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Har til hørt Vidkun Quisling

X Shadows in Scandinavia

The Old Picture of the "Good Life" Presented by Those Northern Countries Is Obscured by European Disorder, so That Talk of Invasion Threatens Hopes for an Improved World

By H. BELLISTON

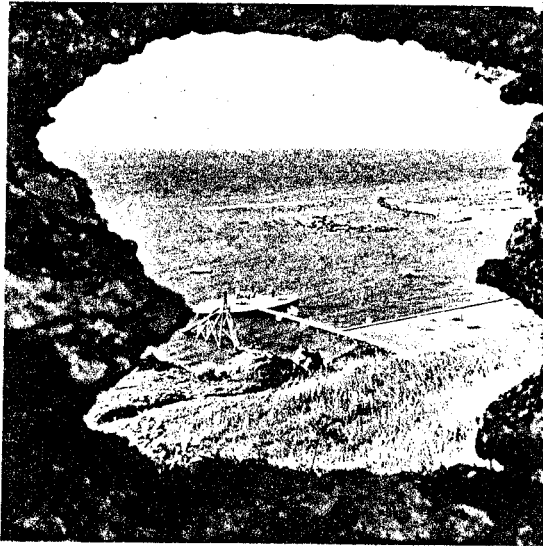


Photo: Sigfrid A. Larson, Courtesy of Swedish Travel Information Bureau, Inc.

LOOKING OUT TO SEA FROM VISBY

Snackarbadens Beach on the Swedish Island of Gotland Reflects None of the Statesmen's Concern for Its Future

Point is given to the following article, received from the Monitor's financial editor during a tour through Scandinavia, by the abstention of the Scandinavian nations from voting on a Nine-Power Conference declaration in criticism of Japan. The abstention at Brussels—and the present article—reveal the remarkable change that has come over Scandinavian foreign policy. Scandinavia, since the World War, has been the most stalwart supporter of collective security and action. Now it seems to be drifting back to its pre-war neutrality attitude.—Editor's note.

Stockholm

WHEN A HIGH SWEDISH MILITARY expert referred to a mining town in the Arctic Circle as "Sweden's Bilbao," I looked at him incredulously. But he was not joking. There was a downright seriousness in his, as in all other Scandinavians', discussions of the issue of war or peace for the northern countries.

It is a sad state of things to see in the grip of such a fear a region which is doing so much for civilization. One finds everywhere an eager questing after the utilitarian way. And yet, hovering on the edge of all constructive discussion, there are gathering storm clouds. In all circles the conversation sometime or other veers around to the dominant issue in Europe. One might begin talking about monetary policy, co-operation, the Oslo agreements, social insurance; but before the discussion is over, somebody is bound to repeat one or other of the many rumors in circulation, and immediately the preoccupation shifts to sterner topics.

And what rumors fill the otherwise serene Scandinavian sky these days! Let me repeat some of them before I attempt to synthesize a picture of troubled Scandinavia.

In Norway, I first heard the news that Russian airplanes were frequently reconnoitering the railroad between Lulea, the North Swedish port in the Gulf of Bothnia, to Narvik, the Norwegian port on the Atlantic. Between these two ports are the immensely rich iron mines of Sweden. These Russian planes, they declared, had been spotted even farther north, near the Finnish nickel mines at Ivalo and the Norwegian iron mines on the Varanger

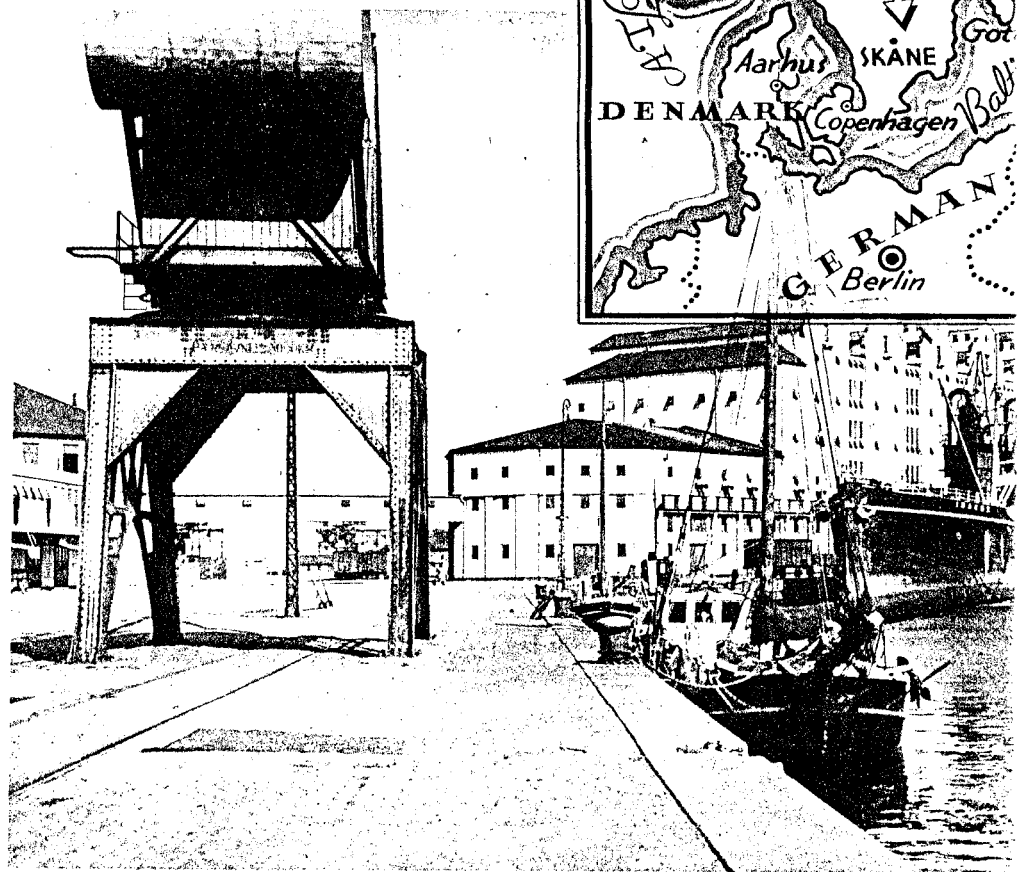
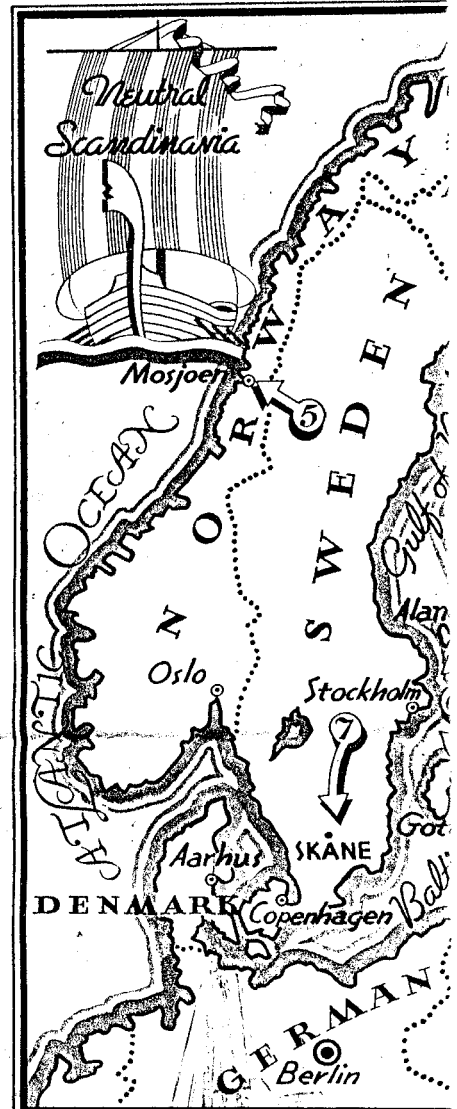
fjord. Counter-whispers spoke of the lease of Finland's northern strip of coastline to Germany for use as a naval base in the White Sea. Sweden was full of rumors of the marking out of German airbases in the Baltic for possible use against Russia.

"Gotland is as good as lost," remarked a Swede, lugubriously—Gott-

land, on which the Old World town of Visby is located. The Åland group, which provide the stepping-stones between Sweden and Finland, reported constant German activity. In Helsingfors, it was said, the focus of German preparation was Osel and Dago, Estonian islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Finland. It was even said in some Swedish quarters that the high command in Berlin had earmarked Skåne, Sweden's southern province, as a German farm, along with Denmark. The whole of peaceful Scandinavia has thus become a conversational battlefield.

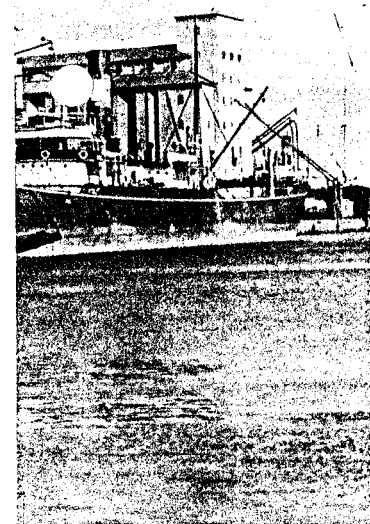
How to keep out of war is just as burning a preoccupation in Scandinavia as in America. There is a new search for their historic neutrality. Faith in the League of Nations, which had absorbed all ideas of neutrality in its promise of collective security, seems to have been completely undermined.

It was not without reluctance that Scandinavia abandoned its traditional neutrality to join the League of Nations. But no group of



IN THE PORT OF DENMARK'S SECOND CITY Grain Elevators Line the Docks at Aarhus, Which Is on the Coast of Jutland, an Area Many Danes Believe Would Become a British Air Base in the Event of Positions of the Scandinavian Countries, and the Places Mentioned in the Accompanying Article

ifting Clouds of Order



James Sawders
European War. The Map Above Shows the Relative

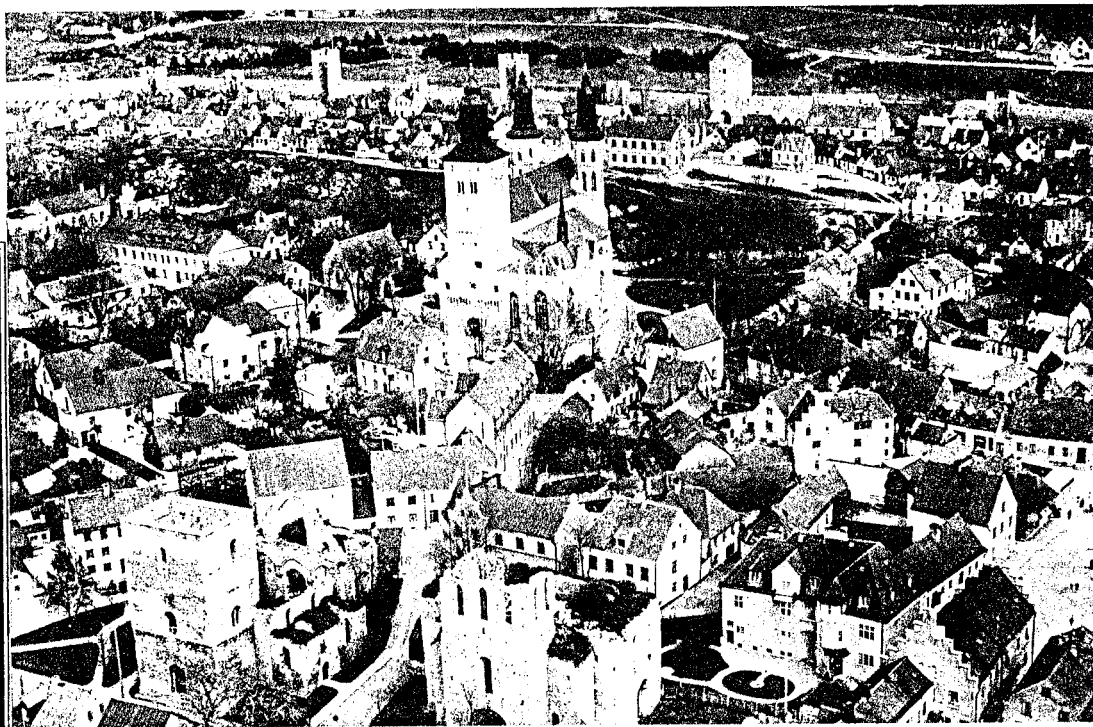


Photo by Oscar Bladh, © Aero-Materiel A/B, Courtesy of Swedish Travel Information Bureau, Inc.

THE OLD WORLD TOWN OF VISBY

Portions of the Encircling Walls Are Clearly Shown in the Picture, as Well as Other Structures Dating From Long Ago, When This Island Town Was Prepared to Defend Itself Against Invasion

nations trusted more implicitly in the League or worked more zealously for the League. Disillusion set in with the failure to check Italy in Ethiopia. After that the Scandinavian states began to take stock of their own situation.

They found a different world from the one in 1914-1918, when they had been able to maintain their neutrality in a war-torn world. Not that they were untouched by the World War. Norway, for instance, tried to come under British protection, as the best guaranty of security. The other nations suffered all manner of indignities as the price of neutrality. The belligerents walked like Agag, even rationing supplies to Scandinavia. But the northern countries determined to stay aloof. Even this determination to stay outside the conflict was not the controlling factor of their "neutrality." The major fact was that both groups of belligerents felt that their war interests would best be served by a neutralized Scandinavia.

Nowadays, however, the northern countries are directly in the path of any future war, because such a war would be fought in the air. This is the overriding fear. It is useless to argue that in a future war any belligerents might find it just as expedient to support Scandinavian neutrality as in the last war. Scandinavia fears entanglement. And she is now groping for both individual policies and a common Scandinavian policy to stay outside. It is for this reason that the northern countries are banded together, though the tie is so loose that they call themselves "the non-alliance states." Sweden is *primus inter pares*.

There is no blinking the fact that the two nations which are feared as aggressors are Russia and Germany, rivals in the so-called "conflict of ideologies" in Europe.

The former is Sweden's traditional enemy. Therefore all kinds of machinations are debited to Moscow. Yet the Russian bogey in Arctic Scandinavia does not seem rational. After all, the Soviets have their own stock of mineral wealth, even in their adjacent Karelian territory. Sven Hedin is always talking about a Russian drive across the Arctic wastes to the Atlantic. But the new harbor works at Murmansk would appear to dispose of such a theory. In Finland, moreover, I was assured that the Soviets, rent in internal dissension, are *hors de combat*.

If there has been any Russian reconnaissance over the mineral fields of Arctic Scandinavia, it may have been

due to preparations for putting them out of contact with Germany in the event of war. For Germany is already laying them under considerable tribute for her rearmament program. The *Svenska Dagbladet* of Stockholm reports that some 20-odd trains a day are carrying ore shipments from Gallivare and Kiruna across to Narvik for shipment to Germany at the rate of 40 or 50 boatloads a week. No doubt the Soviets would use every effort to stop this traffic in the event of war. A Swedish high official even hazarded that possibly the famous parachute maneuvers in the U. S. S. R. had been perfected for that very purpose.

There has been a remarkable switch in Swedish sentiment vis-a-vis Germany. At the outbreak of the World War, and in the course of it, Sweden leaned to the German side. This was a perfectly natural outgrowth of a common continental attachment. Now the sentiment as distinct from policy is decidedly pro-British.

This is the more remarkable in that Nazi propagandists are working assiduously to court Scandinavia. While I was in Stockholm there were complaints about propaganda through the Education Department. The increase in German newspapermen accredited to the Foreign Office likewise had aroused suspicion. Herr Hitler, though despising the sturdy democracy of Scandinavia, has even gone to the Nordic homo for his racial paragon. The Norsemen are not flattered. They have their own picture of *der Nordische Mensch*, and it stops at the Schleswig border of Denmark. Below that border, according to the Scandinavians, the people are southerners.

Perhaps the outstanding example of Scandinavian antipathy to the ideological struggle in Europe is the growing backing in all four countries for their progressive governments. I use the word progressive purposely. They all claim to be Socialist. But the socialism is so far from ideological that most Socialists of the Norman Thomas stamp would, I think, reject it. It is better described as progressive, with the four countries having different varieties of progressiveness, depending upon their circumstances. Finland's and Denmark's is focused upon agriculture. Sweden's is more urban, while Norway's is out-and-out labor.

It is Norway's boast that her Government is the most Socialist of the four. When I mentioned that assertion in other Scandinavian countries, I was

informed, drily, that "Norway always specializes in the superlative degree!" There are many standing jokes of that sort in Scandinavia about their diversity in unity, as in any other family.

In none of them, however, does a Fascist or a Communist group thrive. In a Stockholm street I was handed a leaflet which announced "An Autumn Offensive" by the local Fascists. "Sweden for the Swedes!" exclaimed the appeal, with a swastika in watermark to give point to the clarion call. In Sweden, the Fascist party is called the Nationalist Socialist Labor party. But all my informants agreed that in Sweden, as in other Scandinavian countries, Fascism is "on the Mosley model," meaning it is as inept and slightly ridiculous as the Fascist party which is run in England by Sir Oswald Mosley.

The younger Swedes think that Foreign Minister Sandier's policy is "unclear." By that is meant that he talks League of Nations and acts neutrality. When I reached Stockholm, I found that Mr. Sandier was in Finland—the country, incidentally, which is a new recruit to Scandinavia and whose Swedophobia has been overlaid by Russophobia. Later in Denmark I met Dr. Peter Munch, Denmark's Foreign Minister. Of him I asked for enlightenment in straightening out the alleged lack of clarity in Scandinavian policy.

"Of course we remain members of the League of Nations," Dr. Munch said. "But there are movements struggling for ascendancy outside the League. As between them, and I can only speak for Denmark, we must remain impartial. I emphasize that word. We want to keep our system of government as it has evolved down the centuries. And we must leave it to other people to choose theirs."

Denmark's "impartiality" is an unarmed impartiality. The newspaper interviewer who met me in Copenhagen was angry with Denmark's lack of "moral courage." "What would you do?" I asked. He replied that at least Denmark ought to make a gesture that she was prepared to defend the Fatherland against encroachment.

Sweden, in spite of the charge of lack of clarity in her policy, does not balk at the mention of neutrality, and it is obvious that she is engaged in giving shape to this new attitude.

The charge of lack of "clarity" is probably due to the fact that Swedish neutrality policy cannot be laid down in advance as much as to embarrass-

(Continued on page 15)

Politics

.. Shadows in Scandinavia

(Continued from Page 9)

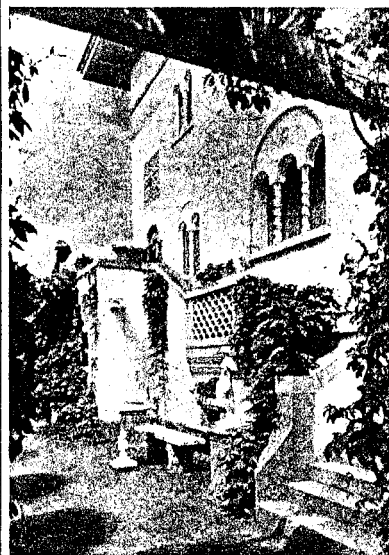
he said, "If govern-
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ment over the abandonment of
collective security before collec-
tive security has been officially
interred. "It cannot be done,"
said one official to me, referring
to the plea that a neutrality
policy should be put in black
and white. "It has been done in



Swedish Travel Information Bureau, Inc.
SOLLIDEN IN THE BALTIC
Summer Home of Sweden's Queen Vic-
toria on the Island of Oland

America, I know, but a neutrality
policy has of necessity to be a
flexible policy, since nobody
knows what emergencies will
arise." As an illustration of
flexibility it was explained to me
that the Swedish Government
could embargo arms exports
without any authorization from
Parliament.

Among the young Danes, and
in many quarters of Sweden, I
found a willingness to consider
the feasibility of transforming
the present loose understanding
among the Scandinavians into a
military alliance. That would be
an Armed Neutrality. Only in
official Denmark is the project
rejected. Just before I arrived,

the Danish Premier, the veteran
Theodore Stauning, had made a
speech at Lund, in southern
Sweden, specifically rejecting
any suggestion of military co-
operation. As the speech was
translated for me, he said, "If
there is any trouble, we don't
want any help from Sweden, nor
would we go to Sweden's help."

Berlin's reaction to the Staun-
ing speech was to call Premier
Stauning a Realpolitiker. Staun-
ing is that, no doubt; he is
realist enough not to wish to
offend Denmark's second best
customer, as Germany is. But
the hot young Danes, imbued
with the Scandinavian idea,
were wrathful. And in Sweden
the speech left many Swedes
feeling somewhat bitter. "If
Germany takes over Sweden,
then our back door is open, and
our south will become another
Gallipoli," said a Swedish mili-
tary expert.

In the other countries, re-
arming is being pushed. It is
mildest, perhaps, in Norway,
which still hopes for British as
well as Scandinavian protection
in an emergency. But even the
labor government at Oslo re-
cently voted to increase the
period of conscription from 72
to 84 days. Sweden, upon which
leadership devolves, exacts a
service three times as long.
Moreover, the yellow-tongued
Swedish flag is showing itself

increasingly in the Baltic.
Sweden's navy budget is to be
increased by \$9,000,000 for each
of the next five years. And, with
Norway, a storage system has
been inaugurated, while a
regional self-sufficiency move-
ment has been the subject of
two Scandinavian conferences.

That so enviable a picture of
law, order and the good life as
Scandinavia presents to the
world should be under such a
shadow is one of the most dis-
tressing aspects of Europe. Here
there is a passionate love of
peace and freedom. The devo-
tion to that ideal has made
those countries devote them-
selves to what Donald R. Rich-
berg used to call a "recon-
structed capitalism." Nowadays,
alas, much of the effort for-
merly devoted to the pursuit of
social objectives is increasingly
being sidetracked into defense.

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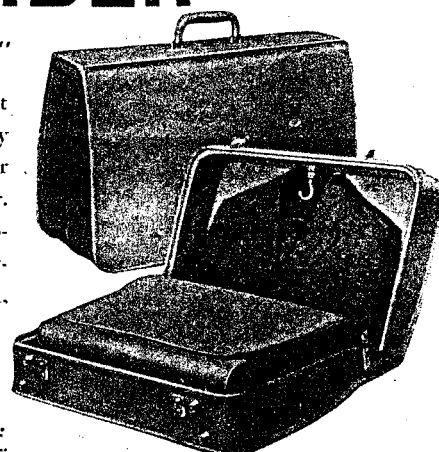
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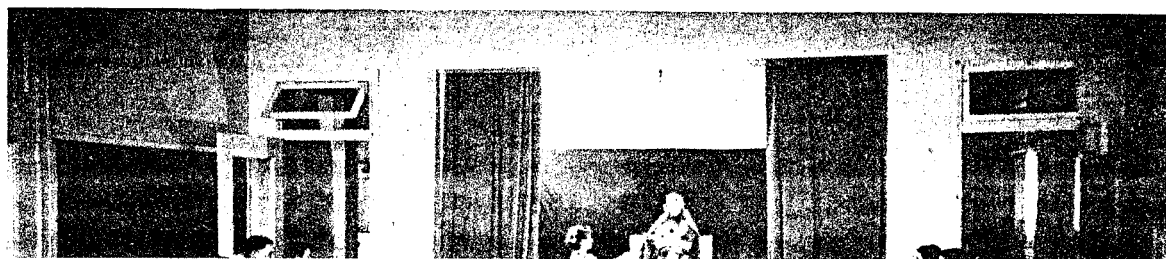
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the Monitor, and writes his
article of this week upon the
basis of observations and con-
versations in Scandinavia dur-
ing the summer.





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Democracy's Dilemma

IN this issue we deal with the highly critical situation created by the huge unseasonal advance in unemployment which has stripped all disguise from the threatening depression.

Financial Democracy the world over finds itself in a fatal dilemma. Either it must plunge into a depression even worse than the last, or it must seek an escape in another world war. It is a particularly tragic judgment upon a decaying system, that it should be forced into this dilemma by the warmongering mischief-making of its own politicians.

For several years past the ex-pacifists of the Left have been driving the world closer and closer to war by their blind resistance to the regeneration of the Fascist nations abroad, and their equally blind acceptance of every form of Soviet aggression and interference at home and abroad. The inevitable consequence of rearmament and war scares in the system of uncontrolled international finance capitalism has been large-scale speculation in war materials and essential foodstuffs, which have been hoarded against the expected conflict. As war has so far held off, because of the essential sanity of public opinion, the speculators can no longer hold up supplies, and the artificial boom collapses.

Depression Creates Fascism

UNFORTUNATELY for the democrats depression creates Fascism, just as war breeds Communism, and the politicians have now to choose which form of dissolution is to be their fate. Some, like Mr. Vyvian Adams, writing last week in the *Jewish Chronicle*, prefer Communism at all costs to Fascism. These panicking politicians are the greatest danger to world peace, as they may prefer the unknown dangers of another war to the immediate results of renewed depression in a rapid advance of dreaded "Fascism" in Britain. Already this advance has begun with unprecedented recruiting for the British Union this autumn, and financial democratic politicians like Vyvian Adams have every reason to be nervous.

Although there can be no question that war on a big scale would end the depression over night, we appeal to the sanity of the British people to choose the lesser of two evils. Surely a slump, however bad, is better than another war, especially as this renewed experience of depression may well urge the British people to empower a national leader to take the necessary steps to end the system of capitalist greed which engenders slumps? To this the confirmed democrat will no doubt reply "But that means Fascism!" Well, what if it does?

War Breeds Communism

IT is true that the slump of 1920 to 1922 brought Mussolini to Rome, and the later slump of 1929 to 1932 Hitler to Berlin, but let the wretched democrats beware before they grasp the other horn of the dilemma and force us into another world war. Not only will they be held responsible for the nation's blood, but they will be opening the sluice gates to world Communism, which followed the last war to Moscow, Munich, Budapest and the Lombard Plain. Are they really taken in by the grandiose farce of "Democratic" Russia, and are prepared to accept Stalin as a "true" democrat? If not, what real hope have they of perpetuating democracy by war?

We appeal to all sane British people to restrain our frantic democratic politicians from jumping out of the frying pan of the slump into the fire of war. If it only meant their following Mr. Attlee to Spain we could wave them goodbye without a qualm, but unfortunately they have still the power to drag us all with them into the holocaust. Never was there a time more urgent for the plea to "Mind Britain's Business," bad as it is, and put our own house in order. Before we interfere anywhere else in the world let us clear out the parasites and speculators, who have used alien money power to profit by our difficulties and dangers, and let us set up a government vested by the British people with power to end for all time the system of International Jewish Finance.

WHY LARGE CLASSES WHEN TEACHERS UNEMPLOYED?

Asks A Teacher

AT the present time many teachers fresh from College are occupied in that most monotonous of all pursuits, namely, the compiling of innumerable application forms and the copying and re-copying of testimonials until they are heartily sick of the sight of their own names and qualifications. In a year's time many of these young men and women will still be unemployed. They have been a source of great expense to their parents and have undergone a lengthy training. Yet while the Government quaintly enough controls their services, it cannot guarantee them a job.

paratively few authorities provide special facilities for these in what are known as "three-stream" schools and the ordinary class teacher, already overworked, cannot possibly give such unfortunate children the care they need.

MONEY THROWN AWAY

CONSEQUENTLY much of the public money earmarked for education is simply being thrown away. Do not blame the teachers. Blame the short-sighted policy which refuses to reduce the size of classes on the grounds of expense while hundreds of teachers are longing for the chance to fulfil their vocation.

School buildings, it is true, are improving yearly but there are far too many black-listed premises still in use. There are schools where the heating is hopelessly inadequate, with no internal water supply, with very primitive sanitation and playgrounds that are totally unfit for any form of physical training. These are extreme cases but they could be rectified without delay and the necessary financial aid given to the authorities who owe them.

WHY?

YET another thing puzzles me. Teachers may be openly-confessed Socialists of varying hues, from flaming red to a delicate pink, and be tolerated as distinguished thinkers; but once let a teacher be suspected of Fascist tendencies . . . ! He is not only a hopeless reactionary, but becomes a potential disturber of the peace and a positive menace in the school. Strange, but true. There must be many teacher members of the British Union who, while watching young hooligans rioting in the street under Red influence, long for the time when a saner system shall prevail; so that their efforts for those young folk shall not have been entirely in vain. One hesitates to say that these youthful Reds have been deliberately encouraged, but it is certainly true that some schools to-day are a breeding ground for the germ of Communism.

The British Union, once in power, will see that the youth of Britain is educated in the best possible surroundings for body and mind and freed from all contaminating influences. The heirs to our immortal traditions need not look to Moscow for inspiration. They will get no help from that source. Let them be guided by the Leader of the British Union, the only man to-day who can interpret Britain to these young and ardent souls in a manner worthy of her greatness and of their destiny.

MOSLEY ANSWERS

Q. Will women be eligible as representatives (i) on all Corporations, (ii) on any Corporation?

A. They will be eligible on all Corporations, representing their industry or profession. In addition the great majority of women who are wives and mothers will for the first time be given effective representation by National Socialism. A special Corporation will be created for them, which will have special standing in the State. That Corporation will deal with outstanding women's questions such as mother and child welfare. In addition it will assist Government in such matters as food prices, housing, education and other subjects in which the opinion of a practical housewife is often worth more than that of a Socialist professor or spinster politician.

(An extract from "Fascism: 100 Questions Asked and Answered," by Oswald Mosley.)

Yes, there are all these young teachers—and older ones too—without a class. At the same time there are hundreds of classes with more than fifty pupils! It seems that we must wait for the coming to power of National Socialism before a little common sense is exercised.

Any teacher with a class of fifty will tell you how impossible it is to attempt any genuine education. Doubtless a certain amount of mass instruction can be imparted if one is a good disciplinarian but what of the backward and slightly abnormal children, the little ones who need individual care and attention? Com-

poor victims of a false ideology have little time to enthuse over the lofty themes that so enrapture our comfortable Church dignitary. They are experiencing the fruits and not the blossoms of Communism, and their chief idea of heaven would be sufficient food to keep them in reasonable health, and a home where they could at least be warm, if not comfortable.

These are merely the drab facts, and as such are never likely to disturb the ignorant bliss of our Red theorists. For them the mere word "Communism" connotes something that rivals Christianity, and to expect lofty sentiments to be translated into anything but a paradise of words is quite beyond their outlook. The great crime of Fascism in the eyes of our democrats is its disturbing sense of reality. The Fascist has little respect for mere words. He judges all things by actual fruits. "By their fruits ye shall know them" it not a bad method of summing up any branch of politics. Such a judgment would effectually dispose of most of the Liberal Utopias, and clear the way for the new and realistic creed of National Socialism.

Elections Are Won On The Doorstep

DO you know that there are many thousands of people in this country who hold our views, but, not knowing that they are our views, hate us in their hearts and oppose us on all occasions?

Strange but very true!

The press which they read, the trade union to which they belong, the co-operative societies which they support, the B.B.C. programmes to which they listen, the cinemas they visit—all these and many other sources of information have persistently informed them that we are "against the workers," etc., ad nauseam.

Is it any wonder that they hate—not us as we are, but as we have been represented to them?

We can only overcome such misconceptions by taking our creed to them in their own homes.

All out! on the doorstep to explain the true National Socialism.

W.R.