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# HEADWAY

VOL. 1. No. 10

JULY 1939

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LEAGUE NOW  
FOR WORLD  
PEACE**

**"Headway" Letters**

by

**Sir ARTHUR SALTER, M.P., and VISCOUNT CECIL**



# HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

Editorial Offices: 19, Devereux Court, Strand, London.

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No. 10

## CONTENTS

	Page		Page
THE RIGHT LEAGUE POLICY FOR GREAT BRITAIN: Editorial Discussion ... ..	2	WILL MR. ROOSEVELT RUN AGAIN? By J. W. Wood ...	13
DESPATCHES FROM THE CAPITALS: Paris... ..	4	GERMANY'S MARCH TO THE EAST. By H. P. S. Matthews ...	14
Berlin ... ..	6	COUNTRY THOUGHTS AT LUNCH TIME. By Max Bowden ...	15
DOES THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT MEAN TO KILL THE I.L.O.? By Kathleen Gibberd ... ..	7	L.N.U. AND "UNION NOW." By Gilbert Murray ... ..	16
PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE. By Ronald Cartland, M.P. ... ..	8	REVIEW BY ROGER FORTUNE: "THE LEAGUE EXPERIMENT." By E. E. Reynolds ... ..	17
BEHIND THE NEWS ... ..	10	LETTERS TO THE EDITOR ... ..	18

## OUR EDITORIAL DISCUSSION—No. 2

# THE RIGHT LEAGUE POLICY FOR GREAT BRITAIN

The second set of HEADWAY LETTERS discusses the policy which the British Government should now follow in the League of Nations. SIR ARTHUR SALTER, member of Parliament for Oxford University, Gladstone Professor of Political Theory and Institutions, formerly one of the chiefs of the League secretariat, formulates his proposals in a letter to VISCOUNT CECIL:—

June 12.

DEAR LORD CECIL,

I have been asked to send you suggestions as to the policy which the British Government might best pursue towards the League, in present circumstances, and the course which League supporters could most usefully take in influencing the Government or otherwise.

### "Reform" Inopportune

I do not think it is desirable at this moment to deal with the "reform of the League" in the sense of making amendments to the Covenant. If it were so amended as to be adjusted to present political conditions, that is, so as to seem acceptable to any non-members or hesitating members, the result would be to reduce it to an insignificant organisation for arranging occasional conferences and carrying on some non-technical international work. In that case, even if the political conditions necessary for a true League system are later restored, its instrument would have been destroyed. Though experience has shown some defects in the Covenant, it is not because of these defects that the League lost power. It was solely because it did not include and retain enough member states with enough loyalty to League principles and determination to support them. The time to improve the League machinery is the time when League members want to use it and collectively have the strength to do so. I shall not therefore now discuss any amendments.

The goal at which we should aim is clear. We must

restore the political conditions under which a true collective system can again work; and a true collective system is not a defensive alliance of known friends against known enemies but a system which includes both potential friends and potential foes. Ultimately, therefore, we must aim at getting the countries now outside the League into it. But the path to this goal is painful and lengthy. The first necessity is to rebuild a peace front against known aggressors. In doing so let us follow League principles as far as we can, let us use the League machinery when it will help our purpose. But the vital necessity is to obtain a collective superiority of strength sufficient to defeat, and if possible, to deter the aggressor. If we can achieve an effective alliance with Russia, this is I believe a practicable task. But we need every resource. Happily the League's basic principle of resistance to aggression provides a link between those whose outlook and interests are widely different. The dictators threaten all Left forces; they threaten Communism; they also threaten Liberalism; they also threaten the British Empire. But they threaten all by threatening aggression. And on this basis you, Sir, can find yourself co-operating in the defence of the League principles with Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Stalin alike — an experience you would little have expected ten years ago.

### Pave the Way for Return

Geneva, however, though the League's basic principle is the uniting factor between the new allies, will not be the main centre of the new negotiations. For the time being it will be, in political matters, a suburb rather than a metropolis.

Diplomacy will for the most part proceed by other methods. But we can still do much to pave the way for a return. We can keep the new alliances within the League principles. We can at certain points provide for the use

JULY 1939

HEADWAY

3

of the League machinery. We can renew our own pledges to limit our action by League principles and extend them by the promising to submit claims upon ourselves to third-party judgment.

All this is, in my view, insufficient. It is not enough to match force with force. We must try unceasingly to penetrate the mind of the peoples of the opposing countries. For this purpose I think that we should issue a broad and generously conceived statement of peace and war aims and issue it to all the world at the first moment when we can do so from the vantage ground of visible strength instead of apparent weakness — for example, immediately after the conclusion of an alliance with Russia. I have tried to draft such a statement in a book I have recently published and would like your opinion on it.

### Expand the Social Work

In the meantime, what of Geneva itself? We should I think expand all the work that it is still possible to carry on there—social, humanitarian, economic and financial. The nutrition conference is a good example. The economic and financial intelligence work—maintained at a level which commands the respect of the world of economists—is another. I should like to add a special enquiry into the trade in materials used and usable for war preparations and the methods of controlling it.

Well, these are a few suggestions — all I can make within the limits of a short letter. I offer them for what they may be worth.—Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR SALTER.

To this Letter Lord Cecil replied

MY DEAR SALTER,

June 18.

Thank you very much for your letter. What you say about the difficulty of amending the Covenant is quite true. It can only be done by something like unanimity, and the present unrest among the nations is not favourable to that condition. Moreover, I am by no means sure that considerable alterations of the document are wanted.

### League Could Have Succeeded

As you truly intimate, if the nations had been ready and willing to work the League it could have been made quite an efficient instrument for peace as it stands. That is the real truth. If we are to rebuild an international system from which war is to be excluded we must first find out why the system set up at Paris broke down—at any rate, temporarily. What was its weakness? Well, no doubt it suffered from the circumstances in which it was born. It was easy for Germany to regard it as the creation of the victorious Powers. She was most unwisely excluded from any share in framing the Covenant, and she was not allowed to be one of the original members under it. That certainly gave a great handle to German critics of Geneva. But I do not think that is or was the chief difficulty. After all, Germany was admitted to the League as part of the Locarno settlement on exactly the same terms as the other great Powers, and while men like Stresemann and Brüning directed German policy their country was taking more and more part in the international community.

When the present régime was established it was from the start violently hostile to the League, not because of its defects, not because it was ineffective and "adjourned

everything," not, in a word, on the grounds which figured so largely in British attacks upon it, but for precisely the opposite reason. Herr Hitler and his friends hate the League because its existence and principles are inconsistent with their national doctrines. They believe that in international matters the sole thing that counts is force. They hold that a sovereign State, at least if it is German, must not be controlled by any outside body, that it alone is supreme over its own policy, national and international, and that any organisation which, like the League, proceeds on the assumption that even sovereign States must conform to the principles of law and justice is guilty, as it were, of *lèse majesté* to Germania.

### Point of View Must Change

Until that point of view is changed Germany can never co-operate heartily with the League nor can there be any certainty of enduring peace. For though I fully agree with you that our first duty is to build up a peace front sufficiently strong to put a stop to aggression, yet I am sure you will agree with me that that by itself will not secure lasting peace. After all, the peace bloc is only an alliance, and an alliance directed necessarily against the Axis Powers. If that system goes on it must involve the division of Europe into two groups, which is practically the same thing as the old system of the balance of power, and, as far as I can see, must lead to another world war of appalling destructiveness.

It seems to me, therefore, that we must not lose a moment before setting to work to build again a permanent organisation of peace open to all nations based on the principle that force is no remedy, but that without international control there cannot be the security needed to make remedies possible.

### Excessive Nationalism the Greatest Obstacle

The excessive nationalism of Germany is no doubt the greatest obstacle to this policy. But it is not the only one. Can we honestly say that nothing of the kind exists here? When distinguished statesmen say that we can only fight if our vital interests are threatened, and by vital interests they generally mean some direct attack on our territory or trade, are they not abandoning the position that it is the maintenance of the rule of law which is vital to civilisation?

An instance will make my meaning clearer. Last autumn Germany threatened the existence of Czechoslovakia just as a few years earlier Italy had threatened Abyssinia. In each case a cry was raised that we had no concern with the threatened country, and it would be wicked to risk war in its defence. If anyone urged that it was not a question of our concern in the countries themselves, but that we had set up an international system the basis of which was that aggression was an international crime which all the peaceful countries must resist, he was told he was a war-monger, indifferent in the pursuit of impracticable ideals to the true interests of his country. Accordingly, in both cases we set aside our pledged word, and instead of assisting the threatened countries to resist, we used the whole of our influence to prevent their resistance, and even treated those in them who wished to fight for their liberty and independence as the enemies of peace.

The result has been, in my judgment, very harmful both to our interests and our reputation. Aggressors have been encouraged, and peace-loving countries hesitate to trust



our promises of help against aggression. But my present point is not that, but rather that we did not recognise that we had any "vital interest" in maintaining the rule of law in international affairs. If Czechoslovakia had been a British possession—like Gibraltar, for instance—we should have resisted any forcible attack on her with the whole strength of the Empire. But since she was completely independent and only bound to us by our promise to defend her "territorial integrity and political independence," it was regarded as Quixotic, if not wicked, to suggest that we should take any effective step to resist the German onslaught. In other words, though we professed a belief in and a respect for the rule of law, we

did not think it worth fighting for even with the help of Russia and other countries.

Now I am profoundly convinced that, unless that point of view is completely changed, there can be no hope for peace or disarmament, or indeed for civilisation itself. Therefore, we must redouble our advocacy of the League and all it stands for. It seems to me dangerous to agree to its being thrust into the background or sent into the suburbs even temporarily. We must press with all our might that it should be used to the utmost not only for suppressing opium and fostering nutrition, but for its real and essential purpose the maintenance of peace.

Yours very sincerely,

CECIL.

## DESPATCHES FROM THE CAPITALS

HEADWAY'S SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

### FRANCE EXPECTS VIOLENCE

PARIS, June 28.

THE twentieth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles finds France determined, if Hitler should force her to draw the sword, to fight another Armageddon. The respite from overt acts of violence with which Europe has in the last few weeks been graced has deceived nobody in this country. Here it is regarded as the lull before the storm.

Coming events throw their shadows before. The Nazi campaign for Danzig is growing in virulence. The French are certain that Hitler intends to move against this old Hanseatic city this year. The only question in their minds is whether the Fuehrer will act now, before the Western European democracies have concluded their pact with Russia, or whether, repeating his tactics of a year ago, he will wait until the autumn, when the harvests are gathered. In this event the title of the "Congress of Peace" that he has bestowed on this year's Nazi party rally at Nuremberg is likely to have a grimly ironical significance.

### No Second Munich

One thing is certain. So far as the French are concerned, there will be no second Munich. They are not going to let down the Poles as they abandoned their Czech allies to their fate last year.

France's position on this matter was made clear by Premier Edouard Daladier in his speech proroguing the French Parliament this week.

"France," he said, "is determined to struggle with all her might against any attempt at domination. The Government knows that any enterprise of hege-

mony in the East of Europe would in the end be turned against the West."

Marcel Deat has his answer. Frenchmen will, if necessary, die for Danzig. The Third Republic is not going to repeat the mistake that the Second Empire committed when it stood idly by while the Prussians crushed the Austrians at Sadowa, only to succumb in its turn to Bismarck's young Reich at Sedan four years later.

### Premier Pessimistic

It was a deeply pessimistic speech that Daladier delivered in sending the Chamber home. Never in twenty years, said the French Premier, had the European situation been so grave. Three million troops were mobilised beyond France's frontiers, and this would compel him to maintain two classes of trained soldiers under the colours in October. He reminded the deputies that their holiday, which normally would extend until mid-November, might be cut short this year. Everything, Daladier told the Chamber, even the most urgent social reforms, must be subordinated now to the all-important subject of national defence.

In view of the menace to the peace, French opinion awaits impatiently the conclusion of the tripartite accord between England, France, and Soviet Russia—negotiations over which have now been dragging along for thirteen weeks. The French Government has been pressing Whitehall to swallow its doubts and give the Soviets the automatic guarantees they demand for the protection of the Balkan States. The French admit that there is a risk in giving the Soviet Government this blank cheque, but it is a risk, they contend, that must now be incurred as the penalty of the numerous Anglo-French

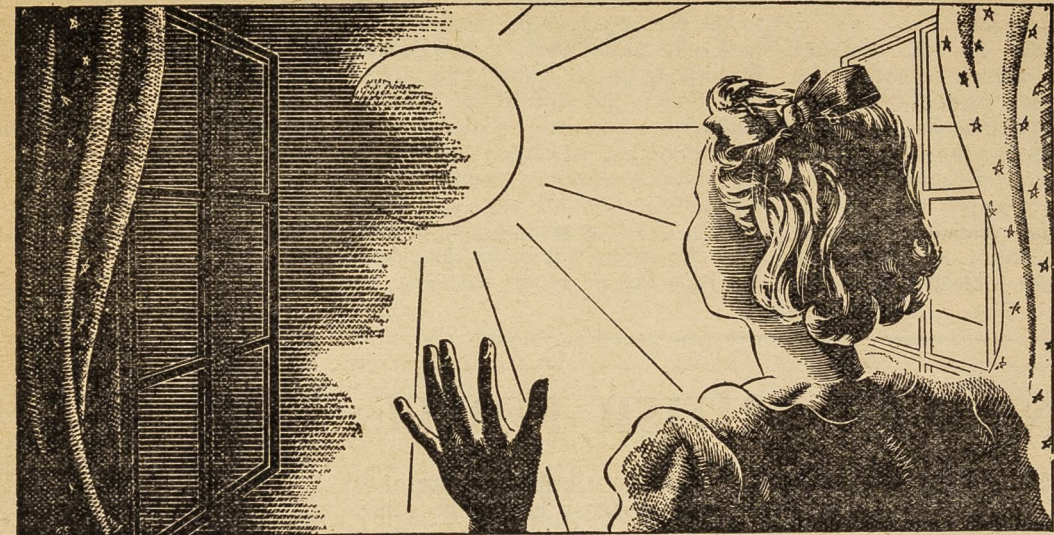
diplomatic blunders of the last few years. If the negotiations with Moscow were to fail, the temptation for Hitler to seize Danzig immediately would be well nigh irresistible. In this event England and France would have to make good their pledge to Poland under exceedingly unfavourable circumstances or accept another Munich.

Although the delays in coming to an understanding with Soviet Russia are vexatious, the French Government this month has registered one important diplomatic success. It has concluded a treaty of military assistance with Turkey complementary to the pact between Great Britain and Turkey that was signed on May 12.

### Turkey Most Important

The strategic importance of Turkey's adherence to the "peace front" is enormous. In the World War the closing of the Straits of the Dardanelles by the Turks, in the opinion of many military critics, prolonged the conflict by two years. It prevented England and France from sending munitions to Russia. In the next war the Western European democracies will be in a position, thanks to the Turkish alliance, to supply Rumania and Poland with the war material which they so badly need. The pacts with Turkey restore the strategic equilibrium in the Mediterranean that had been disturbed in favour of the Axis Powers by the victory of pro-Fascist General Franco in the Spanish civil war.

The French, of course, have had to pay high for Turkey's friendship by agreeing to the cession of the Sanjak of Alexandretta to the Turks. This concession has severely impaired France's prestige in the Near East. It has hurt France in the eyes of the



# Smoke is Going!

Manchester has revolted against its pall of smoke. As a move towards making Manchester a smokeless city it is proposed to mark out an area in the city in which no smoke shall be emitted.

London, too, is taking action. In Whitehall Government offices 7,000 open fire places now burn smokeless fuel. And 94,000 out of the 115,000 tons of fuel burnt in Government offices are now smokeless.

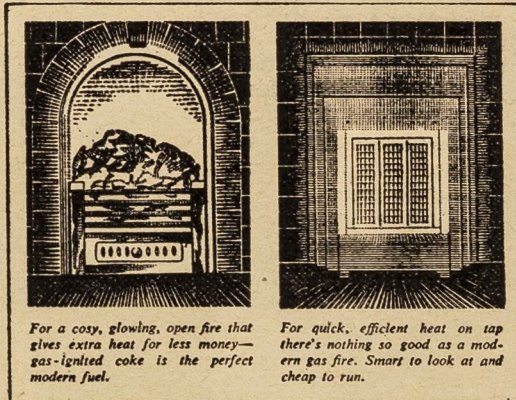
The Leader of the L.C.C., Mr. Herbert Morrison, has said, 'We are seriously considering the possibility of turning London into a smokeless city, at least as far as domestic smoke is concerned.'

Mr. Walter Elliot, Minister of Health, says, 'The development of smokeless fuels could make our cities clean as those of Ancient Greece.'

### WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT SMOKE

Smoke cannot be banished without *your* help, because 70% of Smoke and Soot comes from *home* chimneys—*your* chimneys. Therefore every smoke making fire that is changed to smokeless fuel is a

contribution to clean homes, clean cities, healthier, easier living. Smoke is going, but you must help it go by using the cheap, labour-saving, smokeless fuels—Gas and Coke!



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Arab world, since the French Government, holding a mandate over Syria, was bound to protect the territorial integrity of that country.

It is fortunate for the Daladier Ministry that French constitutional practice does not require treaties to be ratified by Parliament, for the Turkish pact relating to the surrender of Alexandretta would certainly have had a rough passage through the Chamber. The veteran Nationalist leader, Louis Marin, and his influential group are violently hostile to

the giving up of the Hatay. They hold Premier Daladier rigorously to his word when he said he would never consent to the French flag being hauled down from any place where it now waves. By yielding to the Turks Marin argues that France has opened the door to territorial concessions to the Italians. On the Left, the treaty is opposed by the Socialist Vienot, a former Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the ground that as a result of it the Arabs will be on the side of the Axis Powers in the next war.

to roost in their own good time. But we should remember that this blackmail only became a serious matter as far as Britain is concerned after the Munich Agreement—after we had blindly accepted appeasement instead of a just peace, and thereby given the Nazis the impression that we wanted nothing more than to be allowed to go on living our own lives regardless of the conceptions of "rights of small nations" which we had formerly upheld before the world.

If by to-day the British nation does not realise that adherence to the League of Nations was not only its most honourable but also its cheapest method of contributing to world peace, then it has learnt nothing from the events of the past two years.

The British public would do well to realise that there is no bridge between the Nazi and democratic viewpoints unless it be one over which the democracies can march to surrender to *Machtpolitik*. This does not mean the inevitability of war, but rather that no peace is going to be possible if we surrender those principles which mankind has accepted as the bases of communal life. The Nazis have no regard for them in their own national life, and they will ignore them with impunity in international life the moment they feel safe to do so. Justice, truth, considerations for the rights of others even though weaker than ourselves, are qualities which have long ceased to play a rôle in Nazi plans. And we should do well to realise this fact, especially since we are nowadays the special objects of German attention.

## WARNING TO BRITISH PEOPLE

BERLIN, June 28.

EVENTS move so quickly in these days that a correspondent hesitates to write anything in the least prophetic even a few days before the words go to print. The dynamic of the totalitarian states is such that they may have precipitated a new crisis or made a new annexation which completely upsets all calculations. Such appears to be the situation, but in reality these "heroic" figures work much more carefully than the democrats appear to realise. Their successes have been due far more to flaws in the democratic armour than to the strength of their weapons or their skill in using them.

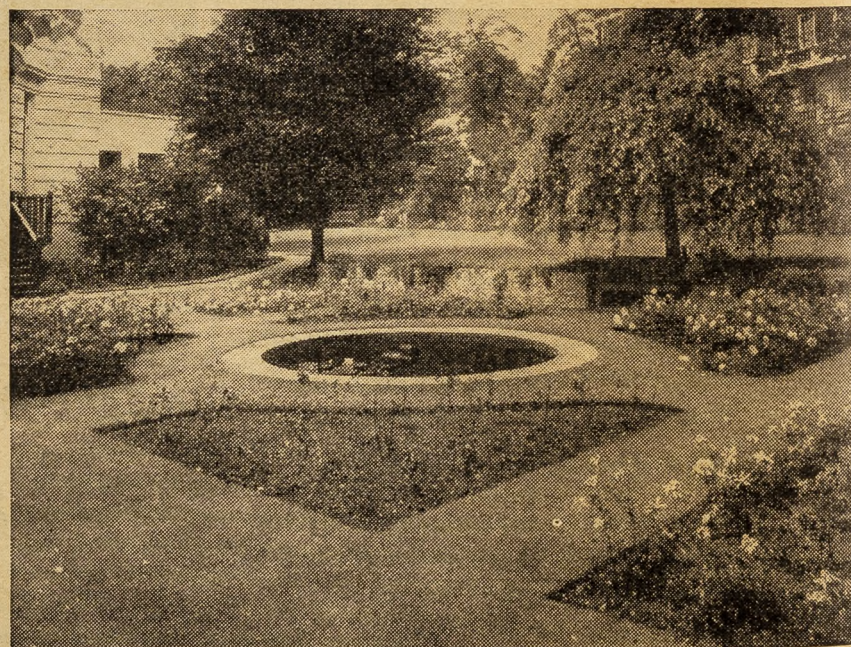
This is a fact which it is particularly important to remember at the present time, since we are again entering upon one of those periods of bluff, which can only bring success to the Nazis if the democracies once more fall into the trap being carefully prepared for them by Paul Goebbels and Joachim von Ribbentrop. The meshes of such a trap will be tightened only if Britain is involved in a war elsewhere.

That is something which all readers of HEADWAY would do well to remember. Let us put it quite plainly. During the next few weeks they will hear of movements of German troops on the eastern and western frontiers, of redoubled energies to finish the fortifications, and of new activities in Danzig. But this does not mean war unless the Nazis feel that they have won it before it starts. All these moves are really intended to put the Third Reich in the position where it can enforce its will without fighting.

Hitler and his satellites hope to add Danzig and the Polish Corridor to their list of conquests before 1939 is out. But not as the result of war. These are to be returned through the heavy fist which the German representative can bang down at any conference table

(better present it before the face of the opposing diplomat before the conference starts), and thus become the cheapest bargains ever offered on the diplomatic market. The interval between now and then is to be utilised to bluff the British and convince both Germans and the smaller nations that the British Empire is decadent through abusive speeches and press attacks.

People in Britain can have little idea of the vituperative language used by such party leaders as Goebbels and Robert Ley. Not only do they stab but they stab with daggers which are first dipped in the poison of lies—a fact which is all one to them, since their whole aim is the extension of the Reich by whatever means. Such things are in a sense immaterial to us, since we know that these hens will come home



The grounds of Viscountess Gladstone's London home, 36, Phillimore Gardens, W.8, which will be open in support of the L.N.U. in July.

## DOES THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT MEAN TO KILL THE I.L.O.?

By KATHLEEN GIBBERD

GENEVA, June 24.

THE other day, Mr. Leggett, British Government representative on the governing body of the I.L.O., made a proposal that on the face of it seemed intelligent and useful. He proposed that every year the International Labour Conference should spend some of its time in an "informal exchange of views on various social questions." This suggestion has met with polite acceptance, and the 1939 Conference is giving Mr. Leggett half a day for the little international chat that he thinks so desirable.

It looks remarkably like the thin end of a sturdy British Government wedge. Or, as a Frenchman said with a French shrug of the shoulders: "*Peut-être M. Leggett a une idée profonde.*"

The point is that the I.L.O. has never been a mere forum or debating society. It owes its remarkable success to the fact that it is a *machine which works*. Facts and views on social questions from any of its fifty-four Member-States are already available in its publications. At the annual conference speeches are subject to a time limit, and, with the exception of the discussion on the Director's Report, are related to proposed achievement.

Let me explain by reference to this year's conference.

Here in Geneva are the delegates of forty-six of the Member-States. In most instances a full delegation of Government representatives, employers and workers has been sent. There are six main items on the agenda, and the conference has its work cut out to get

through them all in three weeks. Three items deal with hours of work (for industry in general, for miners, and for drivers of motor-vehicles), a fourth with the employment of native workers, a fifth with emigrants, and the sixth with technical education and apprenticeship.

These items are a collection of proposed treaties that have gone through an established process of sifting scrutiny, drafting and voting, similar to that which characterizes the passage of a Bill through Parliament. At the time of writing each item is running the gauntlet of proposed amendments in the appropriate conference committee. Afterwards each will undergo a final discussion in the full conference and votes will be taken. It is certain that some at least will emerge as new conventions and recommendations. Member-States will be obliged to consider them in their national Parliaments, and whatever their immediate fate in some places—whether ratified or rejected—they will become the accepted standards, and conditions everywhere will be influenced by them.

Sixty-three conventions and nearly as many recommendations are already operating in the world.

While these new industrial regulations have been taking shape in the committee-rooms the full conference has held a number of sittings to discuss the report presented by Mr. Winant, the American director of the office. By tradition the report is a survey of existing economic and industrial conditions as well as a review of I.L.O. achievements up to date. The discussion of it provides opportunity for anyone to say almost anything. About sixty delegates have spoken this year, and every industrial and social topic of the hour has been mentioned. This is not enough for Mr. Leggett. Why?

Some observers conclude that the British Government looks askance at international labour organisation. It is afraid, they say, of the I.L.O.s becoming too powerful and over-riding British sovereignty. It finds perhaps that the former British argument that ratified conventions were not faithfully observed is wearing a little thin now that the I.L.O. machinery for the application of conventions is working with smooth effectiveness. It finds perhaps that its previous façade of dignity and honour no longer conceals its dogged resistance to external interference. Such is the criticism.

The British Government is sometimes outvoted in the International Labour Conference. The Americans are now pulling their weight, and their enthusiasm, drive, and indifference to formalities vibrate throughout the organisation. Remember, in certain fields of social progress Great Britain has been outdistanced.

Is the I.L.O. moving too quickly? Should it pause for a little pleasant talk? Do the British people think so?

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## PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE

By RONALD CARTLAND, M.P.

*In many quarters a belief is growing that the sky has cleared. The danger of war is supposed to have been dispelled. Unhappily hope is most confident where contact with other countries is most distant. Where world events are most closely observed the new optimism is least prevalent. In the City of London and in New York fears for the future are a continual drag upon business. In Parliament and in Congress members await the remaining months of 1939 with grave anxiety. It is realised that the crises which beset the world in rapid succession in many places are not disconnected happenings but are bound together by an inner link, being provoked by the same agencies for the same motives. The dictatorships are built on force and violence is their method. The words and the deeds of Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini and the anonymous chiefs of the Japanese are on record for proof.*

THE dark clouds which were blown up from the Far East have overshadowed all our proceedings. Britain in the past has faced and triumphed over powerful foes. But never, surely, can she have confronted so mighty a combination as she does to-day?

It was not surprising that at question time, when Mr. Chamberlain made statements on Tientsin, the House was reluctant to put supplementaries to him. But there is no mistaking the temper of Parliament on these events. The feeling in the country, so far as one individual can gauge it, is even stronger than in the Commons. The indignities suffered by His Majesty's subjects have made everyone I have spoken to feel bitterly ashamed. Is a British passport no longer a guarantee of safety to its owner, and of swift retribution to any who offend against it?

Yet members were undoubtedly right in not at first pressing or hampering the Prime Minister. Our eyes can never, not even for a moment, be withdrawn from the Nazi menace. This diversion in the East, bitter as it is to our pride, is so far no more than a diversion. But withdraw

from the Concession and you have started on the slippery slope of calling in your outposts of Empire; the inevitable end of such a retreat is destruction by the jealous hordes who clamour for your possessions. Therefore we must stand our ground. This, it seems to me, is appreciated. The appeasement circles will not accept from the Japanese what they submitted to so readily from the Germans. It cannot be impossible to balance our needs in the West with the maintenance of our position in the East.

### Let Us Use Our Naval Margin

In our fleet we have some margin in home waters against a potential foe. Let us use that margin. We must not mistake a skirmish on a flank for the main attack. But, make no mistake, the struggle at Tientsin is being watched eagerly and anxiously in Berlin. The jeers of the Nazi Press-hounds grate on our ears. We must all the time hold ourselves in readiness for the decisive struggle. But to do nothing now, or to waste time in unprofitable wordy protests is to court humiliation and disaster. To wait for others, to hang back hoping someone else will come to our aid before we take the first steps in our own defence is a policy based on bad psychology and worse morals.

"The tempo of international affairs to-day leaves us all breathless." How often have I heard that said lately! If it be true, it is deplorable. Herr Hitler is not out of breath. If lack of stamina, either from inherent weakness or from blind indulgence, is the cause of our misfortunes, let us find sound men to retrieve what we have lost.

The House of Commons has been an unhappy place for some time. Mr. Chamberlain's prestige is at least partly due to the universal recognition that he stands, always excepting Lord Halifax, head and shoulders above his Cabinet. The uneasy feeling that the best men in the country are not being employed in their country's service, now when we need them most, is the cause of the House being an unhappy place.

### If Mr. Churchill — ?

It is widely held a slur on our democratic system that Mr. Winston Churchill is still excluded from the Government. What would be the effect abroad on possible aggressors of his inclusion in the Cabinet? Had he been in the Cabinet would the Anglo-Soviet Agreement have so hung fire? A vast number of our fellow-citizens—I believe the vast majority—pin their faith in peace on the outcome of these negotiations. Having at last decided that an alliance with the U.S.S.R. was desirable, has it been pursued with relentless energy? Mr. Chamberlain goes to Berchtesgaden and Rome; Lord Halifax to Paris and Geneva. Even Lord Runciman went to Prague. To Moscow goes Mr. Strang. Mr. Strang has admirable qualities and qualifications, but he is not a Cabinet Minister. He cannot issue instructions; he has to take them. Mr. Hugh Dalton did well to suggest that Lord Halifax himself should have gone; but if he could not be spared, is there no emissary of power and peace who could have gone for him?

It is this kind of thing which arouses suspicions of the

British Government's good intentions. Personally, I do not question their good intentions. But I question the methods they employ in prosecuting them. There is nothing derogatory in a Government giving way to demands, though the best Governments prefer to stimulate them: to lead opinion rather than pant distressfully after it.

The Government's decision to institute a Department of Information was to be welcomed. That it is obviously restricted in scope is to be deplored. Many people were surprised at the cavalier manner in which Lord Lloyd has been treated. His work for the British Council cannot be over-estimated. Yet, on the announcement of the new Department, it was apparent that his position had not been considered, and certainly there was no public recognition of his valuable and valiant efforts.

We have not begun to consider propaganda on the scale commensurate to our needs. The B.B.C. foreign news is excellent, but it is a bubble of truth in the ocean of Dr. Goebbels' lies.

### Czechoslovak Gold

Again, we have the extraordinary position revealed of two representatives of the Bank of England, on the B.I.S., allowing decisions vitally affecting British foreign policy without prior consultation with His Majesty's Government and, it seems, without proper consideration of the consequences of their action on their own country.

Mr. Strauss, Mr. Bracken, Mr. Sandys, Mr. Boothby, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, and others were right to keep this incident before the public, so that it should become well understood, and to question the Government on how it occurred and what are its implications.

The deed is done. The criminals who raped their neighbour were presented with a small money token to mark the occasion. Mr. Montagu Norman and Sir Otto Niemeyer, who apparently determined that in the institution which employs them the emphasis should be on Bank rather than on England, are not just now particular favourites at Westminster. There has never been much love lost between the Labour Party and the Old Lady; while Government supporters wonder whether Mr. Norman and Sir Otto have not struck a blow for nationalisation which they will find it impossible to parry.

In the meanwhile, agitation has commenced against our continuing membership of the B.I.S. I should hesitate to advocate at this time our withdrawal from any international organisation, but, if the Bank is to be used on any other occasion for presenting Germany with much-needed money which does not belong to her, ways and means will have to be found for our severing our connections.

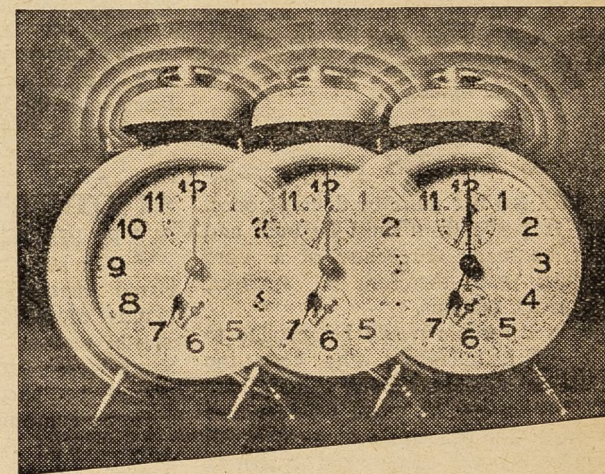
### Welcome to Their Majesties

And so we go on: playing cricket, waiting for the racing specials, planning summer holidays. If there were any with doubts of the spirit of our people they should have mingled with the crowds who gathered to welcome home the King and Queen. It was at once the most rightly royal and democratic of processions. We are the most civilised race on earth, whatever culturally we may be. But are we awake? Worse, have the gods sent us mad before destruction falls? I feel, even now, the mass of our people are quite unaware of the determination and vigour of the tyrant across the sea who, like the tyrant of ancient days, in Demosthenes' words, "makes no difference between winter and summer, hath no settled season for repose."

Here we have Sir John Anderson. What impressed him most about the Chelsea experimental air-raid was that there was no panic. Did he expect it, in broad daylight, without any aeroplanes, and with a great deal of preliminary publicity? I am impressed by the kindness of our people towards their leaders, by their infinite patience and long suffering.

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Rule of Law among Nations.

BY

F. N. KEEN

Author of "TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE,"  
"A BETTER LEAGUE OF NATIONS," etc.

The main thesis of this book is that the key to the problem of world peace lies in the effective establishment internationally of the Rule of Law, and to secure this a world authority is needed with real power and effective machinery to control aggression and guarantee justice among nations through the instrumentality of law. The basis and method of establishment of such a system are discussed.

Viscount Cecil has written to the author saying "I am delighted to hear that you are writing a work on the creation of a world authority with real power and effective machinery to control aggression. That is indeed what we are all looking for, and I have no doubt that your views on the subject will be of great importance and interest to all lovers of peace."

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## BEHIND THE NEWS

### MOST POTENT FACTOR

BY long-established custom the King on his return from a State Visit to the Empire overseas or to a friendly country speaks to his people from the London Guildhall. So did King Edward VII and King George V. His Majesty has followed their example after the triumphant tour the Queen and he made in Canada and the United States. His sentence which will perhaps be longest remembered for its deep wisdom was:

*Even in this age of machines and mass production, the strength of human feeling is still the most potent of all the factors in world affairs.*

### THESE THINGS NOW

THIS is what must be done at once. A peace front must be built and must be made the centre of a more resolute, and therefore a stronger, League of Nations.

Such a League would be resolute to give all its members who keep the peace an effective defence against any state which attacks them; resolute also to secure the peaceful settlement of all disputes between nations and to redress all proved wrongs by peaceful change.

A peace front without a resolute League will become nothing better than another name for a precarious balance of power, leading sooner or later to war.

### LESSON OF MOSCOW DELAYS

THE LONG drawn-out negotiations of Great Britain and France with Russia afford decisive proof of the need for a League. The many delays in London and Moscow show how difficult it is to build the policies of great nations on improvised expedients adopted to meet suddenly perceived dangers. Who shall guarantee whom and against what? Quarrels over such questions are inevitable with the piecemeal method. The only way to avoid its ambiguities and suspicions is for all to guarantee peace.

### OUT OF TROUBLE

ON FEBRUARY 27, 1933, Sir John Simon, then Foreign Secretary, justifying his resistance to concerted action by the member states of the League of Nations to restrain Japanese aggression in Manchuria, declared:—

*However this matter is handled, I mean to see to it that my country does not get into trouble.*

In June, 1939, Britain finds herself in trouble too dire to have been imagined six years ago. Her rights are ignored, her interests are destroyed, her subjects have the grossest indignities heaped upon them, her notes of protest are thrown into the waste-paper basket by a Japan whose appetite is always growing.

Britain's permanent interest is the establishment and maintenance of a world order of peace too strong to be attacked. The failure to see that truth and the refusal to act upon it has exposed her to her present dangers. As the Chinese Ambassador in London said the other day: "The sky is black with the wings of chickens coming home to roost."

### AT OTHER'S COST

MR. PIROW, the South African Minister of Defence, has declared that Germany's colonial demands must be satisfied. But for special reasons the former German South-West Africa and Tanganyika cannot be handed back. Germany must be compensated elsewhere.

South-West Africa and Tanganyika happen to be the two ex-German colonies in which the South African Union is interested.

Three years ago, when HEADWAY was discussing the colonial problem, a Dutch reader wrote to say that justice and peace depended upon the surrender by Great Britain to Germany of vast territories. HEADWAY offered the comment that all the colonial Powers must make sacrifices. To this its correspondent retorted: "I beg to inform you that the question of the Dutch colonies does not and cannot arise."

The habit of asking others to pay the price is older than Munich, and still survives.

### LEAGUE IS NECESSARY

SIR NORMAN ANGELL added one more to his many brilliant services to the League and peace with a long and cogent letter in *The Times* of June 20. He demonstrated that security and justice are the two essential elements of any lasting peace, and that only such a system as the League can guarantee them.

Sir Norman's first letter provoked a lively discussion in which many distinguished men took part. It revealed a large measure of agreement. On June 27 he summed it up in a second letter in which he wrote:

Suppose we would, or could, revise

the treaties so completely that we returned to Germany not only all her colonies but Alsace Lorraine, and all the territory which before the War was under German rule. That indeed would be "some" revision. But we know from the most complete proof, the event, that this would not of itself keep the peace: for when Germany had those possessions peace was not kept. Why should we expect that the restoration of a position which did not suffice for peace when Germany—and other States—were relatively liberal and tolerant, would suffice when liberalism and tolerance have disappeared? If such a settlement would keep the peace now, why did it not in 1914?

And when we have defeated Germany "the next time," how long is that defeat likely to remain effective, since after barely 20 years we are faced by the possibility of having to repeat the last defeat all over again? Repeat it in more dangerous conditions, with Allies of the last War become enemies? If the last victory endured less than 20 years, how long will the next endure?

This tragic oscillation or dilemma will continue so long as we attempt to achieve defence by a political method under which the security of one side automatically kills that of the other; a result inseparable from the old international anarchy, where power is irresponsible, the instrument by which one party to a dispute hopes to impose his judgment on the other, the instrument, that is, of rival litigants, instead of being the instrument of the law or constitution which offers all parties equal security by offering protection to any victim of violence who will give his support to the law.

The way to set up such a constitution is not to wait until the whole world will agree to it—by that time it would hardly be necessary—but to make its principle the basis of the actual Peace Front we are now constructing. An alliance which embodied such a principle would prove a more effective instrument of defence than one which did not. It could be adopted by an alliance of two nations as much as by one of 20, and it never can become universal until a group far short of universality have made a beginning.

### CORNERED AT MUNICH

OFFICIAL German attacks on Mr. Chamberlain are as venomous as they are on Great Britain. Sometimes they are unintentionally revealing. Dr. Goebbels in Berlin on June 14 said:

"There are people who say 'What would you have done if there had been war in September, if Chamberlain had not come to Munich?' I can only reply, 'But he did come. He did not come for amusement, but because he knew no other way out. We had so cornered him that, as one says in chess, he was checkmated.'"

Less offensive but even more significant and ominous was his later remark:

"We only want to reconquer all that belonged to us in history."

### NOTES FROM ITALY

THE PEOPLES of the totalitarian countries are neither prosperous nor happy. That fact provokes doubt of the often proclaimed efficiency of the dictatorships. Two valued correspondents who are in close touch with Italy send independent and confirmatory accounts of what is happening there.

One writer, who has just returned from Rome, says:—

Life is not easy in Rome at present. To be sure, the Fascists are enthusiastic about the German alliance and it serves the interests of Fascism well enough. But nobody else in Italy has a good word to say for the alliance. Germans always were unpopular, particularly in the north of Italy, the only difference now is that they are rather more unpopular than before!

Rome is full of Germans. Already many are behaving as if the whole place belonged to them. Officers and others in uniforms, with swastika armlets, can be seen on all sides, but the comments of the Romans are ironical and decidedly cool. Not long ago Italian officers who were entertaining a party of German officers at one of the smartest Roman restaurants came to blows with their guests and the restaurant had to be cleared.

Gestapo agents are hard at work in Italy. Recently Count Ciano was presented with a list of Italians whose love of the Third Reich was lukewarm but whose names had hitherto escaped the watchful eye of the Ovla, Mussolini's secret police. A Vatican journalist attending a reception given at one of the Roman Embassies in honour of a famous and violently anti-Fascist American Cardinal found as a result of discreet questioning that one of the gorgeous Bersaglieri guarding the entrance to the Embassy spoke no Italian, but perfect German with a strong Prussian flavour. The man was a Gestapo agent detailed off to make a list of the guests attending the function!

The economic situation is bad. Raw materials are rapidly becoming scarcer. Foreign currency is hard to obtain. Grumbling at the high cost of living and the periodic dearth of this or that foodstuff is heard frequently in Rome. Coffee has run short and coffee queues are seen, in which many wait in vain. Those who know the Italian love of coffee and the good quality of Italian coffee in former days will guess the acid comments of the Roman matrons.

Relations between the Church and State are unhappy. The new Pope is holding his hand and outwardly relations are good. But the parish priest is often an anti-Fascist. Many of the higher prelates are known to be hostile to the Fascists. The clergy are insisting strongly upon the will and necessity for peace. This is much disliked by the Fascists. The will to peace of the Italian people could hardly be more fervent. Nowhere in Europe can such a dread and dislike of war be found as in Italy.

It would be idle to imagine that an outbreak of war would mean an immediate revolt. The power of the propaganda machine and the Press is still considerable. Even in Italy the encirclement tale is having its effect. But at the

first sign of defeat Mussolini's power will be gone.

### A GREATER GLORY

HERE is the second account, by an economist who bases his judgment on a mass of carefully verified fact:

Mussolini has boasted in so many words, of his success in misleading the democratic Governments with his Spanish "non-intervention" policy. The Spanish and Italian people have little reason to be pleased. His Spanish war implying his foreign policy of the last few years has brought them great suffering.

The economic exhaustion of Italy as a result of the Abyssinian and Spanish wars has meant much worse living conditions for most of the population. The wages of Italian workers are the lowest in any of the large states in Europe, while the prices of foodstuffs are the highest. Average wages are less than half as compared with France; bread is 20 per cent. dearer and meat 25, vegetable oil 45, potatoes 20 per cent. dearer. Sugar, coffee and coal are twice as dear. The consumption per head of meat, vegetables, sugar and milk has been drastically reduced in the last few years.

Many Italians are now asking themselves whether the Duce would not have covered himself with greater glory had he spent the money he wasted on his Abyssinian and Spanish wars on improving the economic conditions in his own country.

### NAZI FINANCE

HERR HITLER'S reorganisation of the Reichsbank has destroyed the last vestige of independence which that vital institution continued to enjoy under Dr. Schacht. The change has followed automatically from Dr. Schacht's dismissal last January and the substitution in his place of Dr. Funk, a fanatical Nazi, who has been eager to accept the full implications of the party programme. The Reichsbank has thus become the Nazi Central Bank, and all foreigners holding shares in it have been forced to accept banking shares of another kind.

Under the new statutes the Nazis have removed the previous brake upon the creation of credit, so that the Bank's reserves need no longer bear any relation to the currency in circulation. This will make the rake's progress in finance all the easier—but only for a time. In finance no less than in rearmament and foreign policy the Nazi programme is a race against time.

### TIENTSIN BLOCKADE

UNLESS the Japanese agree to a face-saving formula, whereby they will accept the British Government's offer to arbitrate on the handing over four alleged Chinese culprits in the Concession, the blockade of Tientsin is

certain to provide a serious test of British policy in the Far East.

It is clear that the sudden solicitude of the Japanese army for criminal justice in China has been occasioned by the desire to drive all foreign interests out of the country, starting with the British. To have invaded thousands of square miles and to have left the strategic centres of trade still in the hands of the foreigner is doubtless galling to an army which is still in search of victory.

Britain has given very little direct support to the Chinese forces. But the financial and economic assistance which has been extended to the Chinese currency has been of immense value in preserving the authority and solvency of the Government. Britain's vast interests in China, including £250 millions of invested capital, are bound up with the independence of the Chinese people.

In the event of a failure to settle the Tientsin affair by diplomacy, Britain has either to cut her losses and retreat, which would be fatal now, or resist. The key to the situation lies in the Anglo-Soviet negotiations and in the possibility of co-operation with the United States.

### REFUGEES IN HUNGARY

ENGLISH relief committees have been besieged spasmodically for over a year by Hungarians seeking means of leaving their country before open persecution made such a move more difficult. As the second Anti-Jewish Bill now makes it virtually impossible for a young Jew to obtain employment or for an old Jew seeking re-employment to find work, the position is acute. It has not been possible to organise any relief work within the country itself, and thousands of men and women are facing starvation in their own homes.

More recently the setting up of the Chamber of Journalists has adversely affected 1,500 writers and journalists. A number of these intellectuals, of both the older and the younger generations, are exiled in Paris and London, living in the utmost misery. Many, still in Hungary, who have consistently helped to spread the culture of the Western democracies, are finding it particularly bitter to be refused an English visa. This has happened in several cases.

### PRISON FOR JEWS

IN BUDAPEST, Jews who are not able to prove their citizenship to the satisfaction of the authorities, and undesired Left Wing elements are thrown into prison along with social



outcasts. Amongst them are men who had already fled from persecution in Germany, including an Aryan who formerly held a high position under the Ministry of Public Instruction of the Weimar Republic. He had escaped from a German concentration camp; now he has lain in the Budapest prison for over a year.

Certain anomalies in the situation are not without their humorous side. In the Budapest suburbs, for instance, there are "Jewish" Roman Catholic priests and Jewish priests who rank as Aryans. Less humorous, even to an outsider, are the cases of Jewish women of the old aristocratic Magyar families who, in spite of their having been baptised Christian before August, 1919, and having married Aryans, now find that their children are Jews.

### ARGUMENT WHICH TELLS

A CORRESPONDENT who knows Germany well, speaks German fluently and was in Germany at the time of Hitler's last Reichstag speech, has jotted down his reflections for HEADWAY readers. He writes:

There is one argument with which Hitler can always count on winning the support of the German people. "The Western Powers had fifteen years in which to run the world in accordance with the principles of peace and government by conference which they now so loudly proclaim. Germany waited fifteen years in the hope of seeing some concrete result emerge from that attempt. The results were so scanty that Germany has been compelled to turn to other methods." Or again, "You are asking us to-day to renounce the use of violence and return to more peaceful methods: but what assurance have we that our demands will receive any more consideration in future than they did in the past, unless we back them up with the compelling argument of our armed strength?"

I heard Hitler's speech at the end of a four weeks' visit to Germany, and it crystallised many of the impressions which I had gathered during my stay. It contained, like so many of the conversations which I had had with German friends, friendly references to England. Yet its tone was fundamentally anti-English. For the benefit of English listeners there were references to the great rôle of the British Empire in the world. For the benefit of German listeners there was the constant reiteration, by implication though not explicitly: "It is all England's fault."

### A VIEW OF BRITAIN

IT IS important that we should realise how England is depicted to the ordinary German at the present time. For it is, unfortunately, a fact that the anti-English propaganda is taking an ever firmer hold upon the Germans.

First of all, it was English envy which caused the War. On every front the German army won victory after victory, only to be robbed of its final crushing success by the fact that Germany's women and children were starved out by the British "Hunger-blockade." The British, in order to deceive the German people into surrendering, had made a great song and dance about a "just peace" with "no annexations" and a just examination of all colonial claims, and had followed this up by imposing a peace whereby Germany was condemned to eternal slavery. Having disarmed Germany by a trick, the Western Powers refused to disarm.

Then came the Führer, and made a whole succession of the most reasonable disarmament offers, and they were all turned down. So the Führer was compelled to resort to other methods. By his own methods Hitler has achieved success after success.

### LORD HALIFAX SPEAKS OUT

AS HEADWAY goes to press the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is speaking at the annual dinner of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. What Lord Halifax says is being broadcast to the world. It is a crystal-clear statement of the British policy for which the present issue of HEADWAY is an argument. Here are some decisive passages, which assuredly will make history:

We have assumed obligations, and are preparing to assume more, with full understanding of their causes and their consequences.

If the security and independence of other countries are to disappear, our own security and our own independence will be gravely threatened. If international law and order is to be preserved we must be prepared to fight in its defence.

Germany is isolating herself, and doing it most successfully and completely. She is isolating herself from other countries economically by her policy of autarky, politically by a policy that causes constant anxiety to other nations, and culturally by her policy of racialism.

Unless all countries do in fact desire a settlement, discussions would only do more harm than good. It is, moreover, impossible to negotiate with a Government whose responsible spokesmen brand a friendly country as thieves and blackmailers, and indulge in daily monstrous slanders on British policy in all parts of the world. But if that spirit, which is clearly incompatible with any desire for a peaceful settlement,

gave way to something different, His Majesty's Government would be ready to pool their best thought with others in order to end the present state of political and economic insecurity.

### PEACEFUL CHANGE

LORD HALIFAX went on to develop in some detail the constructive intentions of the British people:

It is not enough to devise measures for preventing the use of force to change the *status quo*, unless there is also machinery for bringing about peaceful change. For a living and changing world can never be held in iron clamps, and any such attempt is the high road to disaster. Changes in the relations, needs, and outlook of nations are going on all the time. And there is no more urgent need, if we are ever to find a workable system of international organisation, than to invent peaceful means by which such changes can be handled. To-day, when the European nations, forgetful of their common civilisation, are arming to the teeth, it is more important than ever that we should remind ourselves of the essential unity of European civilisation.

Truly is a divided Europe a house divided against itself. Our foreign policy must, therefore, constantly bear in mind the immediate present and the more distant future, the steps we are now taking and the goal to which they are meant to lead.

British policy rests on twin foundations of purpose. One is determination to resist force. The other is our recognition of the world's desire to get on with the constructive work of building peace. If we could once be satisfied that the intentions of others were the same as our own, and that we all really wanted peaceful solutions—then we could discuss the problems that are to-day causing the world anxiety. In such a new atmosphere we could examine the colonial problem, the questions of raw materials, trade barriers, the issue of *Lebensraum*, the limitation of armaments, and any other issue that affects the lives of all European citizens.

### STRONG TO RESIST

BUT at the moment the one immediate imperative need is to be strong against aggression:

The threat of military force is holding the world to ransom, and our immediate task is to resist aggression. I would emphasise that with all the strength at my command, so that nobody may misunderstand it. And if we are ever to succeed in removing misunderstanding and reaching a settlement which the world can trust, it must be upon some basis more substantial than verbal undertakings. It has been said that deeds, not words, are necessary. That also is our view. There must be give and take in practical form on both sides, for there can be no firm bargains on the basis of giving something concrete in return for mere assurances.

Lord Halifax with these firm words makes himself the spokesman of the British people and of all others who treasure freedom and desire peace.

## WILL MR. ROOSEVELT RUN AGAIN?

By J. W. WOOD

WILL President Roosevelt run for a third term? And if he does, what chance does he have of winning? These questions have plunged America into an orgy of political analysis, speculation and just plain guessing, intensified by the fact that there probably has not been so much uncertainty in the political situation since the election of 1912. The central fact is that the long familiar outlines of parties and subordinate group alignments have been so strained by the new forces generated by the "New Deal" that the country seems to be moving into an entirely new political period.

It can be taken for granted that Mr. Roosevelt himself would prefer in the abstract to stand aside after eight years in probably the most gruelling political office in the world. The President of the United States is both head of the government and head of the State. He has to discharge the equivalent responsibilities of both the Royal House and the Prime Minister—functions which in every other major nation are split between at least two individuals. He unquestionably would stand aside if he could obtain the nomination by his party of candidates whom he could trust to carry on his work.

The present effort of the Roosevelt forces, therefore, is to secure the nomination of liberal candidates committed to the Roosevelt programme. If this effort should succeed, the President would cease to be a candidate and the prospect of a "third term" would end. However, such an initial victory for the Roosevelt forces is highly uncertain. The possible candidates who enjoy his approval have neither a strong following within the ranks of the party nor any significant public following. There is a very real prospect that if Mr. Roosevelt should eliminate himself as a candidate, the convention would choose a conservative candidate.

In this situation, Mr. Roosevelt has two courses. If he knows before the issue is joined that no liberal of his choice has a chance of the nomination, he can run again himself. He probably could secure his own renomination. A statement widely accepted in political circles to-day as axiomatic is that "the only candidate Mr. Roosevelt can nominate at the convention is Franklin D. Roosevelt."

The alternative to running himself to shut out a possible conservative nominee is to let the nomination go to the conservative in the Democratic convention and then, following the precedent set by

his own cousin in the 1912 election, bolt the party and launch a new "Third Party." The result of his cousin Theodore's action is portentous. The earlier Roosevelt was a liberal Republican. The convention nominated a conservative. He bolted the party. The result was to split the Republican vote and throw the election to the Democrats and Woodrow Wilson.

While history does not necessarily repeat itself and this Roosevelt might draw the liberal wings of both parties behind himself, letting the old parties fall between the two stools of their conservative residue, the more likely result is a repetition, Roosevelt splitting the Democratic party and giving the election to the Republicans regardless of their candidate.

Then Mr. Roosevelt would undoubtedly devote four years to consolidating a liberal opposition party with which he would undertake to recapture the Presidency in 1944, in the meantime keeping the "New Deal" policies vigorously alive. Now for the prospects if Mr. Roosevelt secured his own renomination in the 1940 Democratic convention.

Some observers see the first signs of a revival of Roosevelt popularity. They are, however, vague and uncertain. Judging from immediate indications, the outcome of a two-sided campaign with Mr. Roosevelt as the Democratic party candidate would depend very largely on the identity of the Republican candidate. There are possible Republican choices who might have an excellent chance of defeating Mr. Roosevelt in a two-sided election.

But even if he were to lose the election he would remain the head of his opposition party,

with the same opportunity to consolidate it into a liberal party and the same hope of returning to power four years later with it either under him or a successor of his own choice.

The Roosevelt objective, therefore, is not to secure for himself another four years of office, but rather to bring about a political situation in which his "New Deal" programme will have the backing of a liberal party. This can easily lead to a "third term" effort. But the President's decision will depend on how the struggle between conservative and liberal elements in his own party develops during the coming year.

There remains the possibility, although at the moment it seems remote, that the Democratic convention will be induced to nominate a liberal candidate acceptable to Mr. Roosevelt. In such an event, the conditions essential to his own retirement would be met and he would stand aside. He would even be willing to accept a successor not quite as liberal as himself. But there is only one "compromise" candidate whom he would accept, and that is Cordell Hull, his Secretary of State, who is acceptable equally to the conservative branch of the party, although not by any means their favourite candidate.



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## GERMANY'S MARCH TO THE EAST

By H. P. S. MATTHEWS

*The twentieth anniversary of the Treaty of Versailles has brought an outburst of denunciation from Germany. Brest-Litovsk is forgotten*

THERE is an element in the present policy of Germany which is singularly perplexing, and also singularly distressing, to those of us who know Germany well and who have spent long periods living among the Germans. How far is the policy of Germany's present rulers the expression of something essentially German, how far merely a policy forced upon the mass of the German people by a megalomaniac, with a genius for propaganda and a capacity for exploiting the natural bent for discipline among the German people?

On the one hand we know the Germans as an honest, friendly people, who demonstrated their desire for peace very clearly in September of last year. Any British observer in Germany at the time of the conferences at Berchtesgaden, Godesberg, and Munich will testify to that fact. There could be no mistaking the genuine enthusiasm of the mass of the German people for Mr. Chamberlain's peace efforts in September. The major exception was the attitude of certain elements of the working class, who saw in the outbreak of war an opportunity for overthrowing the régime. Their grim motto is: "Better a terrible end than a Terror without an end."

### "No Desire for Conquest"

It was this same peaceful element among the German people which gave expression to its desire for a just settlement by passing the "Peace Resolution" which was accepted by the German Reichstag in July, 1917. "We are not animated," the resolution declared, "by any desire for conquest," and it went on to demand a peace "by mutual agreement and reconciliation," a peace which should rule out "all acquisitions of territory" and "all political, economic and financial oppression."

Then, as now, the German people showed its desire for a just and lasting pacification; then, as now, the decision as to the policy which Germany was to follow was in other hands. The sequel of the Reichstag's Peace Resolution was the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, a treaty dictated by force and inspired by just that desire for conquest, annexation and economic domination which the Reichstag had renounced. Under the terms of the treaty, the Baltic Provinces, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, the whole of Russian Poland and the

Russian Ukraine were detached from the Soviet Union and placed under the political and economic domination of Germany.

The Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, whereby Germany, in 1918, made peace first with Soviet Russia and then with Rumania, are deserving of study; for though their memory has been obscured by the subsequent Treaty of Versailles, they are of supreme importance as illustrating the aims and methods of an element, and at that time the dominant element, in Germany. Post-War Germany devised for the Treaty of Versailles the designation "Diktat." It applies equally well to the two treaties imposed upon their beaten foes by Ludendorff and the German General Staff.

### "Boundless Humanity"

Herr Hitler has left us in no doubt as to his own attitude to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. He writes in "Mein Kampf," "I placed the two treaties (Brest-Litovsk and Versailles) side by side, compared them point by point, showed the positively boundless humanity of the one in contrast to the inhuman cruelty of the other." The "positively boundless humanity" of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk consisted in the fact that Poland, the Ukraine, and the States of the Baltic were submitted to the political domination and the economic exploitation of Germany.

Herr Hitler has always believed in the "policy of Brest-Litovsk"; it was in flat contradiction to his constant assertions that Germany had no desire to include non-Germans within the borders of the Reich, but the hollowness of those assertions has lately become all too evident. Now the economic conditions which played so large a part in determining the original "Eastern policy" of the German General Staff have returned to Germany. The great acquisitions of territory in Central and Eastern Europe were made at a time when Germany, under the strain of war conditions and of the Allied blockade, was suffering acutely from a shortage of food and raw materials. The Austro-Hungarian Government, in particular, recognised the insistent need of making in the East a peace which would relieve the starvation conditions prevailing in Vienna; their need was for a "Brotfrieden," a "bread peace." To the politicians and generals of Berlin and Vienna the great corn-bearing

plains of the "black earth belt" seemed to provide an escape.

I have spoken with German soldiers who served in the Ukraine during the period of the German occupation, when General Skoropat-ski who since Hitler's advent to power has been busily intriguing with the Nazi Government, was head of the German-controlled puppet Government in the Ukraine. They have described to me the manner in which the country was exploited in order to provide food for Berlin and Vienna. The Ukraine failed to solve Germany's food problem because after a while the peasants refused to hand over their stocks of grain to the invaders. But it made an appreciable contribution, and ever since the war the legend of its boundless wealth has survived.

The problem which faces Germany at the present time has much in common with that which faced the Germany of 1917 and 1918. Intensive concentration on the preparation of war has had, economically, many of the consequences which would have resulted from war itself. Guns have been preferred to butter, and, in the endeavour to make up the deficiency, Germany is turning her eyes to the East. If Germany controlled the boundless wealth of the Ukraine and the Ural Mountains, Hitler once told the Party Congress at Nuremberg, the country would swim in plenty.

### Rumania in Danger

Present German pressure upon Rumania gives a very clear indication of Herr Hitler's aims. Rumania is expected to revert to the position of a predominantly agricultural state. The experience of Czechoslovakia indicates that the acceptance even of this demand for complete economic subservience would not be the end. Germany would claim in addition complete freedom for the German minority in Rumania to organise itself on Nazi lines, and it would be only too easy to create incidents if, at a later date, Germany wished to intervene. It is highly significant that the economic domination which Germany now has to enforce corresponds very closely to the situation created under the terms of the war-time Treaty of Bucharest, in which was embodied the terms of Rumania's surrender to the Central Powers.

The importance of the control of Rumania, and in particular of

Rumanian oil, can perhaps best be illustrated by the fact that, in the autumn of 1918, the German General Staff was of the opinion that, if the Central Powers lost control of Rumania, Germany would be compelled to stop fighting in six weeks. Despite the progress made with the production of synthetic petrol, domestic supplies have not been sufficient, even in peace-time, to keep pace with the increase in domestic consumption. In

war-time the problem of oil supply would be still more critical. Even the partial mobilisation carried out when Austria was occupied caused serious shortages. Hence the interest in Rumania.

Official German policy is carrying on the tradition of the war-time General Staff. But there are clear indications that Hitler's latest moves have left German public opinion bewildered and alarmed. The fact does not sur-

prise me. I can recall dozens of conversations in which Germans, in reply to inquiries about the extent of Herr Hitler's ambitions, have assured me with obvious sincerity that the present Government had no intention of incorporating non-Germans in the Reich. They believed such a step to be contrary to the whole philosophy of National Socialism. Small wonder that recent events have left them utterly at sea.

## COUNTRY THOUGHTS AT LUNCH TIME

By MAX BOWDEN

CAUGHT in the rush for lunch in a busy City restaurant, I thought of the difference between the countryman's lunch and the City worker's, and what the lunch hours mean to each.

This restaurant was packed to suffocation, but still more people crowded in, looking anxiously round for a table—the lucky ones with seats were looking anxiously for service or eating at breakneck speed. It was as if a race were in progress rather than a meal. True, some were smoking, and others attempting to read as they ate, but it seemed more of an added obstacle rather than an added pleasure.

The room was hot and stuffy with the smell of food. Outside it was raining. Would I rather be sitting behind a hedge in wet clothes, with water trickling down my neck, muddy hands, and a pair of restive horses to cope with as I ate my lunch? There seemed compensations on both sides.

Then how different is the menu from that of the countryman with his massive fat bacon sandwiches, still the commonest item in the farm worker's "bait bag," though he will often just carry a half loaf of bread, a hunk of cheese, and an onion—sometimes with the added luxury of a lump of home-made cake of the more sustaining sort. To wash it down he has either beer, cider, cold tea, or cocoa, or one of the many varieties of home-made wine—potato, beet, parsnip, mangel, wheat, elderflower, cowslip, or burnet. Often several of these ingredients are lumped together, and the resulting brew goes under many different names, according to locality. In Gloucestershire, for instance, it is generally known as "toddle." If kept for any length of time these wines are extraordinarily potent, but for field use they are usually drunk fairly new.

The countryman's lunch hour, in the summer, is a time for physical relaxation. Conversation during the first part of the meal is generally brisk—every subject under the sun being discussed—from how many bushels of corn to the acre the particular field in hand will yield to the political situation—but as one by one the men wrap up the remains of their food and put it back in their "bait bags" ready for tea, and pipes are lit, the talk becomes desultory, hats are tilted over eyes, someone takes a last swig from his bottle before finally screwing it down. A great peace

descends on everyone. The horses stand nearby, heads down, dozing. Bees drone sleepily, drunk with warmth. . . .

Presently someone stretches lazily and looks at his watch: "Five minutes to go." One or two sit up, gather their gear together in leisurely fashion, stow the horses' nosebags and readjust harness. Before long the field hums with activity again.

In the winter it is a different story. There is the search for a spot out of the driving wind and rain and somewhere dry to sit—if possible. Coat collars are turned up and caps pulled down; wet, muddy hands are wiped on trouser legs. If one is near a barn or stable the meal can be snug and comfortable enough, but in a wet dyke back with little shelter one doesn't linger any longer than one can help—it's warmer on the move. That is when one is apt to think enviously of the City worker.



#.O.V.I.S

Repeat  
after me..

**HōVIS**  
TRADE MARK

and never say 'Brown'

BEST BAKERS BAKE IT

Macclesfield



## L.N.U. AND UNION NOW

By GILBERT MURRAY

SOME of the supporters of Mr. Streit's movement for *Union Now* seem to imagine that there is a difference of principle between them and the L.N.U., which they accuse of being bound through thick and thin to support the League as it now exists at Geneva. We might answer that our history shows that we have often criticised the League's doings, but the real answer is in the third paragraph of our Royal Charter. We are commissioned "to advocate the full development of the League of Nations so as to bring about a world organisation which will . . . maintain international order, and finally liberate mankind from war and the effects of war." There is no difference in our ultimate aims.

### National Sovereignty an Obstacle

Nor do we differ from Mr. Streit in seeing national sovereignty as the great and often fatal obstacle to world co-operation. If I may quote some words of my own, written in 1933: "Collectively the nations see what is right in the interests of all, but collectively they have no power of action. For action each depends on its own Parliament or Government, which thinks only of its particular and immediate interest. Collectively they see and recommend what is right; individually they do what is wrong. . . . The reason is that while the civilised world is growing more and more a unity, this unity has no organ of government. It is ruled by some sixty or more independent sovereign States, each of whom had till a few years ago—and therefore still has in the minds of its average citizens—no duty whatever towards its neighbours. . . ."

"In all countries—in dictatorships and monarchies, as well as in democracies—statesmen depend for their power and office not on the good will of the world but on the favour of their own countrymen. Wherever the interests or ambitions of some particular country run contrary to the welfare of the world in general, the statesman who represents that country will have a choice. He may support the welfare of the world as a whole. Then the world as a whole will, no doubt, approve and admire him, but his own country will probably call him a weakling or a traitor and unhesitatingly dismiss him from office.

"This is the clue to our tragedy. The safety of civilisation depends on the

great world issues being settled in accordance with the interests of the world; yet, under the system of national sovereign States, any statesman who attempted so to settle them would be facing great danger. For it is not the votes of other nations by which he stands or falls, but only the votes of his own people."

Exactly the same sentiments, I think, that are expressed with far more force and detail in Mr. Streit's book.

One difficulty which might occur to members of the L.N.U. is Mr. Streit's sharp division between the virtuous circle of what he calls democratic States, which are to form the union, and those which are non-democratic, and therefore left (for the present) in outer darkness. No one, of course, likes the idea of an exclusive society, but the division which the League tried so hard to avoid has come about in spite of it; there is now a definite body of nations or Governments who are not only not "democratic," but anti-League in the sense that they are anti-law. They definitely do not believe in any higher sanction than that of their own will; they consider that conquest should be a strong nation's natural ambition, and that in pursuit of conquest it need not in any way be hampered either by the treaties it has signed or by the decencies of international life.

### Acceptance of Law

The division is undoubtedly there. Mr. Streit bases it on "democracy." Some base it on peace, and speak of the "peace-loving nations." Talleyrand based a somewhat similar division on "Legitimacy." In my own mind I base it on the acceptance of law, not merely of international law in the strict sense, but of some moral law governing the relations of all human beings towards one another. President Roosevelt has said that 90 per cent. of the human race want peace, and for the sake of peace are ready to observe the law. His percentage may be too high, but his statement obviously holds for a vast majority of the human race, and I am convinced that the chief task of statesmanship at the present day is so to organise that vast majority that it can effectively deter from violence the small highly armed and highly organised gangster minority which threatens the peace and corrupts the economic and moral order of the world. Here, again, except for the word "democrat,"

which has slightly different connotations in England and America, there is no divergence between Mr. Streit and the L.N.U.

What then? I can only say that for my part I see very little probability of Mr. Streit's fifteen democratic nations, all of them or, indeed, any of them, agreeing to pool their whole sovereignty by joining in a single body in which their foreign policy might be absolutely dictated by nations whom they now regard as "foreign." The initiative towards this or some similar movement will have to come from the United States Government. If it does so come, the face of the world will be changed indeed, and I am sure that most members of the Union will give such a movement their warmest support.

In the meantime, is there anything that the League Governments should now do to meet this terrible obstacle of national sovereignty? I think there is. States which would never abandon their sovereignty in the whole range of politics might well, under pressure of extreme danger, be willing to resign it for a particular purpose, i.e., for the purpose of preventing an imminent war.

### Too Great Burdens

At present, under the Covenant, all nations are equally bound to take economic action against an aggressor, and we all know that such economic action is ineffective unless universal, or practically universal, and also useless unless backed by military readiness. This arrangement imposes the same burden on nations who can bear it and nations who cannot; on nations close to the disturbance and nations far removed.

I cannot help thinking that a great improvement might be made by accepting a principle like that embodied in the Locarno Treaty, and implied in the proposed Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol, viz., a treaty or series of treaties binding certain nations definitely to take military action, while leaving the whole League merely bound, as it is now, to give no active help to the aggressor. The Inner Circle for Europe would, no doubt, be based on England, France, and Russia, with such other allies as were willing. They should so far abandon their sovereignty as (1) to be definitely pledged to act immediately in case of aggression; (2) to have concerted plans and some approach to unity of commands. The above would clarify the engagements contemplated in Article XVI, but it must always be remembered that the prevention of war, if it

is to be successful, must begin early and not wait for the last moment. Consequently (3) this Inner Circle of Powers should be ready, as provided in Article XI, to take on behalf of the Council "any action which may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace." This would involve particularly action to check the supply of certain materials of war to any nation whose imports of these materials were already excessive and whose actions seemed to the League to constitute "a threat of war." I should much like to see added, if possible (4): this Inner Ring should consider not merely what economic restrictions would be necessary to restrain the aggressor, but more positively what steps can be taken to strengthen the economic power of the law-abiding members of the League.

Lastly, and perhaps most important of all, if ever we should get a better level of Governments in Europe, there should be, concurrently with this pact of resistance to aggression, a far more vigorous and constructive initiative for considering, both under Article XI and Article XIX, all those conditions which either threaten peace or gravely violate fair dealing.

But I must not lose myself in detail. The truth is, as Mr. Streit has powerfully stated, that anarchy is affecting the very existence of civilisation; it is anarchy which causes our mad armaments, our mad economics, and the despair of our younger generation. Nothing can save us but the establishment of some rule of law, and at present our best road to that end lies in the Covenant.

Measured against the possible alternatives, the League emerges as the only hope. But a League without sanctions, a League which has renounced sanctions and trusts wholly to discussion and co-operation. Mr. Reynolds does not see that such a League is not enough. It supplies only half the felt want of the democracies. They wish for a world order in which proved wrong shall be remedied by peaceful change. But they wish also to be safe against violence. They know, from repeated recent experience, that a readiness to do justice will not make defence superfluous. China, Abyssinia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Albania have all been invaded not to find justice but to gather plunder. In short, who ever chooses a League without sanctions chooses also a military alliance of the democracies for their common defence outside the League. Defence there must be, defence the democracies will insist upon having. The real question is: "Shall it be League defence, for open League purposes, under League safeguards, or old-fashioned military defence, leading, perhaps, to defeat, perhaps to victory and conquest?"

## REVIEW BY ROGER FORTUNE

"THE LEAGUE EXPERIMENT." By E. E. REYNOLDS.

(Nelson Discussion Books. 2s.)

Mr. Reynolds has done his work admirably. He has brought together the essential facts. With them he presents many intelligent comments. He has his own very decided opinions, but he is not concerned either to exalt or to decry the League. His task is to facilitate knowledgeable discussion. It could hardly be better performed. Anyone who reads through his 160 pages will command at very little cost a realistic picture of the League and its purposes. He will be able to point out its weaknesses and to offer a reasoned opinion on their causes. In particular he will learn to find his way through the intricacies of the actual making of the Covenant. Most popular books give a list of party peace plans, and then jump straight to the completed Covenant.

Mr. Reynolds's attitude is revealed in the quotation from General Smuts which he has chosen to place before his argument: "The machinery of the League is experimental, and may fail, but its principles are rooted in human nature and experience, and in the end it must prevail." Inspired by a like confidence in the future, Mr. Reynolds tries always to make his criticism constructive. He wants to help the League to work. Sometimes he does not convince.

Dealing with the crucial choice between a League with force for the defence of peace and a League permitted only to persuade, he slips into language which suggests that the

advocates of a whole and effective League contemplate the possibility of a League war. He implies that they ask for a League which would use force to impose its judgments. These misconceptions are all the more dangerous because they are widespread and most tenaciously retained. The truth is quite other. War would never be begun by the League. The League would never resort to armed force except for the one object of compelling an aggressor to cease making war. The principle is—an attack on one is an attack on all. The defeat of force when it is being employed already by others is the task for which the League was equipped with coercive powers.

Asking "What next?" Mr. Reynolds develops his liking for a consultative, persuasive League. He examines three policies: isolation, military

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## HEADWAY LETTERS

## OUR READERS JOIN IN THE DISCUSSION

## Congratulations!

Sir,—Congratulations on your excellent new feature in June HEADWAY.

There are certainly many questions which could very profitably be dealt with in this "new" way. It seems to me that the most vital of all is the "Colonial Question." Could we say, bearing in mind the title of your editorial discussion, No. 1.

"With Colonies, War.

Without Colonies, Peace?"

Has the L.N.U. a definite policy on this question? If so, what is it? If not, what ought it to be?—Yours faithfully,

A. LAWTON.

Dukinfield, Cheshire.

## "Peace" Not Enough

Sir,—Having read the latest issue of *Headway* from cover to cover, a proof of its interest to me, I venture to put on paper a thought renewed by that perusal.

I hope I yield to none in my love for peace; but I am troubled by what I feel to be a failure to recognise that its foundation is righteousness, that is of real peace.

Some say we are at peace now. Some make a desert and call it peace.

Lord Lytton writes: "Our first object is to secure peace between nations and to prevent disputes being settled by force or threats of force."

Should not that sentence be turned round? Would it not unite a great many and steady them if we, for the time, dropped the word peace, left it to the Dictators, and stated our immediate aim is to secure such alliance of nations so minded as shall make certain all disputes between nations shall be settled by an impartial tribunal and no threat of force be permitted to endanger such settlement?

G. W. TROUNSON.

Belper, Derbyshire.

## Why All this Criticism?

Sir,—In HEADWAY for June Mr. Cartland, M.P., writes that "Mr. Chamberlain looked tired and made, I must confess it, a tired speech." Also, that he (Mr. Chamberlain) "certainly has the sympathy of everyone in the gigantic burden, etc., etc."

There are implications in Mr. Cartland's confession of which he seems unconscious. Sympathy is often cheaply professed. In the present connection, sympathy on the part of some of the Prime Minister's critics would be practical if their facile comments on public matters were more restrained, were informed by a greater sense of

their own responsibility to the country, and also showed some consideration for the physical health of a Minister who is charged with an almost overwhelming load of national responsibilities and anxieties.

In its strenuous endeavours to keep the country out of war, the Government is engaged almost continuously in highly complicated and delicate negotiations with this or that foreign ruler. The Hitlers, Mussolinis, and Stalins, in their several contacts with the British Government, have the immense advantage that none of their respective subjects dare utter in public a word of comment or criticism while any parleys are proceeding. The efforts of the representatives of Great Britain, on the other hand, are frequently embarrassed and the national interests jeopardised by ill-informed, inopportune, and sometimes really mischievous questions and comments in Parliament of opponents of the National Government. And a British statesman, made "tired" by his political opponents' persistent badgering for party purposes, is thus further handicapped in confronting foreign leaders who are subjected to no such disabilities.

All parties in the country profess democratic principles, and most politicians in all three parties cherish the right of free speech. As everyone knows, the Prime Minister is one of the last men to resent any constructive and timely criticisms. But, as unfortunately many of the Prime Minister's voluble assailants forget, that same right of free speech carries with it some responsibility to the country, even for Opposition M.P.s. Such politicians, judging from some of their questions and assertions in the House of Commons, appear to be entirely indifferent to the mischievous effect produced in foreign countries by ill-considered utterances in Parliament to which far more importance is attached abroad than at home, where we understand the party game. Mr. Dalton's ill-advised and offensive question to the Prime Minister is an instance in point which, unhappily, is not exceptional.

Lord Halifax, in referring to the present complicated Anglo-Russian negotiations, said in the House of Lords on June 8:

"I cannot give particulars of discussions which are still in progress because, great as are the advantages of parliamentary inquiry, it must be admitted that excessive pressure for pre-

mature information is somewhat of a handicap in handling foreign relations, and perhaps place us at no small disadvantage with nations which do not enjoy the blessings of free institutions."

Those are wise words. I venture to submit that they deserve the consideration of even that "fine team" of "invincible" debaters of whose oratorical flights Mr. Cartland is so effusively eulogistic.

WM. MUNDAY.

Plymouth.

## A Permanent Policy for Peace

Sir,—In the very illuminating article by Viscount Cecil which appears in the May issue of HEADWAY the important question is asked, "What steps should be taken in the direction of enduring peace?"

An answer to that question might possibly be found in the undermentioned extract of a letter recently addressed to our Prime Minister:—

If I may be allowed to trespass further upon your valuable time, I would propose that H.M. Government now address the following questionnaire to the nations: In view of the present threat to civilisation of another devastating world war, we would respectfully ask you for your kind co-operation and to say plainly yes or no, without reservation—

1. If you are willing to abide by International Law?

2. If, pending the establishment of Law and the appointment of a Regular Force to uphold it, you will abide by the majority decisions and place all your forces at the disposal of a small Plenary Body, to be set up by an Assembly of the accredited representative of each of the Sovereign Peace-loving Nations desirous of resisting aggression, your nation being one, such Assembly to be convened and meet in London within the next three months, and the Plenary Body so appointed to be resident there unless otherwise directed by the Assembly?

This will show where we all stand and the nations which are prepared to pay the price for what all profess to desire—Peace.

Apparently this letter has not yet been acted upon, and perhaps there is some difficulty in the matter unknown to the writer, but the Man-in-the-Street would like to know the difficulty in order to, if possible, overcome it, as a solution is now pressingly necessary.

Sovereign nations, and more especially great ones like our own, are naturally chary of shedding any of their power or seeing it placed on an equality with that of lesser nations, but as the wealthy citizen in a nation must be on the same footing with his poorer

neighbour when it is a question of counting noses or votes if both are to obtain the greatest benefit under the Law, so the big and little nations must stand equally by International Law and be ready in need to be called upon to support it.

In the establishment of such Law there must be a strong directing body, small in number, but with full power to act and having the unquestioned right to call upon any nation for resources to uphold its decisions.

It would be a great gesture at the present time if the nations of commanding importance and enlightenment such as our own and the United States and others were willing to stand in with the rest on an equal footing and let the Law be established.

FRANK BARNES.

Upstreet, nr. Canterbury.

## Who Let Down The League?

Sir,—There seems to be a general agreement that HEADWAY is very good.

But I have a serious complaint.

In each copy lately someone has been allowed to throw dirt at the League by stating or suggesting that all or most of the Governments of members of the League were not prepared to carry out the Covenant. Of course, your contributors may shelter themselves behind Article 8 (Reduction of Armaments) and Article 19 (Review of Treaties), but even with these I believe there is no evidence against the large majority of the members.

But your contributors clearly mean us to understand that it is on the ques-

tion of collective security that the members have been unfaithful.

Now, Sir, I believe there is no evidence of any kind that any member of the League failed until after the Manchukuo affair. Then it became clear to all the world that no dependence was to be placed on Britain and France. The large nations lost all respect for the League, and the small nations lost all faith in it.

In view of what we have done for Austria, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Abyssinia, any small nation in Europe would have been very foolish to expect help.

Now, Sir, if I am wrong—if none of the Governments kept faith—it is time we knew about it. When did Britain or France give a strong lead for collective security, and who was it that turned it down?

Let us have this matter out in daylight, not hidden in the dark corners of those two or three Power conspiracies which have been the means of breaking up the League.

GEORGE CLISSOLD.

Nailsworth, Gloucestershire.

## Help for Refugees

Sir,—The plight of refugees seeking sanctuary in this country from oppression and misery, sometimes from imprisonment, torture, and even death, and unable to find that sanctuary because of a lack of financial guarantee, has deeply moved many of our people.

Yet very often those so moved have been unable to give practical expres-

sion to their sympathy because the financial responsibility involved in a guarantee has been beyond the means of the would-be helper.

The Refugee Guarantee Appeal Committee, which is recognised by the Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees, and at whose preliminary conference on April 27 the signatories of this letter were present, has as its object the encouragement of schemes whereby groups of people in clubs, church congregations, or similar bodies may, through individual, small, and regular subscriptions, support one or more refugees. The members of the committee believe that even those who can spare no more than a few coppers weekly can in this way become a valuable source of assistance.

Any who feel that a group to which they belong could offer aid of this kind are invited to write to Mr. J. C. Lindsay, Secretary of the Committee, 35, Weston Drive, Stanmore, Middlesex, who will be glad to give information regarding types of cases and methods of group assistance. Speakers are available to address meetings of interested people in the neighbourhood of London and to give any necessary advice or help.

—Yours faithfully,

NORMAN ANGELL.

DOROTHY F. BUXTON.

F. A. COCKIN.

ROSE MACAULAY.

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Full details of all these visits may be obtained from the Secretary, LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1

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