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# HEADWAY

## IN WAR-TIME

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### WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS

By A. S. DUNCAN-JONES

*(The Very Rev. the Dean of Chichester contributes this month's commentary on the Statement of Policy.)*

The statement of policy of the L.N.U. published in January, 1941, sets forth the principles that should be followed after the war in order to attain a durable peace. It also outlines the machinery which will be necessary to carry out those principles. It may be said at once that these principles are those embodied in the Covenant, for which the Union has contended so long. The statement rightly insists that in the construction of any new machinery after the war to implement League principles, the cardinal point is to ensure the reliability of the guarantors of the law.

#### Separating Functions

It is hoped to secure this by separating the function of maintaining peace from that of improving the economic and social life of the world.

The economic and humanitarian activities would be promoted by a restored League of Nations, the members of which would not be pledged to any responsibilities for action against a rebel aggressor. They should merely help by

condemning the aggressor and refusing him any assistance. The maintenance of peace would be performed regionally, by groups pledged to use to the full all their combined economic and military forces to suppress the rebel in their own region. The regional groups should also, when possible, deal with all economic and social questions that fall within their area.

#### Attractive but too Elaborate

Attractive as this scheme is in many ways, I confess to doubts whether so elaborate a scheme will be practicable in view of past experience, and even more when the state of things that will probably emerge at the end is brought into consideration.

Lord Cecil has powerfully shown in "A Great Experiment" how dependent the social welfare activities of the League were on its success in performing its peace-securing functions. This will be even more true when the Nazi yoke is lifted from the continent of Europe. The position will be quite

different from "last time." Then a number of nations still existed, or, like Czechoslovakia and Poland, had sprung into new and organised life. This time, the boundaries of all nations between the Atlantic and the Dvina-Dniester line will be chaotic; vast populations will have been transported, and no organised state life will exist.

### Restoring Order

The first problem will be to restore order in Europe. This is a task requiring enormous wisdom, as well as undisputed strength. Who is to do it in such a way as to guard against the outbreak of civil and local wars in more than one area, and at the same time to help the hamstrung nations to their feet? It can only be done, in the first instance, by the British Commonwealth and the U.S.A. If American soldiers are not required during the war, they will certainly be needed afterwards. This seems to make a hole in the conception of regional peace-keeping, unless the region is held to include North America and Australasia. (Africa must not be forgotten.)

The first thing then should be to form a Confederation of Nations to perform this terrific task, a confederation that should become the nucleus of an all-embracing League. Even so, there will be great opposition: Isolationism will rear its head again; war-weary voices will be heard urging the abandonment of Europe. Stalin's Russia will, unless the regime has collapsed meanwhile, be a sinister meddler. Only a supreme and widespread effort, based on a belief in the unity of mankind, can overcome these enemies.

### An Eight Point Programme

I suggest that, as soon as possible,

the Governments of the British Commonwealth and of the United States, together with responsible representatives of European peoples, should declare their aims in some such form as the following eight points:

1. A confederation of nations strong and united must be formed reliably pledged to uphold the rule of law among themselves, and to resist any aggression from outside.
2. The confederation will create judicial organs to deal with grievances by the methods of argument and persuasion.
3. The confederation will secure the rule of law among its members by requiring firm and stable guarantees to abide by the legal decisions of the confederation and to enforce them by every necessary means.
4. The confederation will possess a military force on land and sea, and in the air, to which each nation or group of nations will make an agreed contribution, national police work being performed regionally.
5. The confederation will strengthen its solidarity by an economic policy that will ensure to every nation within it, great or small, a just share in the common resources. Within the confederation there will be the utmost possible freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, freedom of publication, and freedom of speech.
6. The advantages of such a confederation will be security against attack, economic well-being, and free development of the spiritual and cultural powers of all human beings who belong to it.
7. These advantages will give the confederation great attractive force; the immediate aim, a solid nucleus; the ultimate aim, a world-wide association.
8. The creation of such a confederation depends entirely upon the growth of a spirit of fraternal solidarity among the peoples of the world, based on a belief in the fundamental brotherhood of man.

## A FREE FRENCH VIEW ON THE STATEMENT

By L. E. GENISSIEUX, Acting Director, French Institute in London  
(*HEADWAY* hopes to publish, from time to time, representative views of our Allies on "World Settlement after the War.")

After the war the first task for statesmen will be to bring about a settlement between the belligerent nations. The solution of this first problem, leading to a comparative consolidation of the world, is likely to occupy an interim period between the cessation of hostilities and the time when a sufficiently stable situation has been reached to enable the solution of a second and wider problem to be attempted. This will be nothing less than an endeavour to organise the world as a whole. This problem will involve the whole world and the whole of mankind.

### Ethical Basis

An ethical principle, a spiritual driving force, an ideology capable of inspiring all men, will have to be formulated as a basis. It is submitted that this principle should be the reaffirmation of the absolute value of the individual human person, whose rights, the Rights of Man\*, are only limited by the equal rights of his fellowmen, and whose ultimate allegiance is to the human race as a whole.

### World Economic Planning

The destruction of wealth, and private and public impoverishment caused by the war should provide an opportunity for economic reorganisation on a world-wide scale. Its purpose should be to render available to each man the whole productive capacity of the globe.

\* Freedom of opinion, adequate standard of living, etc.

It follows that both the doctrine of *laissez-faire* and the attempt at national economic self-sufficiency should be definitely abandoned in favour of a planned economy embracing the whole world.

### Political Rearrangement

It is conceivable and indeed desirable that a unified world government, or Parliament of man, should exist some day. In the meantime some form of supranational authority is an urgent necessity. Although its ultimate object must be the welfare of the human race as a whole and the protection of each individual human being in the enjoyment of his rights as a man, yet in practice this supranational authority will have to deal, not with individual men, but with collectivities and their conflicting claims.

Of these collectivities, one type, especially in its totalitarian form, has been the curse of modern times. It is the Nation-State, with its inherent tendencies both to oppress the individual within its boundaries and to refuse to cooperate with other Nation-States, nay to assume a hostile and aggressive attitude towards them. The Nation-State is the modern equivalent of the tribe or the horde. The supranational authority should not be just a League of Nation-States. A League of Nations is quite as likely to stimulate nationalism as to curb it. Yet, nationalism has to be curbed.

There are three ways of limiting the

sovereignty, of restricting the self-assumed omnipotence, and of curbing the arrogance of the Nation-State.

(1) One is to favour the development of smaller, partly autonomous communities within the State. Actual examples are Scotland and Wales within Great Britain. A possibility exists of provincial regionalism in France. Of particular importance would be the application of this process to Germany.

(2) Another way is to form larger political units comprising several States. These larger units may be continental Federations or world-wide Empires, such as the British Commonwealth of Nations. Both these forms of larger grouping are legitimate and may exist concurrently. As a matter of fact, Great Britain is both a unit in a world-wide Commonwealth and a component part in a European political system. Another possible form of larger grouping is the union of two or more States or Empires. A Franco-British union would be welcome to many Frenchmen, and might be the nucleus of a larger group comprising those European nations which have a common outlook. It is obvious that, within such larger units, relations between individuals would be particularly close and intimate.

(3) There are also human communities which transcend the frontiers of the Nation-States. They are international bodies of various types: of religious creeds; international unions of workers—whether intellectual or manual; industrial or commercial cartels or trusts; international financial groups, etc.

It seems that the representative Assembly of the supranational authority, the general Council of the human race, should consist not merely of delegates of the Governments of the States,

but of representatives of other human collectivities established for the defence of spiritual or material interests. One can visualise an Assembly composed of political men *and* of delegates of corporative bodies. The constitution of the International Labour Organisation appears to have led the way in this direction.

The supranational authority, not yet a world government, should, however, fulfil one function of all governments, the judicial function, for it will have to settle the conflicting claims of the smaller collectivities. This might be achieved by an extension of the powers of the International Court at The Hague. Further, in order that the decisions of this supranational authority may be enforced, it will probably be found necessary to endow it with the power to enforce these decisions by economic and, if needs be, by military sanctions. To this end the setting up of an International Air Force appears desirable.

### DISCUSSING PEACE AIMS?

then you must read

#### *The Future of International Government*

by E. H. Carr and S. de Madariaga, 4d. (postage 1d.)

#### *The Economic Revolution*

by Harold Laski, Wilfred Wellock and P. W. Martin. 6d. (postage 1d.)

#### *The Spiritual Basis of Peace*

by H. G. Wood, Ritchie Calder and Norman Bentwich. 6d. (postage 1d.)

A specimen copy of PEACE AIMS—a monthly survey—will be sent on application.

**NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL,**  
39, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1

## THE TORCH IN SWEDEN

Three new pamphlets which have arrived from Stockholm bring tangible evidence that our friends of the Swedish League of Nations Society and I.P.C. are vigorously resisting all temptations and propaganda from the Axis. "*What do We Mean by Peace?*", "*What is Democracy?*", and "*Words and Deeds of Mussolini*" are the titles of these useful publications, which are finding a wide circulation. The first two, in particular, are intended to promote discussion, and probably owe something to Mr. W. Arnold-Forster's suggestions for study groups, which were sent to Sweden and there translated. Some people—writes Mr. Allan Degerman, the Secretary of the Swedish Society—understate the strong intention of the Swedish nation to stand firm against Axis blandishments. These pamphlets show clearly that, even within the Nazi ring, there is still life in the constructive peace movement; and that the battle (which is part of our battle) is being waged by men of exceptional ability, courage and resource.

Naturally Mr. Degerman and those who are working with him have had a hard time since the over-running of Norway, the fall of the Low Countries, and the capitulation of France. Their problems—though Sweden is a country nominally at peace—are strikingly similar to ours in Britain. Many of their supporters have been taken from their ordinary work in order to man the various defence services. In addition, there is great preoccupation with the economic difficulties which the war and Hitler's stranglehold on Europe's trade have brought to Sweden. Yet public interest in international affairs, particularly in post-war reconstruction, has not been stifled.

Eighteen national organisations are still giving active support to the Central Committee, only one having dropped out as a war casualty. Fifty delegates from these organisations and from local committees attended the annual meeting in February, which lasted two days, and was a great

success. Mr. Halvar Khennet, in opening a discussion on "The future of the Scandinavian countries," proposed a Nordic federation as an integral part of a post-war international authority. Professor Eli F. Heckscher, the well-known economist of the University of Stockholm, spoke on "The Rebuilding of Europe"; and Mr. Oscar Olsson, a member of the Swedish Parliament, gave a lecture on "Education for Democracy and Peace."

The last summer school, which was attended by some 60 teachers, students, youth leaders and others, got exceptionally good publicity; and it has been decided this year to run two summer schools in July and August. Lectures on the organisation of peace are being continued at the schools and training colleges. A correspondence course, based on the pamphlet "*From Manchuria to Oslofjord*" (see HEADWAY, November, 1940, p. 9), is now being used by about 40 study circles throughout Sweden.

Perhaps Mr. Degerman and his colleagues will derive extra encouragement from the knowledge that their gallant efforts to carry on with so live a programme are not unobserved, not unwelcomed, by their fellow workers in Britain!

### EMPIRE DAY LEAFLET

This year's *Empire Day Leaflet*, published by the Council for Education in World Citizenship (established by the League of Nations Union), breaks new ground. In addition to messages from Viscount Cranborne and Mr. Menzies (Prime Minister of Australia), its chief feature is an "Empire Notebook." This not only describes a conception of Empire entirely strange to Nazi thought, but also gives impressive facts and figures about the Empire's answer to Hitler—the Empire's war effort. The cost is 4s. for 50, 7s. 6d. for 100, £3 for 1,000, or single copies 2½d., post free.

## EUROPE AND THE FAR EAST

By GORDON DROMORE

The Far East cannot be isolated from Europe to-day. This is bedrock fact. The war now raging in Europe and the war which has been rampant for years in Asia are intimately connected in origin and design. At any moment they may become fused.

The military mentality in the background, the novel devil's technique of violence veiled beneath distorted loyalties and perverted facts, the plain return to barbarism, are the same both for Europe and for Asia. At various times the aggressors have borrowed freely from each other's precept and practice. Their policies have been a constant inspiration to each other. Hitler and Matsuoka alike believe in blackmail, the big stick and the big lie.

True, for the moment, simultaneous strategy for both West and East, for Europe and Asia, may not be in evidence. But it is potentially there, and may come into action suddenly with a smash. The plans have been made, plans against the common enemy, the Democracies. Merely to hope for the best is insane. The only real reply in present circumstances is common, concentrated co-operation between the British Empire and the United States, in face of an ever-increasing menace.

### A Sinister Parallel

Let us look closely at the features of this menace in Asia. We cannot miss a sinister parallel between Nazi and Jap policy. *Mein Kampf* is matched with the notorious *Tanaka Memorial* of 1927. Everyone knows the stages, varied according to opportunist demands, of Hitler's conquests in Europe. But how many are equally aware of the

conquests outlined in the Tanaka programme, in full consultation with Naval and Military High Command? China must be conquered first; after that, Japan must push on to Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand. Even Suez was a possible plum from a dead and decadent Democracy. Of these aims, some are *faits accomplis*.

### Still the Blue Print

Like *Mein Kampf*, the Tanaka plan had its exaggerations and absurdities. But let us not forget this: It is still the Blue Print of Japan's expansion in the East to-day, just as *Mein Kampf* is the Bible for Germany's aggression in the West. Hitler's "New Order" for Europe has its very brother in—as the Singapore Chinese call it in pidgin English—Japan's New "Odour" for Asia. The Asiatic version differs in having advanced less far. Its menace to the civilisation of the world is the same.

What has happened to date in Asia is this. A great part of China has been conquered, at the cost of millions of lives. This is the continental part of the programme, backed by the Japanese militarists and financial interests. But it has been held up by the stubbornness of the Chinese and the supreme genius of their hero, General Chiang Kai-Shek. For the time being, the Japanese army—a million men—is bogged in China. Over vast areas, only mechanised forces can keep communications open. So the next stage has been started: the South Sea policy, backed by the Navy and the banking and shipping interests. Key points here have been the occupation by Japan of the

strategic island of Hainan and the Spratley Islands; her recent right to use Indo-China's naval and air bases; and her intervention, later still, in the dispute between Indo-China and Thailand, with the prime object of dominating both countries, so that Japan can—no doubt advised by the German High Command of the right moment—use them as a spring board to attack Singapore and to cut the Burma Road.

### The Usual Slogan

At the back of this steady, unceasing aggression there is the usual slogan—totalitarians, it seems, can hardly breathe, much less think, without one: "Asia for the Asiatics." *Lebensraum* for Japan. Bluntly this means, "Drive out the West from Asia, in order that the Japanese can comfortably step into

their boots." Or, as a fire-eating Japanese Admiral put it, "The white yolk of the egg in the Far East must be removed."

Such is the situation in the Far East to-day: fluid, but definitely dangerous because it is planned, not without concert with the Nazis, against Democracy, against the British Empire, against the United States. It can only be faced and met by a common policy of 100 per cent. co-operation between the British Empire and the United States—with their one firm friend in Asia itself, which is China.

Isolationism, dead for Europe, must be killed in Asia. Though we hate war, we must be prepared to fight and to fight together. No copying the Bourbons, who "never forgot and never learnt."

## A REAL PEACE

Viscount Cecil has written a new pamphlet, *A REAL PEACE* (Hamish Hamilton, 6d.). This is exactly what the reading public has been wanting—a popular, clear guide on how to attain, after this war, immediate security leading to ultimate co-operation. None can fail to profit from Lord Cecil's wise reflections, based on deep political insight and experience. The problem of what to do with Germany at the end of the war first engages his attention, and he finds no easy solution. "The Germans are the easiest people in the world to misgovern." Time and patience alone

*EUROPE'S TRADE.* (Allen and Unwin, League of Nations Publications. 5s.)

A study of the trade of European countries with each other and with the rest of the world. Prepared by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League.

can produce a radical cure for the spiritual and moral degeneracy of Germany which we are witnessing. In the meantime we must build up the forces of peace sufficiently to make aggression by her or any other power a hopeless proposition. If we learn the lesson of this war, we shall not in future go either politically or militarily unprepared. The chief problem of the Peace will be how to correct that frame of mind which takes a traditionally narrow view of "national interests." In latter chapters on the International Authority and the Peace Machinery, such matters as regional groups and the three stages of peace-making are discussed, as well as the necessity for extending the constructive work of the League and the I.L.O.

Copies of the pamphlet are on sale at the Union's Book Shop, 11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C. 2.

## A PARTNERSHIP OF PURPOSE AND POWER

By LADY VIOLET BONHAM-CARTER

(In her Presidential Address to the London Regional Federation)

There never has been a more difficult moment for honest thinkers to see the future of our cause and all it stands for in clear and concrete terms. To-day the world is in eruption. The fate of peoples, frontiers, faiths is in the melting pot; and, when the boiling lava cools and hardens, what strange shapes it may assume we can't foresee. Can we, by taking thought, control, direct and guide this "shape of things to come"?

This war is not a mere struggle between nations. It is a war of faiths, a conflict of ideas; and it must be won not merely on the battlefields of land, sea and sky, but in the minds of men. We of the L.N.U. have, I think, a double duty to perform. First, to stand fast on our own spiritual frontier, to keep alive in our own minds and in the minds of others the vital principles for which we fight. And secondly, to make sure, as far as we have power to do so, that the immeasurable sacrifice we watch to-day shall not be thrown away a second time by selfishness and cowardice and lack of vision.

I have never felt that, in the so-called "failure" of the League of Nations, the fault lay with the machinery of the old League, once Germany was inside it. The machinery was never given a chance to work. The fault lay not with the machine, not even with the peoples, but with the Governments who refused to work it. On at least two major occasions—Manchuria and Abyssinia—the League was not allowed to function.

I am too ignorant of the domestic politics of the U.S.A. at that period to

assert dogmatically that public opinion in that country would have supported Mr. Stimson in his desire to stand up to Japan over Manchuria. But we do know that his offer of collaboration was turned down by Sir John Simon, that we did not even invoke the Nine Power Treaty.

### "Shadow Boxing"

In the case of Abyssinia, it was perfectly clear to all that the gestures we made through the League were mere shadow-boxing. We never even went as far as to apply economic sanctions, though fifty nations had pledged themselves to follow us. We had not even screwed up our courage to impose the oil sanction when the pass was sold by the Hoare-Laval proposals, one of the most disreputable pages in our history.

*The complete collapse of the Italian Empire in the last few months has proved how easily we could then have pricked that bubble, vindicated the authority of the League, and won the battle of law and order in Europe. . . . But we ran away.* Our condonation of Italy's aggression in Abyssinia made it morally impossible for us to take action when Germany re-occupied the Rhineland. Then followed the cynical and dishonest farce of Non-Intervention, the invasion of Austria, the betrayal of Czechoslovakia, our desperate attempt to save Poland by scattering unilateral guarantees on countries we were powerless to save. That was the so-called policy of Realism. Our rulers thought themselves realists because they had scrapped ideals—which were also the soundest common sense.

For nations as with individuals it is, as Lord Grey once said, the same: "To do the right is usually the right thing to do." Also nothing is more inexpedient than the pursuit of so-called "expediency."

### Our Hands are Clean

From all this tragic history, the *League of Nations Union* emerges with clean hands. We never advocated unilateral disarmament. We consistently urged resistance to aggression. We were, in fact, called bloodthirsty pacifists for so doing. I confess to feeling something rather stronger than impatience when I am told—as I was told by a member of the Government—that our national unpreparedness for war and our unwillingness to face it were entirely due to the peace propaganda and activities of the L.N.U., and in particular to the Peace Ballot. Had those who criticise the Peace Ballot read the questions asked, they would know that it was in fact a militant declaration, recognised and welcomed as such by the present Prime Minister—for I think I am right in saying that 75 per cent. of those who voted voted for military sanctions against an aggressor.

Mere avoidance of war is not peace. The years of appeasement were not peace. Peace is not a passive, negative condition. It is a positive, dynamic state for which we must be prepared to pay as high a price in effort and in sacrifice as we do in war itself. The Peace Machine—the new League, by whatever name we call it—must be backed by a power which all may invoke with confidence, which none may dare to challenge with impunity.

There is a school which believes that the great majority of German people are groaning under a yoke which they abhor as much as we do; that they are

the helpless victims of a tyranny from which they look to us to bring them liberation; that, if we only treat them with generosity and confidence after the war, they can be trusted to put their own house in order, to rebuild a new and civilised Germany on democratic lines. This view I held very strongly after the last war—and I still think that if we had acted on it then and done our best to support and uphold the democratic Government which was feebly trying to struggle to its feet, Nazism might have never seen the light of day. But to-day there is no national, no popular, expression of condemnation or disapproval in Germany.

### The Sanction of Force

We must therefore arm our new League with the sanction of force. We must in the words of Pascal "bring together Might and Justice so that that which is just shall be mighty and that which is mighty be just." We believe that we can trust our sense of justice. Where shall we find the might? *I can see its foundations only in a partnership of purpose and of power between the British Commonwealth of Nations and the U.S.A.* In these dark days I believe that our people and the great people of America have seen a great light. We have realised, perhaps for the first time in both our histories, that we believe in the same things, that we stand for the same things, that there is only one world worth living in for both our peoples and that is a free world. A common faith, stronger than the blood which unites us and the great waters which flow between us, now binds us together; and, because our partnership is rooted in this reality, it will endure.

I am not suggesting an exclusive Anglo-American Alliance on the old lines, but a partnership which should

take the lead in organising the world for peace and provide the power to enforce it—a partnership to which all like-minded nations could adhere. I do not wish to suggest how it should work, whether by federal institutions or by consultations between sovereign Governments. Others besides ourselves must have a say in that. Two things seem to me essential to the new structure. One is the obligation of mutual defence. The British-American partnership and those who join it would have to guarantee their fellow members against acts of aggression, by the maintenance of a powerful fleet and air force to which each member guaranteed to make his contribution. This force might ultimately become the International Police Force. Then secondly, there must be economic co-operation and re-organisation. We cannot, even by pooling defence, establish order in a world of economic chaos. There must be an end of the madness of tariff barriers and currency restrictions, the deliberate creation of scarcity out of plenty. There must be free access for all peoples to the raw materials of the earth.

### The New Order

There is one last thing I should like to find a place for in our new Charter of Peace when it is drawn up. I think Mr. H. G. Wells is right when he urges the necessity of a restatement of the Rights of Man. The peoples of Europe know very well that these rights were not safeguarded by the old Order. They live under the shadow of many fears—fear of injustice, fear of want, fear of war. We must prove to them that we can build a better Europe than the old

one—that we can forge a unity, not like Hitler's, forced upon slaves from above, but a unity born of the free choice of free peoples.

Looking at Europe to-day, you may well ask me, "How can these things be accomplished?" And I can only answer you and myself in the words of John Bright. "How is it that any great thing can be accomplished? By love of Justice, by constant devotion to a great cause, and by an unflinching faith that what is right will in the end prevail."

### AMERICAN SPADEWORK

More than a hundred of the Americans who have at various times participated in the activities of the League of Nations recently attended a conference at Princeton University. They were invited by the University, the Institute for Advanced Study and the Rockefeller Institute—the three bodies which offered the technical and social sections of the League a war-time home. Those present included some of the foremost economists as well as experts in health, nutrition and social questions, and the American judge on the World Court.

It is certain that vast experience in international administration in every field of human activity, from health to mandates, from opium to intellectual co-operation, from labour to business, will be at the command of the nations when they have to wrestle with the problems of reconstruction. "It does not distract from the job of winning the war," writes Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger in *CHANGING WORLD*, the organ of the American League of Nations Association, "to discuss now what the peace must be."

## PROGRESS IN S. AFRICA

"At the end of this year of war," writes the Secretary of the Johannesburg League of Nations Union in the annual report for 1940, which has just reached us, "our position has improved all round. The membership has increased slightly, the financial position has improved, and the meetings have been better attended than in time of peace. This is no doubt due to increased interest in international affairs, and to the growing realisation that at the end of this war a more stable international organisation will have to be established."

A series of meetings on "Reconstruction after the War" aroused great interest. Four lunch meetings and four evening meetings were held first of all. As the former were particularly successful, four more monthly lunches with addresses were arranged. A discussion group was formed to thrash out the pros and cons of Federal

Union. The Rosebank Peace Group held five meetings, four being devoted to the study of Mr. W. Arnold-Forster's suggestions for a syllabus on "War Aims and Peace Aims."

On behalf of the South African League of Nations Union, the Johannesburg Secretary attended the Conference of the Transvaal High School Teachers' Association, to introduce the League health film, "Struggle for Life." To follow this up, the L.N.U. NEWS SHEET containing an article on the health work of the League in war-time was sent to every teacher who had attended the conference.

In the schools, last year, successful essay competitions were organised by the South African League of Nations Union.

"We cannot begin too early," concludes the annual report, "to plan and to educate for a just and durable peace."

## NEWS FROM SWITZERLAND

*(This letter from the Secretary of the Swiss League of Nations Society, although written in February, shows that oases of freedom still exist amidst the Nazi desert.)*

"I can give you good news: we have got over the period of discouragement between June and September, 1940. Now everything is ready for defending our country at all cost, and the people's will to preserve their liberty is absolutely unbroken. But we are living in the midst of ever present dangers, and each success by the British makes our own position more perilous. Life here is not very different from that in a belligerent country: black out, more and more rationing, and labour swallowed up by military needs.

"Personally my life has not undergone any very great changes. I am still directing our League of Nations Society, which is carrying on its work amidst the storm.

In addition, I am engaged in activities the whole object of which is to battle against every kind of defeatism.

"You can be certain that Switzerland will keep faith, even if the Press (and the Government as well) has become very cautious. . . .

"News from occupied France is absolutely unobtainable. Poor France! She is suffering terribly—worse than Austria after 1918.

"We follow events with a passionate interest, and in a spirit which you can guess. Greetings to our English friends! Our admiration is real, even if we cannot always shout it from the housetops."

## UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

The LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION has always prided itself on getting the best in Presidents. Lady Violet Bonham-Carter's presidential address at the Swedenborg Hall, on May 7, the substance of which is given in this number of HEADWAY, was the finest possible evidence that this year again the tradition has been maintained. "Very beautiful, very helpful" was the way in which Mr. A. J. Howe, the L.R.F. chairman, described it. This memorable flow of reasoned eloquence, however, was not the only notable feature of the Annual General Meeting. The Hon. Harold Nicolson, the retiring President, declared in a characteristically breezy little speech that he had never lost faith in the League and never would. He visualised as the outcome of the present struggle a League purified by sufferings and strengthened by a determination which must never falter—a League more useful and infinitely more progressive than any New Order which Hitler might devise. Messages were received from Mr. Clynes, Miss Megan Lloyd George, and Dr. Leslie Burgin.

Among the principal speakers supplied by Head Office for meetings during May were the following:—Dr. Gilbert Murray at Leicester and Leamington; Dr. Jan Masaryk at Sheffield and Putney; the Master of Balliol at Buckingham; the Dean of Chichester at Eastbourne; Mr. Wilson Harris, at Dorking; Professor Arthur Newell at Croydon Town Hall; Count Balinski at Hampstead; Mr. H. Hauck (France) at Bromley; and Mrs. Corbett Ashby at Weybridge and Guildford schools.

"Our New World (*not* Hitler's) in the Making," a series of six lunch-hour talks organised by the BIRMINGHAM BRANCH attracted audiences of never less than 120, and sometimes as many as 200. The variety of points of view expressed by the speakers, as well as the policy of securing chairmen from the various walks of local life, contributed in large measure to the success of the venture. Miss Helen

Kirkpatrick, American correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, expressed the view that, whilst at present America was supplying the tools, she would be obliged in the end to send men. Sir Charles Grant Robertson took the line that the doctrine of the *Herrenvolk* was so drilled into the German people that the problem of re-educating them was gigantic. Dr. Maxwell Garnett, on the other hand, had considerable faith in the reasonableness of the bulk of the German people, and thought that when once the falsehoods of the Nazi regime had been exposed, we should be able to treat with a friendly Germany. At the other meetings, Dr. Adamkiewicz spoke on "The New Poland," Dr. Outrata (Czechoslovakia) specially stressed the need of economic planning in Europe, and Mr. H. G. Alexander, after reviewing the social work of the League in the past and present, pointed out that it was essential that this paramount work be continued.

"One of the most successful meetings ever held in the district," was the verdict on Mr. Jan Masaryk's visit to SHEFFIELD. About 550 people crowded the Memorial Hall. New members who joined included several young people who will be an asset both to the Branch and to the Youth Group.

Audiences at LEEDS (MONTAGUE BURTON BRANCH), SETTLE and GUILDFORD have been delighted with visits from Dr. Vaclav Benes, nephew of President Benes, and a member of the Staff of the Czechoslovak Foreign Office, who is now serving in the Czech Army as lieutenant in a Machine Gun Company. The Settle Branch showed its gratitude by sending a donation of £5 to Headquarters' funds. At the Surrey Federation meeting, the hall which normally holds 350, was packed, and there were people standing at the back. The audience included a good number of refugees. Mr. Birley, the Headmaster of Charterhouse, took the chair. At all his meetings, Dr. Benes was impressed by the

fire of intelligent questions to which he was subjected.

"The crowning point" of the Annual Meeting at LANCING was the excellent publicity in the local Press, so the local Secretary informs us. The chief local newspaper featured the Dean of Chichester's speech on the front page, and other reports appeared elsewhere. With this encouragement, the Branch has decided to follow up, while interest is still fresh, with another meeting. Although papers are so small, in places where we have live Branches the League and the Union are definitely "news." When the Editor of HEADWAY addressed CROUCH END'S Annual Meeting, both local papers gave prominent notices. Inviting the Press is an excellent way of ensuring that the influence of a meeting shall spread far beyond the actual audience.

BOURNVILLE WORKS BRANCH claims, in its annual report, that despite wartime difficulties, activities in every sphere (committee, propaganda, publicity, meetings and educational) have been intensified. Accounts of the meetings are regularly published in the works magazine, and speakers have been supplied on several occasions to local Adult Schools.

Longer evenings and "double summer time" have naturally resulted in a revival of evening meetings, in the London area as well as elsewhere. Satisfactory audiences are being reported. Dr. Geoffrey Shaw, re-elected President of the PADDINGTON BRANCH for the third year in succession, took the chair at the Annual Meeting, when the Editor of HEADWAY spoke on "Winning the War and the Peace." HENDON BRANCH, the WEMBLEY BROTHERHOOD, and the SOUTHALL ROTARY CLUB have also been visited by the same speaker.

KENSINGTON'S "Sandwich Lunches" at the "Wooden Horse" continue to bear out the early promise of the series. Count Balinski (Poland) and M. Tilea (Rumania) have been among recent speakers, and there are more to follow. Professor Arthur Newell, President of the American Out-

post in Britain, spoke on "America and Ourselves" at the HOLBORN BRANCH'S latest Sandwich Luncheon.

ELIE AND EARLSFERRY BRANCH had the distinction of being the first organisation to show Ministry of Information films in the district. In course of a programme lasting 1½ hours, six films were seen by an enthusiastic audience of 200, which filled the hall to capacity.

Reporting the Annual Meeting of the WALSALL BRANCH, one of the local newspapers made a muddle-headed editorial attack on the League or the Union (*which* was not clear), expressing surprise that an organisation which had brought about the war was still in existence. To this gross travesty of facts the Branch made an instant rejoinder, pointing out that it was neither the League nor the Union, but rather those who had sabotaged collective defence against aggression, who had played into Hitler's hands.

An L.N.U. garden is the latest enterprise of the ERITH BRANCH, which has been steadily carrying on its work since the outbreak of war. The produce is being sold for the purpose of buying wool to make comforts for the troops.

HANDSWORTH'S corporate war effort, launched in September, 1939, is increasing in volume month by month. Every garment and every parcel despatched bears a label carrying a message of good cheer from the L.N.U. Since over 2,000 labels have been used, the knowledge that the Union is still active and functioning must have been carried to the remotest corners of our islands as well as to farthest China and gallant Finland.

Readers who have responded to the appeal to send their copies of HEADWAY to Egypt are asked to note that this is no longer permissible, as *Statutory Rules and Orders*, 1941, No. 359, now demand a special permit, which cannot be granted to private individuals.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

## LET THE PEOPLE KNOW

When Mr. Wendell Willkie saw the ruins of Paternoster Row, where the Nazis tried to do here by bomb force what they had voluntarily done at home by bonfires, he said that the Blitz of this publishing area was highly significant—for that was “where the truth is told and Nazis hate it.” Books are not mere merchandise. A nation thinks aloud in them. They are its finest ambassadors.

Among books recommended are three dealing with German history and character.

In *A SHORT HISTORY OF THE GERMANS* (Duckworth, 3s. 6d.), *Edgar Stern-Rubarth*, a German Liberal democrat, examines the characteristics of the German people as they appear early in history; and with the Nazi regime, he concludes, “the wheel comes full circle.” This war is one more—perhaps the greatest—of “savages against civilisation.” How has this happened? A key is the German passion for domination. It led Germany to split into a number of sovereign States, and later to unite under the one State Prussia which carried the lust of domination to the nth degree. A major post-war problem is going to be how to square this deep, ingrained domination complex with the practice of co-operation which alone brings peace.

*THE GERMAN MENTALITY*, by *Verrina* (Allen and Unwin, 10s. 6d.), is Sir Robert Vansittart's main theme in *BLACK RECORD* writ large. Hitler is, he says, truly Germany. The Nazi nation is a relapse into the barbarism of past centuries. And the worst of it is that German youth has relapsed most. “The false doctrines can only be rooted out from German brains by tough and systematic labour. The German people must be fundamentally changed. Not until the Germans have learned to be ashamed of the period of Hitler and of National Socialism, when they have found again their religion, their good qualities, their diligence and sense of order, and when they plan placing their

intellectual and artistic abilities at the service of free development of mankind, will the cure be finished.”

In *THE BEAST OF THE ABYSS* (Heinemann, 8s. 6d.) *Dr. Rauschnig* develops his theme of the Calibanism, the lust for scientific destruction, inherent in Hitlerism. Late in the day Democracy has learnt this lesson. But are they proof, *Dr. Rauschnig* asks, against a further danger? Are they not too paralysed by that longing to be relieved of the burdens of civilisation? Is it not teaching them to build up against tyranny a vast apparatus of control, which by its momentum must end in Gadarene chaos? But Western Democracies are not of the German variety. They have immense political experience, are adaptive, vitally alive—witness their voluntary co-operation in this war. Above all their reliance on individual responsibility has in it the assured stuff of survival.

*THE IDEAS AND IDEALS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE*, by *Ernest Barker* (Current Problems Series, Cambridge Press, 3s. 6d.), illuminates this dynamic element which there is in democracy for all its denigration by barbaric totalitarians. The key to success is to be found in the increasing understanding of the relation between representation and responsibility; and the living link between parts so various has, above all, been the habit of co-operation, which finds expression in free institutions such as the Imperial Conference. An invaluable book to explain the past and as a beacon to the future.

Once more the Oxford Press puts readers deep in its debt with some excellent pamphlets (6d. each). In *CANADA*, by *Graham Spry*, we have a very able review of Canada's problems, as regards both the Commonwealth and America. *THE JEWISH QUESTION*, by *James Parkes*, offers a way out of the maze of heated conflict and half-hearted solution hitherto inseparable from the handling of Jewish problems. This

is the reassertion of the deep spiritual and social realities of Judaism—for which Zionism and Assimilation have prepared the way. Non-Jews can do much to help. They can, for example, cut away the brushwood of ignorance and indifference. The third pamphlet, *GERMANY'S NEW ORDER*, by *Duncan Wilson*, and a somewhat larger publication on the same subject for the R.I.I.A., *EUROPE UNDER HITLER*, give the harsh facts about Hitler's so-called “New Order,” as it is being carried out to-day. It is enormously important that every one should know all about the deliberate enslavement of Europe under the domination of a Germany who *alone* is to be industrialised, and armed, and have echoes of freedom. This pamphlet debunks some of the Hitler hagiography here, exposing the actual reversal in Europe to-day of everything the League of Nations, and decent methods of international conduct, have stood for.

A new book by *Mr. H. G. Wells* cannot be ignored. His *GUIDE TO THE NEW WORLD* (Gollancz, 4s.) is described as “a handbook of constructive world revolution.” That Germany will lose this war is Mr. Wells' fervent conviction. Boasts of what the *Luftwaffe* and U Boat attacks will do to us leave him entirely unmoved; he sees German air power as largely a spent force, though we shall probably see Hitler sacrificing his dwindling air strength in some hopeless final attack. He denies that there is any fixity in the gospel of *Mein Kampf* to give it permanence—“the creed the Nazis profess is anything that people will swallow.” What he does fear is that the Democracies may lose the peace through that jaded spirit which says, “Oh, let us have peace, any peace.” The defeat and suppression of totalitarian attack is only the first intensive stage in the salvaging of the world. So far with Mr. Wells all progressives may go. Controversy begins with his three main principles for a solution—world-wide federal control of the air, progressive world conservation and control of world resources, and establish-

ment of a fundamental world law of freedom and security. The author's impatience to get away from the Old Order in one big leap will provoke much disagreement, especially as at times he allows his prejudices to run wild. The short chapters, written from time to time as a journalistic commentary on the progress of the war, make the whole book scrappy and jerky in its argument, and the reader will have to do a good deal of sorting out in his own mind.

And now for a novel anthology, *GERMAN VERSUS HUN*, compiled by *Carl Britzner* and *Berthe Grossbard* (Allen and Unwin, 10s. 6d.). This is a remarkable collection of extracts from the writings of prominent Germans of all periods and creeds, including Nazis, which shows that very often Germans are the bitterest critics of their own country. “Here is the truth about Germany and the Germans, written not by any foreigners or enemies, but by Germans themselves,” writes Mr. Duff Cooper in a Foreword. “Out of their own mouths let them be judged.”

The eye is a present help to readers in time of trouble. So we can heartily commend Vol. 3 of *Mr. Horrabin's ATLAS HISTORY OF THE SECOND GREAT WAR* (Nelson, 3s. 6d.). Fully up to the first rate grade of the earlier volumes. Finally, attention is drawn to a new monthly, non-sectarian magazine, *TO-MORROW* (6d.). Each issue contains articles which show experience and provoke thought, as well as an unusually helpful commentary on events of the month.

## GENERAL COUNCIL

Conway Hall, where arrangements have again been made to hold the General Council meeting of the L.N.U. on June 26 and 27, has survived recent enemy action, though the toll in the neighbourhood has been heavy. The church where we held our special service in December last is in ruins.



## FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

### Justice for Ethiopia

SIR,—In your editorial foreword to Miss S. Pankhurst's welcome article on Ethiopia in your April issue, you say that "her views must not be taken as necessarily agreeing in all respects with those of the L.N.U." Whilst appreciating your editorial caution, I should like to say how much I hope—and expect—that Miss Pankhurst's main point is endorsed by every member of the Union. Ethiopia, let it be remembered, has never been turned out of the League; and despite Ethiopia's betrayal by past French and British governments, Emperor Haile Selassie has still formally retained the right, as Head of the State, to nominate Ethiopian representatives to the League Assembly. Mr. Eden has promised "an independent Ethiopia." This should mean, surely not less of "territorial integrity" than the League's members promised to "respect and preserve" when Ethiopia was admitted to the League. It should mean economic as well as political "independence," not any protectorate or suzerainty by outside Powers of our selection. Miss Pankhurst is right in expressing concern at the *Daily Telegraph's* announcement that General Wavell's political adviser has been given the "principal task" of "constructing" the new Abyssinia, with the duty to "devise a constitution for Abyssinia which will protect British and Egyptian interests in the source of the Nile." There are dishonouring stains upon the British—as well as on the French and Italian—record of relations with this people; and England has had a major part in the intrigues, secret bargains, and pressure used to screw economic concessions out of a weak Ethiopia. Would it not be a further stain on this record if now, when the Ethiopia whom we so lamentably failed to protect five years ago is at last struggling to her feet again with our help, we were to exploit our opportunity to exact an economic price, or to

coerce the Emperor into accepting a regime not genuinely based on equality of rights before the law? As Mr. Churchill said lately, in another context: "There are rules against that kind of thing, and to break those rules would be fatal to the honour of the British Empire."

W. ARNOLD-FORSTER.

### World Settlement

SIR,—Professor Brodetsky rejects the proposal for a federal union of Great Britain, the Dominions, and the U.S.A., but suggests instead that they should form a "permanent partnership." The permanence of a partnership cannot be guaranteed so long as the partners retain the power to secede. As history proves, that secession can only be prevented by union of either the federal or a closer type.

He rightly points out that the peace of the world cannot be securely maintained without the co-operation of Russia, which, as he says, it is an immediate necessity to obtain. Yet in the same paragraph he advocates an exclusive Anglo-American "inner ring" to police the world. Is Russia likely to co-operate if the invitation is accompanied by a warning that after victory the world is to be dominated by an Anglo-American ring?

Prestatyn. W. L. ROSEVEARE (Major).

### From the U.S.A.

SIR,—Sturdy little HEADWAY has been a joy and inspiration. The Lion's heart has shone out so bravely from the pages that, amid the stern reality of war, I read the paper with a sense of comfort.

Our thoughts are with you, our hopes and prayers that the British Empire will win through to victory; and then perhaps it will be given us to see the opening of the Parliament of Man, and a new and stronger lease of life for the League of Nations.

San Francisco.

ENID R. CLAXTON