board of Trade are different. If anyone reads them as a whole I am sure he will see that they are in accord. I do not think I said anything incorrect and I adhere to it all.

4.27 p.m.

LORD BEAVERBROOK: My Lords, the Secretary of State has said that truth is many-sided. It is indeed. If his statement in *Hansard* is an entirely truthful and honest statement it is to be approved by everyone. The contention I made was that the loan was negotiated on condition that the commercial proposals should form part of the bargain and that is the evidence given by Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Vinson. The evidence given by the noble Lord in this House is something to the contrary and now he defends himself by saying that truth is many-sided. I find that the noble Lord's explanations in this House are always interesting because we always differ. He has served with no less than four Parties. He was in the Liberal Party, then in the National Liberal Party, then he went back again to the Liberal Party and now he has gone to the Socialists.

VISCOUNT ADDISON: No.

LORD BEAVERBROOK: After all, he stood as a Liberal after Lloyd George's Government. He has served four Parties. More than that, he has served the Tories

[Lord Beaverbrook.]
on occasions. He was Chairman of the Agricultural Marketing and Propaganda Reorganisation Commission for Eggs and Poultry. He was Minister of Munitions. When I spoke of scrap the other day he thought that scrap was some kind of second-hand machine. Half our steel output depends on scrap, but the noble Lord, who had been Minister of Munitions, thought that scrap represented some kind of second-hand machine. When he wrote a book he wrote in praise of scrap, but the other day he spoke against scrap. He was himself made the Chairman of the Agricultural Marketing and Reorganization Commission on the very eve of a day, or a few days after, the day that a duty was put on poultry. In this House a few days ago he denied that there was any benefit or value in agricultural tariffs. He was serving the Minister of Agriculture, when a quota was placed on poultry products 50 per cent. for us and 50 per cent. for foreigners. Now he denies that quotas are good, except in the case of raspberries. He is representing so many different viewpoints that he has to change them when he changes his Party. The noble Lord is always changing his own tale in politics. For myself, I always enjoy them like a merry-go-round at a fun fair. And now I beg leave to withdraw my Motion.

Motion for Papers, by leave, withdrawn.

WRITTEN ANSWERS

WAR GRATUITIES TO FOREIGN NATIONALS

THE EARL OF MANSFIELD asked His Majesty's Government if they will state the position, country by country, in regard to the payment of war gratuities to foreign nationals of the following countries, who have served, or are still serving, in His Majesty's Forces:—Norway, Poland, France, The Netherlands, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and any other allied State that had nationals serving in His Majesty's Forces; Denmark and any neutral State that had nationals serving in His Majesty's Forces, including the Latin - American States; enemy nationals who, being regarded as reliable, were permitted to serve in His Majesty's Armed Forces, or in the Pioneer or Labour Corps.

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (LORD NATHAN): Foreign nationals of any country who were accepted for, and who actually served in the British Forces, qualify for war gratuity at the same rates and under the same conditions as British personnel, and the gratuities are paid from British Funds in the usual way. But in some cases in the R.A.F., foreign nationals—namely, Belgians, Dutch and Czechs, although technically commissioned or enlisted into His Majesty's Forces for purposes of convenience, were in fact accepted for service in special units with their own national titles, and their pay and allowances were met, either at once or ultimately, from the funds of the allied nation concerned. In such cases His Majesty's Government is not concerned with the assessment or payment of war gratuity.

HOSPITAL DOMESTIC STAFFS.

THE EARL OF MANSFIELD asked His Majesty's Government if they are aware of the grave shortage of domestic staff existing to-day in many civil hospitals; if they are also aware that labour exchanges are refusing such hospitals "Priority" in obtaining staff, and offering them only "Preference"; that as the exchanges are usually unable to supply all the staff required even by those who are on the "Priority" list, the offer of "Preference" is entirely useless; if instructions will be given to labour exchanges that all hospitals are to be in future on the "Priority" list; and what other steps the Government propose to take to improve the present position.

LORD NATHAN: I am aware of the current shortage of hospital domestic staff, and my right honourable friend the Minister of Labour and National Service is doing his best to remedy the situation. It is not the case, as the noble Lord suggests, that the employment exchanges are refusing the hospitals a priority which is accorded to other vacancies. All hospital domestic vacancies are eligible for the highest priority in the supply of labour, and of about 10,000 outstanding vacancies for women hospital domestics at the present time, roughly 5,000 have in fact been accorded this priority. Local circumstances have to be taken into account, however, and it would defeat the object

of the priority scheme without leading to any additional workers being placed in the hospitals if this priority were automatically accorded to every vacancy that is notified.

The number of women placed by the exchanges in hospital domestic employment has in fact increased from an average of less than 3,000 per month in the early part of 1945 to over 3,800 per month in the last three months, and over 90,000 men and women have been placed in hospital domestic employment during the last two years. Unfortunately the labour turnover has been not far short of the gross intake during this period, but as the noble Lord will be aware, the Government has recently taken steps in conjunction with both the employers' and workers' representatives to make conditions of employment for hospital domestic workers more attractive, and proposals for revised wage rates are at the present time under consideration by the newly constituted National Joint Council. It is hoped that as the result of these measures the task of the employment exchanges in providing the hospitals with an adequate domestic staff will be greatly facilitated.

House adjourned at half past four o'clock.