

HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

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“A GREAT EXPERIMENT”

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY—By VISCOUNT CECIL

REVIEWED FOR “HEADWAY” BY SIR ARTHUR SALTER, K.C.B., M.P.

The “Great Experiment” is, of course, mankind’s attempt to ensure enduring peace through the League of Nations. In his sub-title “An Autobiography,” Lord Cecil identifies his own life with his work for this great institution.

His first 52 years are hastily sketched in a short introductory chapter; and it is only in 1916, when he submitted a memorandum to the Cabinet containing the germ of the League idea, that the life and work which he describes in this book began.

Year by year from this date on he describes the making, the early history and the decline, of the new institution from the point of view “of an observer who had exceptional opportunities of watching the League from its foundation to the present day.”

Unrivalled Authority

It is a modest description. Lord

Cecil was one of the two principal statesmen on the Committee which drafted the Covenant at the Peace Conference; the only one who then, and thereafter, made it the main purpose of his life. He helped to mould its policy in the twenty years that followed as a delegate sometimes for South Africa, sometimes for Great Britain, though never as the Minister chiefly responsible for her foreign policy. His influence has been no less as a member of many League Commissions, as Chairman and President of the League of Nations Union—and as the personal embodiment, in the eyes not only of his own countrymen but of the world, of the League ideal.

He is now the only survivor among the principal creators of the League.

* A GREAT EXPERIMENT. *An Autobiography.* By Viscount Cecil. (Jonathan Cape, 16s. Special Edition for Union members, 10s. 6d. See note on p. 13.)

With Monsieur Benes he is one of the two surviving statesmen who played a principal role in guiding its fortunes at Geneva. It is obvious that in recounting the history of the League he speaks with an authority which is not only unequalled but unapproached.

Two Crowded Decades

The main part of the book consists of a plain narrative, in a simple and flowing style, of the events of two crowded decades as seen from the angle of Geneva, with a slight sketch of political developments in Great Britain as they affected the British participation and his own. His personal opinions as to the causes of success and failure are indicated less in a sustained argument than in occasional comments, illuminating, appreciative, critical, sometimes epigrammatic, sometimes faintly ironical, always restrained in tone and rarely embittered. "It was not that my colleagues, generally speaking, were hostile to the League. The Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, was temperamentally in its favour. But both he and the others regarded it as a kind of excrescence which must be carefully prevented from having too much influence on our policy." "It was in connection with these [Locarno] negotiations that the policy of no general commitments was first suggested by British Ministers as part of our general attitude. Never has any policy done more harm. . . . It is the literal truth that 'Peace is indivisible.'" "I will say nothing of the

permanent officials of the Foreign Office and the Cabinet Offices except that they were all very competent and some of them helpful."

Lord Cecil places the "watershed" of League history in the year 1931 and, after the hopeful and encouraging "early years" which occupy the first half of the book, the account of the "downhill" period which followed is, of course, one of gathering disaster.

Lord Cecil's Philosophy

Through both periods the author allows us to gather his own philosophy, which is one of undimmed faith in collective security as the only hope for man's future, to which therefore he must find the path back. It is because this problem will again face the world when this war ends that Lord Cecil has published this book. "If we are to succeed better the next time we must know what the League is, what it has done, where and why it has failed to keep the peace and what changes in it would improve its chances of full success." After narrating therefore the events of the past, with such comments as each of them suggested, he adds a final chapter of conclusions.

Rebuilding the League

In these, as the reader will have expected from the preceding narrative, Lord Cecil advocates the rebuilding of the League, with some improvements but without radical change. He wishes the work of the International Labour Office and of

the economic and social sections to be developed, the latter under a new General Committee such as Mr. S. M. Bruce has proposed. He desires the clarification of Articles 11 and 16 of the Covenant and other minor changes. He rejects Mr. Clarence Streit's proposals for Federal Union, but believes that there should be "inside the framework of the League a confederation or confederations of geographically related powers with appropriate confederated organs. The most obviously necessary of these bodies would be a European confederation." Beyond that he does not go in constitutional change. The failure of the League he ascribes not to defects in machinery, but to the impulse behind it. "No machinery can do more than facilitate the action of the peoples." And no solution is to be found "unless they and their Governments really put the enforcement of law and the maintenance of peace as the first and greatest of national interests." "Beyond that, we pass from the region of political reform to that of spiritual regeneration."

This is no more than a brief summary, without any attempt to discuss the issues involved. Such reflections as the observation of the same events suggested, from the angle not of a Minister but an official, I have published elsewhere when I was more free to express opinions on policy than now.

"His Faith Undimmed"

It will doubtless be said that Lord

Cecil's account has laid disproportionate emphasis upon the faults of British Ministers and Governments, and says too little about those of other countries. But he is giving his own personal account, and naturally says most of what most concerned him in his personal work and efforts. It will be said, too, that more radical changes might have been expected after the experience of the last twenty years. But to this Lord Cecil has given his own answer in the passages just quoted. His disappointment is deep, but his faith is undimmed. No one can read this book without a sense of the tragic nobility of the central figure, who has gathered about him and retained, during the last quarter of a century, the admiration and affection of millions in many countries, to whom he has been the embodiment of their idealism and their hopes. History has few examples of such single-minded and selfless devotion to a great cause, and, like many others, the writer of this review regards it as among the chief privileges of his life to have worked under and with him. Here at least is the tale of the greatest experiment in international government, told by the greatest living authority, for the benefit of those who, in due time, will have to make the next experiment.

An account of the Oxford Conference arranged by the Council for Education in World Citizenship is unavoidably held over until next month.

FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

(We gladly publish the following Manifesto as an important contribution, from the religious and moral angle, to the problem of World Settlement after the War. It has already received notice in *The Times* and other newspapers.)

SIR,—The present evils in the world are due to the failure of nations and peoples to carry out the laws of God. No permanent peace is possible in Europe unless the principles of the Christian religion are made the foundation of national policy and of all social life. This involves regarding all nations as members of one family under the Fatherhood of God.

We accept the five points of Pope Pius XII as carrying out this principle (see *The Pope's Five Peace Points*, pp. 13-16):—

1. The assurance to all nations of their right to life and independence. The will of one nation to live must never mean the sentence of death passed upon another. When this equality of rights has been destroyed, attacked or threatened, order demands that reparation shall be made, and the measure and extent of that reparation is determined not by the sword nor by the arbitrary decision of self-interest, but by the rules of justice and reciprocal equity.

2. This requires that the nations be delivered from the slavery imposed upon them by the race for armaments and from the danger that material force, instead of serving to protect the right, may become an overbearing and tyrannical master. The order thus established requires a mutually agreed organic progressive disarmament, spiritual as well as material, and security for the effective implementing of such an agreement.

3. Some juridical institution which shall guarantee the loyal and faithful fulfilment of conditions agreed upon and which shall in case of recognised need revise and correct them.

4. The real needs and just demands of nations and populations and racial minorities to be adjusted as occasion may require, even where no strictly legal right can be established, and a foundation of mutual confidence to be thus laid, whereby many incentives to violent action will be removed.

5. The development among peoples and their rulers of that sense of deep and keen responsibility which weighs human statutes according to the sacred and inviolable standards of the laws of God. They must hunger and thirst after justice and be guided by that universal love which is the compendium and most general expression of the Christian ideal.

With these basic principles for the ordering of international life we would associate five standards by which economic situations and proposals may be tested (see *The Churches Survey Their Task*, pp. 116, 117):—

1. Extreme inequality in wealth and possessions should be abolished;
2. Every child, regardless of race or class, should have equal opportunities of education, suitable for the development of his peculiar capacities;
3. The family as a social unit must be safeguarded;
4. The sense of a Divine vocation must be restored to man's daily work;
5. The resources of the earth should be used as God's gifts to the whole human race and used with due consideration for the needs of the present and future generations.

(Continued at foot of p. 5.)

THE I.L.O. LOOKS AHEAD

A NOTE FROM THE DIRECTOR

The International Labour Office has transferred a large part of its key personnel to Montreal for the purpose of rendering better service to its member countries at this time. The work of the Organisation has retained its full importance, and it is essential that the activities of the Office be carried on in a place where communications are assured and where the staff can direct its entire energies to the problems which lie ahead.

Without social justice there is no lasting peace. The I.L.O. is continuing with this conviction in mind. The work of the Organisation has always been based upon the belief that accurate knowledge and informed discussion are essential preliminaries to the formulation of wise social policies. The Organisation is the only official international agency through which Governments, organised labour and organised employers, work in this way for the realisation of social justice. Its primary objectives remain:

1. To attain a higher standard of living for the entire working population, with increased production and enlarged and adequately distributed purchasing power;

2. To assure employment and to realise a greater degree of social security for the men and women of all countries;

3. To perfect a concept of economic and social democracy as a necessary supplement to political democracy.

To-day the defence of every country rests ultimately upon the strength of its social structure. It is the duty of the I.L.O. to help to formulate a practical social programme that will assure to the people recognition of their needs and to each member country sound social and economic institutions. The Office will attempt to assemble as complete a documentation as possible for the peoples who will rebuild the social order. The publications of the Office are being resumed; the research programme is again under way; plans for conferences, committees, and more general meetings, are being scheduled; and experts from the Office are rendering services to member Governments. Countries which are at war and countries which are at peace are drawn together in the I.L.O. in the accomplishment of its tasks. We look to the future with determination and undiminished faith.

JOHN G. WINANT.

(Continued from p. 4.)

We are confident that the principles which we have enumerated would be accepted by rulers and statesmen throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations and would be regarded as the true basis on which a lasting peace could be established.

COSMO CANTUAR, Archbishop of Canterbury.
A. CARDINAL HINSLEY, Archbishop of Westminster.
WALTER H. ARMSTRONG,
Moderator, Free Church Federal Council.
WILLIAM EBOR, Archbishop of York.

THE DOPE MENACE IN WAR-TIME

By LESLIE R. ALDOUS

From Geneva by way of Lisbon, the report of the last meeting of the League's Opium Committee has just reached this country. It gives an interesting picture, based on first-hand evidence, of the illicit dope traffic in war-time—a picture which is still accurate despite the "time lag" from which all communications with Geneva suffer these days. The most striking fact is that, after more than a year of war, the drug evil has not spread to the extent which might have been expected. Things were very different during the last war. Then the drug situation became so serious that the French Parliament, for example, had to rush through special laws to punish the abuse of narcotics with the utmost energy.

The Demand for Drugs

The same factors, making for an increase of drug addiction, are present to-day. As the League report points out, "The physical and moral sufferings, the anguish and uncertainty, the economic hardships, the difficulty of life in war-time and in the years following, drive many persons who are unable to face or bear life as it is to drug addiction as an escape from unwelcome and intolerable realities." The drug addicts "create an urgent and desperate demand, which has to be met at all costs; and they always find suppliers who know how to exploit this demand."

The difference to-day is that the system of drug control, built up by the League of Nations with the ready consent of nearly every country in the world, is in efficient working order. Even under the most difficult conditions, Governments are managing to keep going the special services which they have established to suppress the drug traffic. The League experts quote the striking examples of Spain and Finland which, even during the critical hours through which they passed,

in this matter of dangerous drugs maintained their co-operation with the League.

Illicit Drugs are Scarce

Undoubtedly the will to make the most of the prevailing international anarchy exists among the international syndicates of drug traffickers, at least as strongly as it did between 1914 and 1918. But indications are multiplying that they are not finding it so easy to "make hay while the sun shines." Thanks to the "rationing" of drug production in the factories in different countries, former sources of supply have been cut off. More and more, the traffickers are being driven by economic necessity to attempt thefts from licit consignments of drugs. Also, because their supplies are so limited, it is found from seizures made that they are adulterating their drugs very heavily. One corollary is that smuggling in small quantities is taking the place of the wholesale smuggling which used to be so disturbing a feature of the drug traffic.

The high prices of drugs on the illicit market are yet another indication of scarcity. In New York, for example, raw opium has reached the exorbitant figure of 400 or 500 dollars a pound. Manufactured drugs show the same tendency, and morphine and heroin prices are steadily increasing.

The League's Opium Committee utters the warning that "traffickers may be expected to make a special effort to find means of meeting the increased demand." For this reason, the nations working together through the League cannot afford to relax their vigilance.

China's War on Opium

The situation in the Far East continues to dominate all other aspects of the drug traffic. On the one hand, there is the gallant fight which the Chinese Government is waging against the abuse of narcotic drugs in all districts under its

control. Against this, the inhumanly diabolical policy of the Japanese authorities in encouraging opium-growing and drug production is making the situation in the Japanese occupied areas of China increasingly serious.

On the whole, the Chinese Government has reason to be satisfied with the progress of its six-year plan for the abolition of the opium-smoking habit and of poppy-growing. In some provinces, opium cultivation has been abolished well before the fixed time-limit.

The four main points of the programme may be briefly summarised. Measures for reducing the number of smokers include a system of "mobile disintoxication units" and assistance to poor opium addicts. As regards measures for abolishing poppy-growing, a Commission of Enquiry was set up in April, 1940, and was soon operating in seven provinces. Supervision of opium stocks and sales is provided for in special regulations. Lastly, measures necessitated by the war with Japan include regulations for the suppression of narcotic drugs in the districts won back from the enemy and in the fighting zones.

Japan's "New Order"

In the Japanese-occupied regions, all pretence of keeping the traffic within bounds has been dropped. Anyone can buy at any time whatever amount of the drug he can afford. The puppet Government installed by the Japanese in Nanking looks upon opium as its chief source of revenue. In that city, the number of addicts is estimated as not less than 60,000 out of a population of 480,000. Supplies come from Dairen and Tientsin under Japanese military escort, and 2,400 persons are employed by the traffickers' sales organisation.

Occupied provinces like Anhwei, Hupeh and Honan, in which poppy-growing had been stamped out by the Chinese Government, have begun to produce opium again. Often the Japanese compel the peasants to sow the poppy plant and supply them with seed. At Hankow, a special commis-

sion has been established to encourage and extend poppy-growing in Central China. "Pacification detachments" of the Japanese army have put up posters and proclamations, at Shui-yeh and other places, instigating the villagers to grow more opium.

Japan is pursuing her chosen course with a cynical disregard for world opinion and the publicity given by the League discussions. Yet the League, although it has not been able to cut out this cancer, has played and is playing a useful part in preventing the infection from spreading more widely. International co-operation is checking much traffic through Egypt and the Suez Canal—traffic which otherwise, as there is the strongest evidence to show, would seriously affect countries as distant as the United States and Canada.

International co-operation, although a plant of comparatively recent growth, is surviving this war. Present-day facts are eloquent. They show that twenty years between two great wars were not entirely wasted. Nations planted the roots of mutual collaboration more deeply and more firmly than perhaps they themselves realised; so that, on the constructive as apart from the political side, the League of Nations is still a vital force in the world.

CONVERTED!

"One of the finest sociological experiments of history was tried in the League of Nations. It, too, went down before the impact of events and the activities of doubting Fifth Columnists, but the League in some form will live again. It must. History cannot be written backwards."—*(In the "Sunday Graphic," Jan. 26, 1941.)*

BEVERLEY BAXTER, M.P.,
FORMERLY EDITOR OF THE
"DAILY EXPRESS."

HALF A WILL IS NO WAY

By MAURICE FANSHAW

Great Britain's stand for Freedom in 1940-41 proves for all time the untold value of the whole-hearted use of national will-power in the defence of a principle. Yet the same principle was at stake in 1935-36, and risks were grotesquely less. But because the will to act then was limited, sanctions were killed and Italy was allowed to force her fellow member of the League under the yoke of slavery.

Old excuses die hard: Great Britain was left by other Governments, by foreigners, to hold the baby; and it was too much for the British Navy and Empire. Sanctions must go.

The bald facts tell a different story. Briefly what happened was this.

Britain's Defence Measures

Long before Italy invaded Abyssinia its Press or, in other words, the Italian Government, had whipped up a violent drumfire of invective against Great Britain. Relations between the two countries became so poisoned that peace was at the mercy of any accident. To meet what they regarded as a menace to the British position in the Mediterranean, the Government accordingly took a number of effective precautions. In August, 1935, the Mediterranean Fleet was shifted from Malta to Alexandria, where next month it was joined by a large part of the Home Fleet, and later by two warships from the China Squadron. The garrisons of Malta and Aden were brought up to full strength. By October the concentration of the Second Cruiser Squadron at Gibraltar was complete. These were impressive measures. It is known that

Signor Mussolini instructed Marshal de Bono that, if there were a naval action at Suez, Italy must stop all Abyssinian offensive and confine herself to defending Eritrea. But these were not all the precautions—many, be it noted, *before* Sanctions were adopted—taken by Great Britain against an attack by Italy.

Mutual Assistance

Negotiations were started at once with the other Mediterranean Powers to find out what help they would give Great Britain, in the same eventuality. Negotiations with France were complicated, as they overlapped French negotiations in London for extension of mutual assistance in the case of resort to force by a State outside the League (that is to say, Germany). But in the end Great Britain and France reached agreement on mutual support both in the case of Italy's attacking Great Britain and Germany's attacking France. The former issue took the stage when the League adopted Sanctions against Italy, October 7. At once technical conversations between British and French military, naval and air experts began. M. Laval told the Italian Ambassador that France would immediately come to the help of Great Britain if Italy attacked British forces. In the House of Commons, December 18, the Prime Minister himself spoke of the assurances received from France of immediate effective support if Italy attacked Great Britain.

Nor was this all. Great Britain followed this success with similar enquiries from the Governments of Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia. Their replies of readiness to carry out faith-

fully their Covenant obligations under Article 16, now in force, were received during December. Their support was all the more important as it was given after full consultation of and in full agreement with the Rumanian and Czechoslovak Governments. Italy was carefully informed of these precautions. Spain alone refused help. Her internal situation was becoming volcanic and she was mortally afraid of Italy. In January, 1936, all these results amounting, in effect, to successful exchange of reciprocal assurances of mutual assistance between five Mediterranean Powers and two South European States if Italy attacked, were laid before the League's Co-ordination Committee.

Sanctions—a Different Story

Measures of self-defence, precautions against attack, were quite necessary and justifiable; but it is clear that the main business before the States Members of the League was to see that Sanctions were effectively carried out. Here the story is different.

From the beginning, two Sanctions policies were in evidence at Geneva. The chief exponent of one was Great Britain, who concentrated her effort on applying some of the Sanctions of Article 16. The other policy was that of France, who confined her real effort to the attempt to settle the dispute by conciliation, with a meagre minimum of Sanctions as a face-saver. It was obvious that a show-down between these two policies would occur if and when proposals were adopted to execute Sanctions *fully*; in other words, if the League decided to enforce "Oil Sanctions." This is precisely what did happen. And the French views prevailed.

Support for Oil Sanctions

On November 6, the League Committee of Eighteen adopted "Oil Sanctions," and the proposal was circulated to the Governments. The response was favourable from the U.S.A., who were supplying Italy with 10 per cent. of her oil imports, and the big group including South American States, Soviet Russia, Roumania, Holland and Iraq, who were supplying over 65 per cent. Success, then, was likely to depend on co-operation in the third group, Great Britain and France. It was not forthcoming.

The League Committee was due to meet on November 29 to decide on action. But M. Laval, under pressure from Italy, secured a vital postponement until December 12. Italy cancelled any move on the French frontier and at the same time let the League Committee know that she would regard any Oil Sanctions as an unfriendly act. Early in December the Italian Ambassador, it is understood, was more precise and told M. Laval that, if Oil Sanctions were adopted, Italy would attack the British Fleet.

Britain's Surrender

The final result of a series of tortuous negotiations was the Hoare-Laval plan of December 7: a British surrender, nothing else, to the French conciliation policy as an alternative to real Sanctions. The plan meant awarding the Covenant breaker a bonus on account of his breach.

The scandal and widespread disgust which flared up on the publication of the Plan killed it out of hand. At the same time, it killed Oil Sanctions, the only measure which could have prevented an Italian victory.

That victory came, sooner than any experts thought. A policy of half-

sanctions was more useless than ever. Great Britain prepared openly to retreat. What had, in fact, long been the real view of the British Government was stated by Sir John Simon in the House of Commons, June 23, 1936. His words speak for themselves. "I say quite bluntly that this Government is not prepared to invite the country to engage itself by force in this quarrel. I have no doubt the British Navy would give a good account of itself, but that is not the point. The point is, I am not prepared to see a single ship sunk even in a successful naval battle in the cause of Abyssinian independence." The then

Prime Minister, on July 2, was content to have kept his people out of war.

The Lesson of Facts

In these events, briefly summarised, there appears no getting away from one governing fact. Great Britain showed great energy and marked ability in effectively providing for her own security. But, when the vital issue was effective exercise of her obligations to Abyssinia under the Covenant, the same Government showed, as a rule, half-heartedness and timidity. Italy was allowed to blaze the way for the present war.

THE WORLD IN FIGURES

(From Our League Correspondent)

Although the *Statistical Year-Book* of the League of Nations, a new edition of which has appeared as in pre-war days, is not to be recommended as everybody's light reading, its value and importance cannot be measured by the number of people who, when they dive for their air-raid shelters, choose it as the companion of weary hours of waiting for the "raiders passed" signal.

Statistics are meat to some and poison to others. Either you have a head for figures or you haven't. But there is no need to be an ace pilot to realise the importance of the aeroplane. The vital facts contained in this *Year-Book* should mean something even to those who cannot add up a column of figures a dozen times without getting twelve different totals. In innumerable ways, the provision of accurate statistical information affects the administration of each country and the world at large, as well as the stream of business and commerce. Medical experts, making wise use of the lessons of figures, have been led towards scientific discoveries which have saved millions of lives. Yes,

figures are an essential part of the machinery of the modern world.

The publication of the *Year-Book* at this time furnishes yet another proof that the nations would lose much if the technical work of the League were to be seriously interrupted. One result of the interference of war conditions with normal channels of communications is that the regular national publications are exceedingly difficult to come by. Yet comprehensive statistical information is more necessary than ever, both for the present use of nations and in preparation for post-war reconstruction. So the League's *Year-Book* comes in. Despite difficulties of collecting and co-ordinating information, it is remarkably up to date. Note, for example, that the most recent territorial changes and the monetary measures introduced since the outbreak of hostilities are reviewed in detail.

"Living Space"

With all the Nazi talk of *Lebensraum*, the population statistics are most topical. The total population of

the world is estimated at somewhere in the neighbourhood of 2,145 millions, of which 450 millions are tentatively attributed to China. Recent censuses returned the population of the U.S.S.R. at approximately 170 millions, and of the U.S.A. at 131 millions. Just before the outbreak of war, there were nearly eighty million people in the German Reich. This figure does not include either the seven million inhabitants of the "protectorate" of Bohemia and Moravia or, of course, the millions of inhabitants of territories taken over during the war.

Food for speculation is to be found in the continued upward movement of the birthrate in Germany. This, in 1939, reached 20.3 per thousand as against 14.7 in 1933. By contrast, the birthrate in such countries as the U.S.A., Denmark, Hungary and the Balkans has tended to decline. As regards mortality, the general decline over the past decade or two is described as "unprecedented in history." This saving of life is due to the progress in public health and welfare activity, in which the Health Organisation and social services of the League have themselves played so distinguished a part.

Industrial Production

Industrial production in many countries such as the United States and Canada shows an upward movement. Moreover, despite the discordant evidence regarding

Soviet Russia, it does appear that that country has experienced a striking increase in industrial production and in many branches of agricultural production. The U.S.S.R. can now claim to be the world's principal producer of cereals, beet sugar, flax, hemp and manganese.

Nowhere has the policy of autarky led to a more extensive use of substitutes than in Germany. Synthetic rubber production was, in 1939, estimated at between 20,000 and 25,000 tons. Figures show, too, how considerably benzol, alcohol and synthetic spirit have replaced petroleum spirit.

Germany's Debt

Since the war, exchange control has spread in nearly all countries with the notable exception of the United States. Public expenditure has almost everywhere risen rapidly. Between March, 1939, and June, 1940, the floating internal debt of Germany rose from 6.5 milliard marks to 23 milliards, while the total internal debt mounted from 29.5 milliards to more than 55 milliard marks. In a year from March, 1939, the British internal debt rose from £7,200 millions to £7,900 millions. The United States increase, in the twelve months ending June, 1940, was from 40,400 million dollars to 43,000 millions. Japan's public debt almost doubled in the two years ending March, 1940. Such is the cost of international lawlessness and anarchy!

WAR MAPS

Several useful war maps reach us from George Philip and Son, **THE WAR IN MAPS** (price 1s. 6d.), designed in booklet form to explain the background of the daily news, covers all the war fronts. The folding contoured **MAP OF THE BALKANS AND NEAR EAST** (1s. 6d.) is specially topical. Another booklet, **HOW THE MAP HAS CHANGED, 1938-1940** (price 6d.), consists of ten clear maps in black and white, each with its analysis on the opposite page.

The Crown Colonist has published a **MAP OF THE COLONIAL EMPIRE**, showing the situation and size of all British colonies, protectorates and mandated territories in relation to one another and the British Isles. (Unmounted, 6s.; mounted with rollers, 15s.)

THE BRANCH FRONT

Frequently, in HEADWAY, we have referred to the importance of preventing leakage of membership when, as often happens under present conditions, members move from one area to another. Recently we asked Branch Secretaries to co-operate with Headquarters in order to ensure a systematic exchange of information regarding membership movements. From Edinburgh comes the useful suggestion that this appeal might be extended to members who are leaving the district served by the Branch to which they are attached. It would help a great deal if such members, amidst the hurry and bustle of moving, could yet spare time to let the Union know where they are going. Perhaps the simplest plan would be for them to get in touch with their respective Branch Secretaries, who would undertake the necessary communication with us. Headquarters will gladly supply the appropriate addresses of the "new" Branch Secretaries on receipt of a post card asking for them. The Edinburgh Secretary will be pleased to advise newcomers to the district of the Edinburgh activities.

Probably no Branch in the country is regularly getting larger audiences than the Montague Burton Branch in Leeds at its lunch-hour meetings. From the Executive Dining Hall, which accommodates a nucleus of eighty people, the speeches are relayed to 5,000 more assembled in the Main Dining Hall. The meetings last for 35 minutes after lunch. Speakers for the next few months will include Alderman Joseph Toole, Professor Samson Wright and Professor Craig Henderson, M.P.

Swindon War Weapons (National Savings) Week provided our local Branch with a useful opportunity for co-operating in the national effort and for spreading knowledge as to war and peace aims. In conjunction with the Ministry of Information, speakers and films were supplied for half-a-dozen meetings during the week. The audiences spoke highly of the quality of both speakers and films.

Taunton Branch chose a topical subject for its January meeting. Sir Charles Petrie spoke on "The Mediterranean," and a Ministry of Information film was shown. In the months ahead, the active committee has definite plans for encouraging members to discuss "World Settlement after the War."

"What will happen after the war?" was billed as the title of a public meeting arranged by the Plymouth Branch. Miss K. Gibberd, the speaker, pointed out some of the reasons why the Peace Conference after the last war failed to reach a satisfactory settlement. Urging the necessity for building anew on that part of the League structure which had proved sound, she emphasised that a satisfactory peace would depend on the effectiveness of enlightened public opinion.

Postponed from the spring owing to the war, the annual meeting of the Cuckfield Branch was evidence of a revival of interest locally in the League and the Union. In course of an address on "World Settlement after the War," Mrs. Corbett Ashby warned her audience against the danger of the ordinary person wanting only to get back to a normal private life and leaving the peace to others to achieve.

Working in an area badly affected by the war, the Chelmsford Branch had nevertheless managed to collect 88 per cent. of the previous year's subscriptions well before Christmas. As this figure did not include a number of outstanding subscriptions which the Branch was confident of collecting, the hope was strong that the Branch's effectiveness membership would be nearly 100 per cent. of the old total.

When Major Anthony Buxton, D.S.O., a former member of the Union's Executive, addressed the Norwich Rotary Club, he found a specially interested and well-informed audience. The Club had lately been running a "Post-War Symposium" and had formed special sub-committees to study post-war problems—political, social and economic.

Other organisations are showing a lively interest in Union policy, and once more we would urge Branches to take advantage of "ready made" audiences. The Editor of HEADWAY has recently visited the Southall Rotary Club, and the Barnet P.S.A. to speak on "World Settlement after the War." At the latter meeting, arranged through the initiative of the local Branch, Union members and interested friends stayed behind after the normal Sunday afternoon service to continue the discussion informally.

The Secretary of one of our Branches writes: "This week I have spoken to A.R.P. workers in one of the most cruelly bombed parts of —, and to the men of an A.A. gun site; and in both cases found a complete absence of Hun-hating and a readiness to consider how victory should be used to establish a durable peace."

A group of members of the Headingley, Leeds, Branch make a point of writing to

the local Press every time a misstatement concerning the League of Nations appears in print. Other Branches could with advantage form similar panels of newspaper correspondents. Editors do take notice of opinions expressed by readers, even though sometimes for various reasons the letters may not be published.

Under the title of "Chelwood," a new musical setting of Laurence Housman's verses, "Father eternal, ruler of creation," has been published by the Oxford University Press. These are the verses marked in the *Church Hymnary* (645) "League of Nations," and they also appear in *Songs of Praise* (326). The composer, Frank Allmand, who is an officer of our Liverpool City Branch, has produced a dignified and sonorous setting, which could be sung at meetings as a "community singing" item. This and Kenneth Long's new setting of "Fight the Good Fight" are printed together, price 3d. a copy.

"A GREAT EXPERIMENT"

Lord Cecil's Autobiography, *A Great Experiment*, is the subject of Sir Arthur Salter's review and appreciation, which we are privileged to publish in this number of HEADWAY.

Lord Cecil's book makes an exceptional appeal to Union members—indeed, many of them have been waiting for it for a long time. Realising this, the Union has been in negotiation with the publishers, with the object of arranging favourable terms for our supporters. As a result, a number of copies in a special binding will be available to members of the Union only at the greatly reduced price of 10s. 6d. Please note that this edition can be obtained only from the *League of Nations Union*, 60, St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.2.

LORD LYTTON'S APPEAL

One of our readers at Surbiton, Surrey, is making a novel response to Lord Lytton's appeal for financial support in our great task of making the Union's policy effective. Her idea is to send a postal order for 2s. 6d. each time she receives HEADWAY, as "grateful thanks" for the work which the Union is doing.

In answer to Lord Lytton's appeal, Mr. J. A. Watson (Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of our Hampshire Federation) has offered to give £5 in the form of National Savings Certificates.

Although Lord Lytton appealed specially for donations spread over three years, which for many of our supporters is a convenient way of paying, donations of any other kind are also welcome. The Union will be grateful to any other readers who may feel inclined to follow these examples.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

LET THE PEOPLE KNOW

The Totalitarian is afraid of the written word, when it speaks of truth, freedom, hatred of aggression and the deliberate cruelty incarnate in his policies to-day. But History is a living proof that a nucleus of free, honest readers—even if it be numerically small—can leaven the lump. So the Battle of Books must be fought.

Three books, dealing with Germany and Russia, come up for special notice. In *RUSSIA*, by *Professor Bernard Pares* (Penguin Special, 6d.), the reader will find what is probably the best, most coherent and authoritative account of Russia of yesterday and to-day—certainly, too, the most sympathetic, because devoid of preconceptions. The author has had a unique experience of old Russia, and of post-war Russia especially in recent years. His knowledge of the Russian tongue, characteristics and history is virtually unsurpassed. And he loves the Russian man, woman and child. The key to relations between the British Empire and Russia lies in trying to understand Russians to-day. This book will be found a powerful help to such understanding. Buy it.

The main problem of Europe—nothing else—is the subject matter of *GERMANY: JEKYLL AND HYDE*, by *Sebastian Haffner* (Secker & Warburg, 8s. 6d.), Sir Alfred Zimmern has stated it once and for all, "the political immaturity of the German people, the causes of which lie deep in German History." Mr. Haffner's psychological analysis of German mentality, so different from that of most Western nations, supports this with a wealth of evidence. When it comes to politics, nothing (says Mr. Haffner, a German) remains of the morality or the decency of the average German in private life. "As a political mass they differ from other civilised nations—and not only since the

coming of the Nazis—by virtue of their unusual lack of scruple, their untrustworthiness, bad faith, lying and barbarity." Hitler's appeal—this was a disaster which we in Britain were slow to realise—became a roaring success just because he played on what are and were characteristics of a majority of Germans, "will to power, resentment and lust for display." The problem as posed for the rest of Europe for to-morrow is appalling. Mr. Haffner declares there can be no peace without the destruction of Nazism in German politics, and without that of the Reich, so Prussianised that it has become a cancerous growth in a sick Europe.

Somewhat similar points are made in *THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR*, by *E. L. Woodward* (Oxford Pamphlet No. 41, 3d.). Germans have acquiesced in National Socialism because they can understand it. In other words, its "appeal was typically and thoroughly German": it found a response in a temper and mental outlook firmly rooted in the German nation. We have to face the grim fact that the majority of the German people and the majority of their leaders have accepted a philosophy which to us is one of black darkness. How, when the war is over shall we best be able to "decontaminate" Germans and especially German Youth, the second generation of Nazis, from this deadly atmosphere? Yet that has got to be done, or there can be no peace.

Sir Robert Vansittart's *BLACK RECORD* (Hamish Hamilton, 6d.) tells that Germany's current of aggression is continuous. Nothing but a change of heart can save her. How? Will an equally able pamphlet be forthcoming on that?

Many people are thinking to-day about the kind of Europe which can be built after the war. Meanwhile Germany is *building her* New Europe, with blood and iron. Part of the story is told in *POLAND: AFTER ONE YEAR OF WAR*, by the *Polish M.O.I.* (Allen & Unwin, 1s.). This booklet

contains an outline of recent events, a map, and an unvarnished account of the blotting out of Poland from the book of living States by Germany and, in a hardly less atrocious way, by Russia. Wholesale murder and dispossession, forced labour, forced and foodless mass migrations, suppression of the Polish language and the evidence of History in monument, books and art, are some of the *acts* which corresponded with Hitler's solemn *promise* in 1934 of ten years' peace with Poland. The more recent record of Russia in the parts of Poland occupied by Soviet troops tells, unfortunately, a similar story of general confiscation, mass transfer and deportation of Polish populations to Central and Northern Russia—a million are stated to have been torn from Polish homes. Germany and Russia have applied the principle of the high explosive bomb to a whole helpless nation. They call it a step to their Utopia. But no Democracies are worth their salt if they have not more of hope, justice and decency than this to offer to the nations of Europe.

A "literary hand grenade" in the war of democracy is *Francis Williams's* own description of his challenging book, *WAR BY REVOLUTION* (Routledge, 5s.). Writing with a burning conviction that democracy is one of the few things in the world for which honest and peaceable men may feel justified in fighting, he convincingly demonstrates that democracy is no "creed outworn"—indeed, it is only forty years older than the steam engine. Even when only half successful, it offers a better answer to the world's problems than totalitarianism. We shall in the end lose this war if we fight it as a national war. Just as certainly we shall win it if we fight it as a war of democratic revolution in Europe. France collapsed, not only because of the treachery of this or that politician or general, but because her unity had not grown from a common philosophy of Government and common ideal of society. Thus Hitler succeeded in his task of bringing to the top every half-submerged terror, hatred, suspicion and phobia which could be made to play its

part in disintegrating the fabric of society. Britain, despite the period of Safety First and Appeasement in which she turned her back on the best of the past and refused to face the challenge of the future, has a stronger basic unity than existed at any time in France. To answer Hitler's propaganda, we have to show that not only does democracy mean what it says, but knows how to put into effect what it says. There never has been a society with so many and so deep conflicts within it as Nazi Europe. By adapting the technique of Lawrence in fostering the Arab Revolt, we can proclaim to the world how we would apply to the modern world the great ideas of human freedom and human happiness.

Two books will be a real help to readers to get down to some of the fundamentals of Reconstruction. One is *THE HOPE OF A NEW WORLD*, by the *Archbishop of York* (Student Christian Movement Press, 3s. 6d.), part of which is a reprint of recent broadcasts. This is an outspoken, effective statement of what most Christians are convinced must be done in the way of social and international order. The other is *THE ROUND TABLE*, December, 1940 (Macmillan, 5s.), in which the chapter "Reconstruction Ends and Means" bears mainly on a "better Britain."

Of special value in view of current discussions on Peace Aims is *Dr. S. Engel's* study on *LEAGUE REFORM* (Geneva Research Centre). In analysing the official proposals and discussions between 1936 and 1939, the author has done a timely job of work in a painstaking and competent manner. After a brief survey of League reforms attempted before 1935 and an outline of the proceedings at Geneva, most of the book is concerned with the problems raised, e.g., universality, sanctions, the *status quo*, pacific settlement of disputes, disarmament, economic and financial co-operation, and the internal organisation of the League. There is an excellent bibliography. No serious student can afford to ignore this important contribution to the question of post-war settlement.

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

World Settlement

SIR,—It seems to me that the failure of the League to prevent war was due to the fact that, in spite of the pledges they had given to impose economic sanctions on aggressor nations, members did, indeed, decide for themselves at what point they would abandon coercive action. I think that if all the members of the League had applied economic sanctions to the utmost limit when the first act of aggression occurred, military action would not have been necessary. What nation could carry on a war for long if more than fifty nations refused to trade with it? Moreover, when Japan committed its first act of aggression, the United States would have been on the side of the League if it had decided to boycott Japan.

The truth seems to be that when economic sanctions are imposed, trade dwindles, and members of the League were not ready to face the loss, though that would have been infinitesimal compared with all the loss caused by war. Would it not be possible for the nations to give the same pledge as before, and insure with the League against loss of trade caused by the imposition of economic sanctions? However great the premium, it would be small compared with the cost of war.

Stourbridge. GWLADYS EDWARDS.

"Sacrifices Needed"

SIR,—No one will question the generous motive underlying the suggestion put forward in the letter entitled "Sacrifices Needed," but it would be interesting to know which parts of our hard-won Empire your correspondent proposes to cede to Germany, Italy, Japan, or any other nation sufficiently "powerful" (I quote from the letter) to make threatening demands.

Is it to be our own home land or the homes of our people overseas?

Will not those parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations to be thus

handed over have something to say in the matter?

To my mind, any such re-distribution of territory is fraught with grave difficulties; and the weakness of a policy of appeasement towards the truculent dictators has already been abundantly demonstrated.

Dartmouth.

M. LANE.

National Sovereignty

SIR,—It appears to me, on looking through the issues of "HEADWAY in War Time," that the presentation of the objects of the L.N.U., here and no doubt in much of our thinking, suffers very seriously from insufficient examination (or at least from insufficient explanation) of the word "nation."

What we have to achieve is freedom and well-being for individuals. How much of what we commonly and vaguely mean by "nationality" is necessary to the achievement of these ends? Without constant reflection on this difficult question, we cannot hope to solve problems such as that of the degree to which national sovereignty must be retained or sacrificed, or whether nations should have in the international organisation one vote each or a number of votes proportional to their population or to their industrial or military power.

Glasgow.

D. R. COUSIN.

[An important article on "National Sovereignty and the Covenant," by W. Arnold-Forster, was published in HEADWAY, November, 1939.—ED.]

**WHAT IS THE LEAGUE DOING ?
WHAT IS THE UNION DOING ?
WHAT IS THE UNION'S POLICY ?**

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