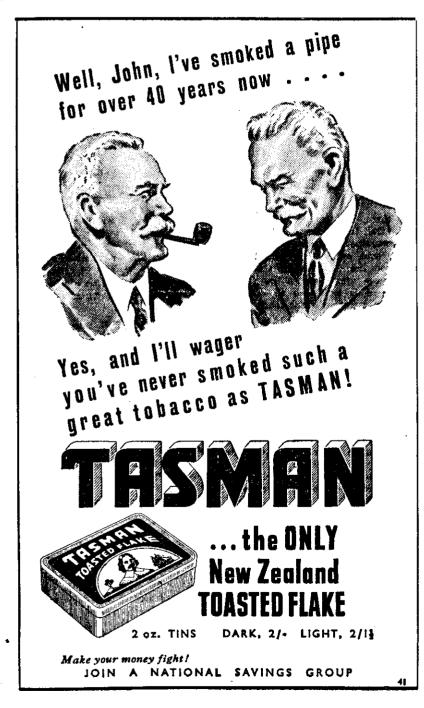


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WHAT HAVE I TO GAIN?-

7 HEN the last war came upon us, I was a boy of 20 or so, I am now a man of 46. Of the 26 years which have passed since 1914, six have been years of war, and 20 of them have been years overshadowed by the fear of war. To me, the Peace Treaty which ended the last war, brought no assurance of continu- organisation of Germany's forces, but ing peace. For that Treaty was neither one thing nor the other. It neither destroyed Germany nor whole logic of Nazism involves condid it appease Germany. It was tinual war, war without restraint, withneither a generous peace of reconciliation nor a harsh Carthaginian of the conquest of the planet. peace of permanent repression. If it had been the first, the German there any assurance that we shall not and British peoples might have get the repetition of what happened found it possible to live at peace with each other. If it had been the second, the rise of Hitlerism might have been prevented. It was neither, and so we fell between the two stools.

The Decline of Europe

Ever since 1920, we have had to watch the slow decline of Europe, the steady disintegration of international good faith and security, the steady and inexorable rise of the power of evil in the world. The life of Europe over these twenty years was a series of convulsions, each one of which left Europe more unsettled, more uneasy, and more insecure than before. When the final crash came, and we knew that all the concessions, and all the efforts at appeasement which had been made, could not save the peace, there is a sense in which war came almost as a relief after the long years of uncertainty and anxiety.

Now, I do not want to live through another twenty years like that. I do not want my sons to live their lives in such a world. I do not want them to produce sons who will live in a similar worldtheir activities crippled, their horizons limited, and their skies darkened by the overhanging clouds of impending war. And so I say that the first thing I want is the assurance for me, my children, and my children's children, of enduring and abiding peace.

If Germany Wins

Can we hope to gain this? Well, I am plain that if Germany wins this war there will be no assurance of peace anywhere in the world, except perhaps the peace of the grave. The truth is that the Nazi philosophy is at bottom a philosophy of never-ending war, Each conquest is the jumping-off ground for further conquests. Each land over-run is a base to be organised and exploited for the next foray. Each people brought into slavery provides raw material for bringing yet another people into the same slavery. For Hitler and Hitlerism the sky is the limit. Once this island had passed under the German yoke, there might be a short interval for re-

★In this talk, reprinted from the English "Listener," W. J. BROWN, General Secretary of the British Civil Service Clerical Association, speaks of what the ordinary man and woman may hope to gain by a British victory

then the march would be resumed. Against America? Against Russia? Who knows? But resumed it would be. The out respite, and without end, this side

But suppose we beat Germany, is after the last war? I think there is. There is an old Eastern adage which runs as follows:

- 'If thine enemy deceive thee once, blame him;
- If he deceive thee twice, blame thyself and him:
- If he deceive thee a third time, blame thyself.

Twice in our lifetime Germany has calculatedly launched war against the civilised world. Twice it has flung millions upon millions of people into danger and suffering and death. Twice it has interrupted the ordered evolution of the world. It is in my bones that European civilisation, this time, please God, permanently reinforced by America, will not, cannot, and dare not, fail to make arrangements to guarantee continuing peace when this war is

Fear of Economic Insecurity

What is the second thing I want, for myself and for all men? It is embraced in the two words-economic security. After the fear of war, the thing that darkens most of the minds of men is the fear of economic insecurity. I do not want a great deal of money. the basic needs of life-food, shelter, clothing, fuel-have been met; and when there is a sufficient surplus to permit of reasonable amenities-tobacco, books and the like-the value of money thereafter sharply declines. You cannot live in more than one house at a time, eat more than one meal at a time, wear more than one suit of clothes at a time. But when a man is willing to work and to give his best to the community, it is socially wrong and morally indefensible that he should not be assured of a reasonable basic standard of life and a share in the reasonable amenities of life.

Can we hope, if we win this war, that this conception of economic security shall be woven into the whole fabric of our social life, and that never again shall we relapse into the laissez-faire of the period between 1920 and 1940? I think we can.

(Continued on next page)