

control. in the economic field, of matters which no longer fall appropriately within the limits of small and separate nations. These topics include inter-state commerce, transport, and control of the heavy industries. Apart from economic reasons, the last two—and particularly the heavy industries on which munition-making capacity depends—must be dealt with on a Continental basis for military reasons.

Importance Outside Europe

The Great Powers, and all those outside Europe who have been involved in the World War, are entitled to ask Europe to put her house in order in these three respects; for the settlement in Europe will be a major factor in world peace. These questions mainly concern Europeans themselves. But the organisation which comes into being in Europe will be an integral part of any

world organisation, and is, therefore, of vital importance to everybody.

There are various ways in which such a European authority could do what Upton Sinclair hopes to achieve. It might, with the technical and financial help of the Great Powers, set up a public corporation to take over the vital parts of the Nazi economic octopus. In view of the national interests involved, its board should be representative, as well as technically expert. Alternatively, the authority might lay down rules governing interstate cartels. These organisations would be a looser form of association, but it would still be possible to use them to assist and guide the decentralisation of European industry. Indeed, it might well be that different methods would be applied to heavy industries, to financial combines, and to commercial associations.

These are, however, details many of which cannot now be settled. What can be done now is to begin to plan a political organisation, within which schemes for adjusting or remodelling the economic integration of Europe can go forward. Otherwise we shall quickly find ourselves bogged down in the muddles and complications involved in trying to fit the broken pieces of Europe into their own little boxes, and all enthusiasm and hope will evaporate in a series of wrangles about frontiers, constitutions, and restitution.

Some may dismiss any suggestion for unifying Europe as Utopian. But a mere return to the past will be for the people of Europe arid and unsatisfying. A plan that offers Europe a hope of economic betterment is essential, and it is to be hoped that those who have the responsibility have been getting down to the practical job of devising one.

First Break Up Germany

"This Time We Have Got To Be Tough," argues—



ROBERT BOOTHBY, M.P.

SINCLAIR says we can either break up this great industrial empire and set out a multiplicity of small competing enterprises; or set it to making plenty and comfort for the peoples of Central Europe for the next thousand years. Alas, the choice is not quite as easy as that. You cannot solve the political problems of Europe overnight by the simple process of ignoring them. You cannot abolish national sovereignty by decree. The countries which are liberated from the German yoke will demand freedom and rights of their own. What they surrender to any international authority will have to be surrendered voluntarily, and because they are convinced that is in their own national interest to do so. For this reason, I consider that a lot of Hitler's eggs will have to be unscrambled as fast as possible, so that the creation of a "Free-state" on the lines suggested by Sinclair is an unrealisable dream.

First things first. How are we going to deal with a conquered Germany, from the military and political point of view? At the risk of shocking some of my

readers, I am going to suggest that, this time, we have got to be tough—very tough indeed.

"The Greatest Mistake at Versailles"

It took the rest of the world four years to bring Bismarck's empire to its knees, for the Germans of the south were dazzled by the glitter and success of the Hohenzollern dynasty, and fought well. But the thing was never properly integrated, and the greatest mistake the Allies made at Versailles was not to break it up into its component parts. If, for instance, we had allowed the Bavarians to restore their king, and with him their national pride and culture, Hitler would never have been able to set out from Munich on that terrible pilgrimage which welded the whole of Germany into the most formidable military and industrial unit the world has yet seen.

I do not agree with H. G. Wells that small sovereign States are the curse of humanity. Before the outbreak of this war, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Switzerland were amongst the most civilised, advanced, and progressive nations in the world. I do agree that modern transport and productive capacity impose upon humanity the necessity of large-scale organisation which cannot be confined within national boundaries.

One thing we must never again forget—that peace without power is a mirage. And, in the modern world, power must be unchallenged in the area in which it is exercised, and directly related to the real and permanent interests of those who exercise it. Any settlement in Eastern Europe which is not underwritten by Soviet Russia will be worth precisely nothing. The same thing applies to ourselves, and to France, in the West. Foch and Clemenceau have been proved right. We stand on the Rhine, or not at all. Only a sense of absolute security will induce the victorious powers to confide their ultimate right to settle disputes by force of arms to an International Court. But there is no reason why this should not come, in the course of time, if the correct solutions to the immediate problems which confront us are found.

In the meantime paper leagues and constitutions will be very much worse than useless. And we must realise that it is upon a continuation of the Grand Alliance between Great Britain, Russia, and the United States that the freedom and safety of every other nation, large or small, will for long depend. Our duty is not to ignore the existence of political (and therefore military) power in the world, or to try to escape its responsibilities (as we did before the war), but to see that it is effectively exercised, and directed to good ends. As for Germany, I do not believe she can be "re-educated" by anybody except Germans, or anything except experience. The removal of the Prussian power may teach her, in the course of time, that the revival and reconstruction of provincial autonomy, on a federal basis, holds out the best hope for the future. Meanwhile the teeth must be out, and the claws cut.



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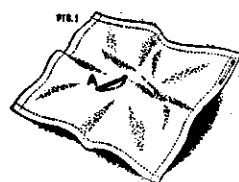
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