

1083

8 DEC 1941

# HEADWAY

## IN WAR-TIME

*The Journal of the League of Nations Union*

No. 25

OCTOBER 1941

PRICE 3d.

## RELIGION AND THE LEAGUE

By THE REV. MARCUS DONOVAN

*(Our contributor was bombed out of his parish in South-East London, and is now in charge of a church in Sussex. There he has been greatly helping the Union by addressing meetings throughout the county.)*

It is not uncommon to hear the League of Nations criticised, if not actually denounced, in religious circles, on the ground that it is not explicitly a religious organisation. Thus Mr. Beales in "The Catholic Church and International Order" writes:—

"There is another argument against the League System which is crucial, namely, the complete absence from the Covenant itself and from its attendant agreements, of any kind of recognition that the moral law of peace comes from a source outside and above man."

The League must be "realistic": it has to deal with people of all religions or none, so that it cannot begin its Covenant, as Treaties did till 1713, with the invocation of "the Holy and undivided Trinity." Nevertheless the League embodies ideals which are profoundly Christian and should therefore enjoy the support and arouse the enthusiasm of all Christian people.

### Liberty and Order

History is a continuous process, not a series of unrelated episodes. Each stage emerges from those preceding it. Progress, despite the pessimists, is a reality. Bishop Gore wrote: "If you take a transverse section of humanity, you might imagine it to be a jumble of inconsistencies and vices, but in the long reaches of man's history there is progress and the elimination of evils."

Running through History is the tension between two great ideas—Liberty and Order. Order came first, and savage races had to secure some sort of order among their members. If Order is "heaven's first law," it is also man's first necessity.

The quest of freedom first appears in Greece, the nation which first used reflexion on past experience to modify future experiment (Wm. Temple's *Christus Veritas*). That is why we still study the classics. Schoolboys are taught the

story of Greece and encouraged to study its language, not in order to learn about the somewhat disreputable adventures of mythical gods and heroes, but because Greece was the seed-plot of ideas, the potency of which is by no means exhausted.

The Archbishop of York traces the struggle between Order and Liberty through Greece and Rome, through the history of Europe, and finds it exemplified also in the history of the U.S.A. The work of Washington was completed by Abraham Lincoln: internal liberty was the complement of external independence. And so a balance was attained between the Order which is imposed by Dictatorship and the Freedom which is the badge of Democracy, and the Archbishop boldly claims that "the U.S.A. and the British Commonwealth of Nations are no doubt the culmination of human history hitherto." But Progress does not halt. He goes on: "If they can themselves be associated in a League of Nations which includes all civilised countries, this line of historic development will have reached its conclusion."

### Three Relations

Further, Dr. Temple points out that there are only three relations in which a man can stand to his neighbour:—

- (1) He may ignore him.
- (2) He may compete with him.
- (3) He may co-operate with him.

The first represents the earliest and lowest level of conduct, the level of Desire, when man simply lives to gain the satisfactions he needs and takes no notice of his neighbour except to push him aside if he gets in the way.

The next stage is reached when man begins to acquire possessions. He sees that his neighbour has a bigger hut, a larger store of grain, more cattle, and

he wants to surpass him. It is no good saying "You can't eat more than one meal or wear more than one dress at a time." He wants these things because possession means power. So enters strife and warfare. The neighbour has become a rival.

But gradually it dawns on man that rivalry spells destruction. When he has "liquidated" his rivals, man is poorer: he has only created waste and misery. He reflects, "Is there, perhaps, a better way? Can't we shake hands and work for the common good instead of trying to smash each other?" That is the level of Reason. It guides him towards common social effort whereas blind Desire and restless Pride only issued in destruction and misery. And so, it is not without significance that the age which saw the greatest growth of knowledge and the widest diffusion of education saw the first attempts at arbitration. There were eight instances between 1820 and 1840, 30 between 1840 and 1860, 44 between 1860 and 1880, 90 between 1880 and 1900, and then came The Hague Conferences of 1892 and 1907 and the League of Nations in 1919. By another road we have reached the same point. "Reason . . . points man to an international organisation of the world such as the League of Nations to which our consideration of the historical conflict between the principles of Liberty and Order has already led us" (Temple).

### No Automatic Advance

Then will automatic advance bring "the parliament of man, the federation of the world"? Events have shown the falsity of this supposition. What is the weak link in our chain of reasoning?

It is this: Pride and Desire are much more "colourful" and full-blooded motives than Reason. They are

(Continued on page 15.)

## KNEBWORTH SUMMER SCHOOL

For its second War-Time Summer School, from September 4th to 8th, the Union received a good many more applications than it could accept. Owing to the kindness of the Principal of the Froebel Institute, the School was privileged once more to meet at Knebworth House, where a very gracious welcome awaited us from Lord and Lady Lytton.

1940.

A year ago some of our friends from the Continent could not refrain from telling us that we were an incomprehensible people, meeting to discuss the future while the enemy pounded at our gates.

France had fallen and, stunned by the blow, Monsieur Saurat could give us no hope for the future, save only in the armed strength of Britain and a British occupation of Germany that we knew to be beyond our own unaided strength. At least one of our speakers from Central Europe hinted broadly that our country did not deserve to win, and could hardly hope to do so unless it could offer a plan for the future which would not only restore to the States of Europe their separate liberties but which—more important—would offer to the peoples of Europe greater security against unemployment and future war than any Nazi order.

1941.

This year France was represented by Commandant Simon, who was able to speak not only of the solid achievements of the Free French Forces, but of a nation that is once more finding its own soul. Mr. John Ennals, just back from South-East Europe, gave us some personal impressions of the army of our new and mighty Ally, the U.S.S.R., and told us of the continued resistance of Serbia's mountain warriors.

Later we had an opportunity to welcome Mr. Andrew Rothstein of Tass, the Soviet News Agency, and Dr. Yui Ming of the Chinese Embassy. And, in the presence

of two Official Observers representing the Ambassador of the United States of America, Professor Arthur Newell (President of the American Outpost) addressed us on American Foreign Policy, and told us of his own desire to see America fully in the war in order that she may more easily take her proper place in the organisation of peace.

THE FUTURE.

This year, moreover, we had in the Atlantic Charter a first broad outline of the kind of world we mean to make and an opportunity to study the more detailed suggestions that our own Union is preparing. Discussions were opened by Lord Lytton, Miss Courtney and Mr. Nowell Smith on future security against war and the peaceful remedy of international grievances; the Vice-President of St. John's College, Oxford, on "The Future of Minorities"; Miss Freda White on "The Settlement of Colonial Problems"; and Professor Sargent Florence and Mr. A. A. Evans on "Social and Economic Reconstruction." We were fortunate, too, in having with us in these discussions the Secretary of the Austrian Centre in London and the Vice-President of the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Society.

It was left to Dr. Ambrosova of Prague and the Dean of Chichester to sum up the main message of the school: the urgent need for a spiritual reawakening of democracy and hard thinking about the political and economic means by which we may achieve our aims.

LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION

Mr. P. J. NOEL BAKER, M.P.

on  
"THE FUTURE  
OF THE LEAGUE"

OCTOBER 20 at 5.20 p.m.

SWEDENBORG HALL, Bloomsbury Way, W.C.1

# THE LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY

In collaboration with many of its friends from Europe who are now in this country the League of Nations Union has recently established a London International Assembly "to serve the common cause of all those nations that are resisting aggression, by providing opportunities for people from Great Britain and each of the allied and associated nations, to understand more fully each other's history, economic development, institutions, way of life and national aspirations; and to consider the principles of post-war policy, and the application of those principles to the problems of national and international reconstruction."

The Assembly will consist of ten full members and a number of additional members elected by a Preparatory Committee from the people of Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Free France, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, India, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, South Africa, United States of America, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, and such other countries as may later be invited to take part. In choosing the members the Committee seeks, so far as possible, to ensure that the main aspects of the national life of each country shall be represented, e.g., Parliament, the Services, Religious Bodies, Law, Education, Arts, Science, Commerce and Industry, Agriculture, Trade Unions, Journalism, etc.

## The First Meeting

Many of the national groups are already fully constituted and each country was most ably represented at a first meeting held in London on Monday, September 15th, when the members were welcomed by the President, the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil, and the four Honorary Vice-Presidents, Professor René Cassin, member of the

Council of the Free French Forces; M. Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia; M. Ch. Simopoulos, the Greek Minister in London; and M. Zaleski, Chief of the Civil Chancellery of the President of the Polish Republic.

Lord Cecil said that there were in London to-day men and women distinguished in almost every walk of life in each of the allied nations and other friendly States. The Assembly had been constituted not so much to formulate opinions as to facilitate a free and frank exchange of views and information. It would not be the business of the Assembly to draw up treaties of peace and he did not know that it was particularly well qualified to undertake such a task. It could, however, be of the utmost value in providing opportunities to study the problems that would have to be settled and the attitude of each country towards them.

Speaking on behalf of the whole Assembly, Professor René Cassin said that its first desire was to pay its tribute to the men in the armed forces, its second to proclaim on behalf of the enslaved peoples, whose voices had been silenced, the principles of liberty, security and co-operation. In welcoming the Atlantic Charter, Professor Cassin said that some of its principles would need to be interpreted in the light of history and of diverse conditions in different parts of the world. Others would need to be amplified. All would need to be translated into juridical engagements with the necessary measures for their application; and he personally would like to see more direct attention to the protection of the rights of man.

Monsieur Masaryk welcomed the title of the new Assembly. The vulgar goose-stepping extravagance of exclusive nationalism made it essential to return at once to the conceptions of internationalism if civil-

isation were to be saved and some safe structure were to be erected in which even the smallest nation could be sure of its place.

London to-day constituted a glorious metropolis of Europe, said Monsieur Simopoulos. Here at the centre of the struggle, the interdependence of nations was more clearly demonstrated than ever before and only a true conception of interdependence could ensure a new order. He thought the London International Assembly could render great service by studying the actual problems and by cultivating the spirit of collaboration in preparation for the future organisation of Europe.

Monsieur Zaleski urged that in all its work the Assembly should bear in mind two overriding conditions. Its members would meet in London behind the protection of the British Fleet and the Royal Air Force and must never forget the great masses of their own people who, under great suffering and tremendous ordeals, are developing along their own lines and probably growing more detached from the smaller political controversies. Further, to serve a useful purpose the discussions must be absolutely frank and sincere and, for that reason, he was glad that they would be held in private.

Apologies for absence were received from the Lord Mayor of London, the Dean of St. Paul's and His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, who wrote:

"In these islands and in London particularly there are present representatives not only of the exiled Governments of Europe but of very many peoples of various nations. Thus a unique opportunity is afforded of friendly intercourse leading to understanding and sympathy. Therefore the proposed London International Assembly will serve the purpose of promoting the cause of a stable peace when the war is won. Surely nothing but good can come from the united efforts of the members of the Assembly to study the Atlantic Charter and the Peace Points which have been accepted in principle by

the free men of all nations. All success to this wise plan."

After an interval for refreshments the Assembly began its first private meeting in which Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, M.P., Professor Arthur Newell, President of the American Outpost, and *Senateur de Brouckère*, of Belgium, opened a discussion on the various statements of war aims and peace aims that have so far been made by spokesmen of the British and American Governments.

One of the most moving speeches at the first meeting was made by a woman member, Mme. Eliane Brault, who came with her colleagues from the headquarters of the Free French Forces.

In the course of private business it was decided that future meetings should be held once a month, and that those who could spare the time should meet more frequently in commissions to prepare reports and recommendations for discussion.

## The Members

The Preparatory Committee, under the joint chairmanship of Miss K. D. Courtney and Professor Newell, has succeeded in bringing together a really remarkable assembly of people, including many who have had long experience of international work as high officials of the League of Nations, in the diplomatic services, or as leaders of the League of Nations Unions and other voluntary bodies.

Undoubtedly there are among the members many who will one day return to help to shape the destinies of their countries in every part of Europe. The Union hopes that through a free and frank exchange of views, without publicity and without seeking to pass resolutions, they may perhaps reach something like a common mind on the principles that should govern and inspire national and international policies after the war.

C. W. J.

## THE LEAGUE IS ALIVE

A useful reminder that a good deal of constructive work is still being done by the League of Nations has arrived from Geneva. This booklet, described as a "Brief Statement" on the activities of the League and its organs in 1940 and 1941, is a factual record all the more impressive because it makes no attempt to gild the lily. At the outset comes the frank admission that, on the outbreak of the war, it was impossible for the political organs to meet, so that their work was brought almost entirely to a standstill. But the technical activities, although affected in a lesser degree by world events, "have been continued for the very reason that they are of definitely intrinsic value at the present time, and will be even more so in the future, especially on the return of peace."

The scope of these war-time activities has been conditioned, of course, by drastic reductions in both budget and staff. One good piece of news, however, is that the

contributions situation, so adversely affected about the middle of last year, is now steadily improving.

### Taxation Problems

With economic, financial and transit questions, the League has a particularly good war-time record. The Fiscal Committee has managed to hold two meetings, the first at The Hague and the second at Mexico City by invitation of the Mexican Government. As a result, a new draft model convention has been drawn up for preventing double taxation in the field of income and property taxes. On this basis, negotiations for several treaties between countries of the Western Hemisphere have been initiated. The systematic enquiry into the principles of income-tax practice and legislation, which the League is conducting, is extremely topical, and is likely to prove of special usefulness to all Governments which are in process of building up their

## INTERNATIONAL UNITED SERVICE

ST. MARTIN-IN-THE-FIELDS, Saturday, OCTOBER 11, at 3 p.m.

**PREACHER:** Very Rev. the DEAN OF CHICHESTER

ARCHBISHOP GERMANOS (Greece)

REV. MARCUS A. SPENCER (U.S.A.)

REV. F. VAN DORP (Holland)

PASTOR URSIN (Norway)

*The Czech Singers*

Organ Recital (2.30 p.m.): MR. DRUMMOND WOLFF, B.Mus.

*Arranged by the London Regional Federation of the League of Nations Union, 32 Fitzroy Square, W.1*

tax systems or subjecting them to revision—as a number are now doing.

The Economic Intelligence Service has been working on the wise assumption that peace, when it comes, will come to a different world from that of 1939, and that those responsible for the formulation of policy will want to know what have been the effects of the new economic tendencies and forces that have sprung up during the war. In addition to the co-ordination of statistics, certain studies are proceeding, e.g., into the conditions of social security, and the causes which have contributed in the past to the failure of society to achieve stability after the last war, leading to the collapse of the '30's and the cleavage of the world into incompatible economic groups.

### American Money

Little need here be added to what has already appeared in HEADWAY regarding the League's economic centre at Princeton. Suffice to say that new and valuable contacts have been established and old contacts renewed. Provision has been made for telegraphic and air mail communication with many Governments. The Rocke-

feller Foundation has generously voted a grant of 50,000 dollars to aid the work of the department in Princeton.

As a result of the war, questions relating to health, nutrition, housing, social assistance, the welfare of young people, assistance to refugees, the campaign against drugs, and the like, have become, and will long continue to be, matters of grave concern.

The Health Organisation is still in a position to furnish practical aid, both by providing information and guidance, and by supplying health administrations with technical and material assistance. One report on measures for preventing the outbreak of epidemic diseases and safeguarding the health of civilian populations compelled to move in consequence of the war has proved so timely that many Governments have ordered hundreds of copies from the League.

The League Library continues to function at Geneva, and has just asked for copies of our Statement of Policy, Commentary and Draft Reports, and also to be supplied regularly with the *News Sheet*.

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

## THE SOUL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

*By the Very Rev. A. S. Duncan-Jones D.D. (Herbert Barber, 6d.)*

The Dean of Chichester, who is Chairman of the Union's Christian Organisations Committee, has written a most readable and informative account of the Czechoslovak nation's contribution to Christian civilisation. While the bulk of the booklet describes the sources of the Czech Reformation, against this historical background the author clearly shows how the spiritual qualities in the Czechoslovak character have influenced every branch of the nation's life and activity. On the material side, Czechoslovakia, with its sound economic and financial basis, could show a better record after the last war

than any other of the Succession States. In foreign policy its leaders conceived it their mission to promote peace and stability in Europe. Culturally, such composers as Smetana and Dvorak produced original music of lasting value; while Karel Havlicek and other writers enshrined all that was sensible, practical and progressive of the permanent Czech spirit.

The Czechs and Slovaks, Dr. Duncan-Jones concludes, are paying a bitter price for the failure of others, who should have been their friends, to understand the contribution they were making to European order and culture; but the Czech has been crushed before and risen again.

## IN OCCUPIED GREECE

By JOSEPH KALMER

*The following account is furnished by a Turkish merchant with first-hand experience of the present situation in Greece.*

Greece is occupied by three armies—German, Italian and Bulgarian. The Germans left behind only weak military contingents, but considerable bodies of S.S. and Gestapo. The people of Greece would no doubt have less to endure if they were exposed to the rapacity of one instead of three robbers.

The Italians and Bulgarians are impelled by psychological factors to maintain strong forces in Greece. Mussolini, whose armies have suffered defeat in every theatre of war, must at least attempt to restore the lowered morale of his troops. A "victorious" occupation will serve this purpose, and it does not matter to the Duce that his chestnuts have been pulled out of the fire for him by his Nazi accomplices.

King Boris is in a similar plight. When the Bulgarians marched behind the German armies into Greek Macedonia and Thrace, without firing a single shot, they plundered whatever the Germans left behind them. A policy of loot went hand in hand with political persecution. Mass shootings of Greeks of known anti-Bulgarian feelings took place in every village occupied by Bulgarian troops. Arrested men disappeared, and their families have heard no more of them. The hatred of Bulgarians for the Greeks, fostered for generations, is exploited in order to divert the attention of Bulgarian soldiers from the enslaved condition to which their country is now reduced.

Meanwhile, the Greeks are not idle. In a village in Greek Macedonia, occupied by the Germans, a house in which the armed S.S. had been billeted was

mysteriously blown sky high. The Nazis arrested a number of Bulgarians who had been denounced as suspect by Greek interpreters in German service. "Zora," a Sofia newspaper, protested against the summary "punishment" meted out to the accused men and demanded the engagement by the Germans of Bulgarian as well as Greek interpreters. "We do not doubt," the paper wrote, "the good-will of the occupying forces, but they have not the time to hear the Bulgarian side of the case."

### Fair Words, Empty Stomachs

Famine is now general throughout Greece. Those who know the Greeks and their simple fare will understand what this means. In summer, when the fishermen and peasants, who make up the bulk of the Greek population, are accustomed to live on bread, olives, a piece of goat's milk cheese and thin local wine, the daily bread ration has had to be reduced to two ounces per head. The Bulgarian occupying authorities have forbidden Sofia commercial travellers to enter the "conquered" provinces, from inability to feed them. The death-rate is rising. Yet, when the invasion came, Greek supplies were by no means exhausted; even the long war against the Italians had not aggravated the food situation. But when the Germans arrived they began to "live upon the land." They requisitioned everything they found. The peasant's last cow, a poor woman's only goat, were alike slaughtered. Before the Germans withdrew their troops to the Russian front,

they issued to every man forty occupation marks, worthless, inconvertible paper-money, with which to make purchases at a fixed rate of exchange. The result was, to strip Greece bare of food-stuffs and industrial products. Now the shops are empty, the people literally starving.

The quisling Government in Athens, which has to please three masters, is in despair. We need not be deceived by officially inspired press utterances, by which the Greeks are recommended to "seek their salvation by taking the Axis path." Nor by a statement from the same quislingist source that "the small countries are free from their tutelage and entering the New European Order." Fair words will not fill an empty stomach.

The Minister for the Interior recently ascribed the food scarcity mainly to the dislocation of transport and the flow of population from the country to the towns. The people of Athens, however, heard at the same time that five ships laden with oil and food were about to leave the Piræus for Trieste, whence they were to be transported to feed hungry Germans. That same night the five ships all went up in flames, the burning oil proving impossible to extinguish.

### Sabotage

Sabotage is common, too, in the interior of the country. In the parts occupied by Italy steel hawsers have been stretched across the roads at night, decapitating Italian army drivers. General Geloso, the Italian Commander-in-Chief, has threatened reprisals. Almost every day the General holds conferences with Tsolakoglu, the head quisling, to discuss the attitude of cold contempt displayed by the Greeks towards the Italians. Geloso's position

is made harder by the fact that the Germans encourage the Greeks in their anti-Italian feeling. Gestapo men give Greek children pennies to sing songs mocking the Italians. German officers at the Café Hellenikon still ask the band to play:—

"Why don't you go back to Rome,  
Mussolini?"

Why did you ever leave your home,  
Mussolini?"

Nevertheless, the Duce is still anxious to annex as much of Greece as he can. The Bulgarians, too, are dissatisfied. The appointment of General Rengabis by the Germans to be Governor of Salonika suggests that they are not at all inclined as yet to divide the lion's skin with their allies.

The Nazis, indeed, seem to have far-reaching plans for the incorporation of Greece within Hitler's "New Order." A "South-East European Association" has been formed in Vienna, which held its first meeting on June 13th. Shortly before this, the German Economic Commissioner for South-East Europe, Herr Neubacher, left for the Balkans, with his deputy, Herr Kludkieft. After its first meeting the South-East European Association reported that it had discussed a "plan for the reconstruction of the Balkans." The nature of this plan is revealed by the voting of three milliards of drachmæ to be spent on roads, river regularisation and the drainage of marshland with a view to agricultural development. The produce will, of course, be exported to Germany. Since Neubacher, before the Nazi invasion of Austria, was the Balkan agent for the Dye Trust ("I.G. Farben"), it is easy to imagine the quantity of aspirin tablets which the Greeks will receive in exchange for their agricultural products.

## UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

The Regional Conference at LEEDS, at which Lord Lytton opened a discussion on "World Settlement," more than fulfilled the expectations of the organisers. Some 90 representatives from about 40 branches attended—a sure sign of keenness in the North-East, as many of those present had to travel considerable distances. To fortify them for their homeward journeys with more substantial refreshment than tea and biscuits, willing local helpers successfully scouted round the shops for cakes and sausage rolls.

No. 3 in the series of High Tea Talks, organised by the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION at the Plane Tree Restaurant, was on the subject "America and the War." Mr. Donald Grant, who had only recently returned from a comprehensive lecture tour in the United States, made his address all the more interesting and informative by his use of maps. Since 1938, he said, opinion in America had swung strongly round to the view that the U.S.A. ought to have supported the League as a Member-State, and the country as a whole now realised that it must play a leading part in shaping the future peace of the world.

Owing to the encroachment of the black-out, the L.R.F. has decided to hold Sandwich Luncheon Talks instead of the evening talks. "China" will be the subject of the next talk on October 16, at 1 p.m.—speaker, Mr. H. D. Liem, of the Central News Agency of China.

"Russia" and "America" still vie with "World Settlement After the War" as the most popular subjects for meetings and discussion groups. SEAFORD BRANCH held a meeting on "Russia," with Miss Hebe Spaul as speaker, followed by a further meeting on "America," addressed by Miss Barbara Barclay-Carter. CHURCH STREET BRANCH was delighted with the recent visit of Dr. Wolfram Gottlieb. There was an audience of 150 to hear his lecture on

"Russia's Place in the World," which, so the Branch Secretary reports, "let in a flood of light." SOUTHGATE AND WOOD GREEN had a talk on "America," from Mrs. J. H. Street, and HENDON one from Mrs. L. Howell.

WANSTEAD is finding "World Settlement After the War," and the Commentary a seemingly inexhaustible subject for discussion. At a recent meeting Mr. T. C. Archer set the ball a-rolling with a lively explanation of the statement, and the subsequent discussion left everybody asking for more. So a further meeting three weeks later took the form of a friendly debate on the more controversial aspects of post-war settlement between Mr. A. Kidd, a vice-president of the Branch, and the Editor of HEADWAY.

At ROMFORD Mr. T. C. Archer addressed two school meetings and a public meeting. He was also the speaker at a Saturday afternoon meeting at South Mimms, to which the BARNET BRANCH sent a cycling party of younger members.

KINGSTON ROTARY CLUB had a talk on social and economic reconstruction from the Editor of HEADWAY; and the RUISLIP WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP was addressed by Miss F. Randell.

In sending in a substantial batch of membership counterfoils, the Secretary of the SHERIFF HUTTON BRANCH (York) reports that already this year, as many members have paid up as in 1939, and the number is larger than for 1940.

"When the War Is Over" is the theme of an effective leaflet which the TORQUAY COUNCIL is using in its new membership canvass.

A welcome donation to Headquarters from the Secretary of the CROMER BRANCH represents money earned from black currant picking on a nearby farm.

The L.R.F. announces the result of its JUNIOR BRANCH COMPETITION, for the best

(Continued at foot of page 11.)

## AMERICA, THE WAR AND THE PEACE

Mr. Clark Eichelberger, Secretary of the American League of Nations Association, has been visiting this country. On September 18 he attended the meeting of the Union's Executive, to which he was warmly welcomed by Lord Lytton, the Chairman.

Mr. Eichelberger, describing the present situation in the United States and the state of American public opinion in relation to the war, said that the League of Nations Association was continuing its work in the United States, and that interest in the League had greatly increased. There was a time when, as a result of the propaganda of the isolationists, Americans were afraid of the League because they thought it too strong. Later, the same isolationists brought about a period of contempt for the League for being too weak. "Fears and contempt have disappeared," said Mr. Eichelberger, "and in their place has come a very healthy spirit of repentance. The League of Nations spirit is growing in the United States. We are very careful, as you are, to make people understand that we have no fixation on the Geneva institution of 1920. We know that the League which will follow this war will be based on the old machinery, but will have to have some new experiments."

(Continued from page 10.)

essays on "How to Plan the World for Peace":—

First Prize: J. M. Mitchell (County High School for Boys, Ilford).

Second Prize: Margaret Young (Honor Oak Secondary School, now at Reigate).

A new leaflet which the L.R.F. is issuing gives extracts from the Prime Minister's speech of May 9, 1938—the speech referred to in the article on page 4 of the September HEADWAY.

The speaker next explained how the League of Nations Association had taken the lead in persuading William Allen White to organise the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. As the last point in its programme the Committee had taken the eight-point programme of Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. "We will work," Mr. Eichelberger promised, "to see that the United States takes its place in the future organisation of peace that will come out of that declaration."

After Mr. Eichelberger had reported the decision to form the new "International Free World Association," of which the League of Nations Association was to be the American member, the Executive cordially agreed that the L.N.U. should be the British member of the Association.

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION DIARY FOR 1942

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## RUSSIA CALLING

By GORDON DROMORE

In this hour all eyes are turned to Russia, all ears are tuned in. We are eager to know more about our gallant ally.

Yet it has never been easy to get at the facts about the new Russia. For several reasons. The size of the country—the biggest and most composite continent in the world—the profound secrecy clamped down by the Russian Government itself on so much that was going on, the mutual suspicions and ignorance which this policy engendered, the aggressiveness of such propaganda searchlights as were switched on, for or against or round and about the Russian experiment—all have made cool, accurate judgment and an unbiassed picture a rare occurrence.

But by an equally rare piece of luck, a booklet has just appeared, pat to the occasion, which clearly and simply gives a reasonably unbiassed, honest-to-God picture of the lives of ordinary Russian men and women, and does tell us what they are doing and how they look on the outside world, and suggests the sort of way in which we two great peoples can help each other now, in the death-grapple with the Nazi evil, and afterwards, when there is peace. It is *OUR ALLY RUSSIA*, by Jennie Lee (Hurricane Book, W. H. Allen, 6d.). We just cannot afford to miss it, neither we nor our friends.

The background of the book is vital. We have got to remember the following: If we are to try to be impartial, we must compare much of Russia's progress with that in her own past, rather than with this or that classic advance in democratic countries. We must never forget that Russia has been working against time, in an atmosphere of fear of attack, first after the last war and then, recently, in face of the menace of Germany and Japan to her western and eastern frontiers. This made for lopsidedness and lack of balance. Thirdly, Russia is so vast that it is nonsense to expect the same progress over the

whole area. The key point is that the new Russia has made a definite beginning and is moving in a broad settled direction. On the new gospel of planning ahead for her own people hang all the Law and the Prophets. Lastly, in the period of passing from the old order to the new, big changes and fresh details have been frankly introduced, especially by Stalin, where experience or a new emergency has dictated.

Here are some illustrations. Take Housing. There are many new, fine housing estates in the bigger towns. They are infinitely better than any Russia had before. But they are not yet enough to go round, mainly because preparation to meet attack has held up material, so that in many parts of Russia housing bears a resemblance to our war-time evacuation schemes. But, for all this, every Russian implicitly believes his Government's assurance that it is determined in time and with peace to give him a comfortable home of his own. The future is assured.

In earlier days we heard a lot about Russia's experiments in marriage. That is over. To-day the Government insists on regular marriage as a centre of national life.

What of religion? The position is this. The official Soviet policy is still anti-God or, in more western parlance, "ultra-rationalist." But combined with this goes a real measure of tolerance for those who wish to keep their old religion. There are still abundant places of worship. To-day many marriages take place in church, and at the present moment services are held all over Russia in which prayers are offered for the victory of the Red Army.

Russia has every reason to be proud of her record for education. Illiteracy has been practically abolished, and this in a country where it often reached a figure of 80 per cent. Russian education, again owing to circumstances, has been of a

particular kind. The immediate aim has been to produce good engineers, chemists, technicians, because Russia needed them most. Experience led to changes in method. To-day the authority of the teacher has been restored; the discipline in class and the technical curriculum are pretty similar to that in many western schools. At the same time, Russians are now taught to be proud of their own history—an analogy is drawn between Peter the Great and Stalin—and their great literature. The chief weaknesses are lack of buildings and teaching staff, needed on a Continental scale and, more important, a hampering ignorance of the history, past and present, of the world outside Russia. Nevertheless, these seem to be temporary drawbacks.

One of the early Communist slogans was the Cult of the Working Man. How has this fared? Here, again, change and adaptation in the light of experience. In practice, control by all workers led to ludicrous parodies and chaotic paralysis of production. The same pay for door-keeper and managing director simply put a premium on shirking responsibility. And the Russian system rests on planning industry as a whole, which cannot be done without a great measure of individual responsibility. So Stalin jettisoned Communist theory and demanded "cadres, people who have mastered technique," so that Russia should not be "lame on both feet." To-day, citizens are paid according to their services; there may be a very large difference between individual salaries; but it was the common-sense way to give impetus to absolutely necessary production.

Turning to defence, the great problem of the fighting to-day, we note at once that total war has been envisaged from the first. The whole people have taken part in defence for years, and have been brought up to be ready to make the total sacrifice, even of the "scorched earth"

policy, if the crisis came. Every Russian man and woman learns to shoot and to drop from a parachute and grasp the elements of military science. Tractors and tractor-drivers have been regarded as potential tanks and tank experts: the plant was ready to be switched over to the production of tanks. A.R.P. was nation-wide, long before war came. At the same time the State did everything to make these duties exciting, colourful, dramatic, fashionable; there were plenty of prizes, a blaze of publicity. And the whole people worked on the friendliest relations with the Red Army, of whom they are every bit as proud as we are of our Navy or Air Force. There is no question of the adequacy of Russian manpower. The only danger—due once more to Russia's fight against time—is lack of continuous supply of fighting equipment. It is our first and immediate task to help Russia, here, with every ounce of our strength. This is the duty of every munition worker.

Of course, we shall be warned of the world menace of Communism when war is over. But, first, let us be quite clear on this point. To beat Hitler, both we and Russia will have to use our whole strength—all of it. That means that when Victory comes we shall both want, above all, rest from fighting and to have time to heal our wounds; time and freedom to rebuild our own house. In that day of victory the most urgent thing of all will be a feeling of security against external attack. That security, if we and the U.S.A. rise to our responsibilities, can be guaranteed. What finer prize could any Peace Settlement offer, whether to Russia or the world at large?

"There is a great sense of waiting throughout the world," says our author, "waiting for a lead that will show us how we can plan our material resources and yet leave men's spirits free. The older democracies have half the answer. Russia has half." Surely we can make a great national effort to bring these parts together and to put our mutual relations on a firm and permanent basis. Let us go to it.

## A FRANK OPINION

DEAR EDITOR,

You ask for my frank opinion on the Union's Statement of Policy. I think that it was a gallant essay in definition, that it has served usefully as a stimulus to discussion, and that its first fourteen clauses have clarified that discussion. But I think the remaining clauses—the constructive proposals—are in some respects inadequately thought out and loosely drafted.

Look first at Clause 15, the one which says that there must be "an international authority as nearly representative of the civilised world as possible." This is vague and misleading: it gives no help in answering the crucial question—how is a balance to be struck between the need for more universality in the League's membership, and the need for more loyalty. A League that was "as nearly representative as possible" would have no entrance subscription, no test of membership, which might exclude any State. But the Union evidently does not mean that the League should be a perfectly open club: it means the club to have a fairly stiff test of membership, as Clauses 21 and 22 indicate. What Clause 15 really means to say, I imagine, is that membership should be as wide as is possible consistently with the sincere acceptance of certain essential obligations.

Clause 16 simply says that the League, with a modified Covenant, should be the international authority.

Clause 17 says that the two main functions of this Authority, namely, "maintaining peace, and improving the economic and social life of the world, should be kept distinct with separate procedures." I think this is unfortunately phrased. It is an illusion to suppose that political peace building and economic peace building can be "kept distinct." If the economic and social side of the League's work is to be greatly developed, as it should be, it will produce valuable

advantages for the participating States; but such advantages will only be willingly extended to States which are also partners in acceptance of the League's obligations for respecting and preserving the peace. Without a firmly built collective peace system there will not be any world-wide international reforms in the economic or social field.

Clause 17 goes on to say that "all its humanitarian activities and its arbitral or judicial functions should be performed by the whole League, but responsibility for the exercise of force" in preventing or suppressing aggression should be entrusted to a selected group of Powers. Here again this is not, I think, what the Union means. Clause 21 shows that we do mean that every member of the League must accept a substantial share of the responsibility for preventing and stopping war. It would, I believe, be fatal to accept the principle that the minimum subscription for membership of the League includes no responsibility for the prevention of war and no risk of painful consequences resulting from such prevention. The wording of Clause 17 is, in my view, unfortunate.

I will say nothing about Clauses 18 or 19: Clause 19, in its original form (HEADWAY, December, 1940), was fortunately withdrawn: the present text defers decision on the crucial problems of peaceful change to "a further statement."

Clause 20 contains the proposal for regional groups, each with a regional General Staff. The business of these Staffs would be, presumably, to plan sanctions against any member who violated the Covenant within that region. I have never been able to understand how such a regional Staff could effectively make plans which would be at the same time effective and known to all its members. And I do not believe that the League's mobilisation of power for the protection of its covenants will proceed, or should be encouraged

to proceed, along regional lines. The world is becoming one place, psychologically and physically. It is no accident that at this moment the United States, the great isolationist Power, is intervening not only in South America but in Greenland, Iceland, in the fate of Indo-China and Dakar; not only sending supplies to England but pushing them up through the Red Sea to Suez.

Clause 21 says that all members "ought to take all reasonable steps" (whatever that means) "to prevent or stop" aggression: in no case may they "assist the aggressor" or "assert neutrality." But the ordinary League member—one belonging to the so-called "outer ring"—"should only be bound to take such coercive action . . . as in all the circumstances of the case, and after consultation with the other members of the international authority, it should think desirable." I do not wonder that this phrase has been diversely interpreted. To what extent does it make sharing in the risks of sanctions genuinely optional? The explanatory paper published in the July HEADWAY defines the obligation as being one of "non-belligerent partiality": each member would be bound "to withhold the supply of all war materials to the aggressor State and to supply them to the victim of aggression." That means that every member must participate in economic sanctions of the fullest kind, such as the withholding of oil from a Mussolini, even though the Mussolini of to-morrow should threaten war if this step were taken. The commentary says something definite: the statement itself says vaguely something quite different. In the effort to make the sanctions obligation less formidable, Clause 21 has dissolved the obligation into something not much more substantial than the grin on the Cheshire cat.

Clause 23, the one about an international Air Force, looks strange alongside of Clause 21. For whereas the Sanctions Clause assumes that the risks of membership must be reduced so as to make membership easy for everyone, the Air

Force clause seems to imply that all may soon be ready for an immense jump forward into World Government. An organically international Air Force, under the control of the International Authority, can only function if the Authority is in a position to wield the world's supreme coercive power without serious challenge. If the world has reached a stage when all the nations capable of building a substantial air force are willing to abolish that national weapon, trusting to the power in the hands of the International Authority, then we shall be so far along the road to Commonwealth that the timid equivocations of Clause 21 will have been left far behind.

W. ARNOLD FORSTER.

## RELIGION AND THE LEAGUE

(Continued from page 2.)

motives implanted by God and have their part to play in man's training. But in the ordering of international life we are still on the level of Rivalry and have not reached that of Reason. "At present the relation of civilised states to one another is still determined by Pride, which in this connexion is usually called self-interest" (Wm. Temple).

Now the need of religion will be apparent. Christianity has always condemned Sensuality and Self-assertion in the individual, and in supporting the reign of Reason it gives to that somewhat cold-blooded virtue the driving-force it needs. Christians do not want merely to supersede stupid selfishness by enlightened selfishness, but to apply to states what we have always urged on individuals, and to assist man to build not a new order so much as a true order in which the general will of man shall be controlled by reason, and reason inspired by the Spirit of God.



### FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

#### "Let it Roll"

SIR,—In the August issue of HEADWAY Lord Lytton makes some rather unflattering comments on Sir Rowland Evans' pamphlet, "Let It Roll." It is with great diffidence that I venture to differ from Lord Lytton, but is there not something to be said on the other side?

The central idea of "Let It Roll" is that the most hopeful starting-point (the word "starting-point" should be underlined) for the organisation of peace in the post-War world would be a close partnership in world affairs between Great Britain and the United States. In laying stress on the cardinal importance of American co-operation is not "Let It Roll" more realistic than "World Settlement After the War," which is silent on the point? Lord Lytton now explains that the "World Settlement" scheme does, in fact, assume American co-operation, but that the Executive left this to be inferred because they had no authority to be explicit. If, in the opinion of the Executive, the scheme would be unworkable without the active support of the United States, it is difficult to understand what authority they needed for saying so. Had the Executive made it clear that such support was pre-supposed, it would have been realised that the practical value of their proposals must be judged in the light of this immense assumption. Is it not—to say the least—extremely questionable whether the United States would, in fact, be likely to be attracted by a scheme involving, in a high degree, the kind of commitment from which American opinion has always recoiled? May there not be at least a better prospect of favourable consideration being given to the kind of loose and informal partnership with Great Britain envisaged by Sir Rowland Evans as the nucleus of a gradually widening group of free nations?

Lord Lytton objects to Sir Rowland Evans' scheme on the ground that it would be of little use to the smaller States of Europe; "Sir Rowland," he says, "offers them nothing which would meet their needs." If those States are realists, is it beyond doubt that the "World Settlement" scheme would seem to them to offer a more reliable guarantee of security than the certainty that any would-be *Herrenvolk* would have to reckon with the solid fact of an Anglo-American commanding, and having actually available, an ample sufficiency of armed strength? Lord Lytton thinks that if such a partnership were created, the result would be the emergence of "a revived Axis bloc which, on the Continent of Europe, would have an overwhelming superiority." But no Axis bloc could attain such superiority unless provided with the means of doing so by the British Empire and the United States, which control between them a decisive proportion of the materials indispensable for armaments. It is of the essence of Sir Roland Evans' scheme that that control shall be exercised so as to check potential aggressors by nipping their re-armament in the bud—a point to which "World Settlement After the War" makes no explicit reference.

Severely though he criticises Sir Rowland Evans, Lord Lytton ends by pointing to certain passages in "Let It Roll," which seem to him to suggest that "our critics are coming along hopefully, even if they do not yet realise where they are going." If Sir Rowland Evans' proposals are looked at as a whole, it will, I think, be seen that he does realise where he is going, and that his ultimate destination is not so very different from Lord Lytton's though they disagree as to the route, and, in particular, as to the starting-point.

Yours obediently,

LEONARD STEIN.

Temple, E.C. 4.