



The
BRITISH LIBRARY
of POLITICAL *and*
ECONOMIC
SCIENCE

Rerum Cognoscere Causas

BRITISH LIBRARY
OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE
(London School of Economics)

HEADING

TITLE & VOL. NO.

EDITION

DATE OF PUBLICATION

BOOK NUMBER

CLASS MARK

JX

1975

.A1

NOT FOR HOME READING
Date of issue

HEADWAY

S
1083

IN WAR-TIME

The Journal of the League of Nations Union

No. 13

OCTOBER 1940

BRITISH LIBRARY

25 FEB 1941

OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE

PRICE 3d.

EDITORIAL

WHY THE LEAGUE MUST LIVE

TO those who have seen the larger vision of a world of good neighbours, one of the tragedies of the present interregnum of lawlessness and violence is that so much constructive effort towards the common good has been driven to the wall. During war, all activities concerned with developing more and better collaboration between Governments and peoples, whom the unalterable advance of science draws nearer every day, inevitably suffer. War's immediate object is to destroy, not to build up. Totalitarian war aims at larger-scale destruction than ever before. That is why so great a proportion of those 90 per cent. of the peoples of the world whom President Roosevelt declares are passionately for peace have been forced in self-defence to concentrate for the time being their major energies on destruction.

One menacing characteristic of the present conflict with Nazi Germany completely distinguishes it from previous wars. The importance of bearing this in mind here and now, while the fighting goes on or increases in intensity, cannot be overestimated. *There is no difference between Nazi theory and practice in time of war and Nazi theory and practice in*

peace-time. The whole system is aimed at destruction, through every kind of pressure or propaganda or relentless use of violence, of everything which stands in the way of German domination of Europe and thereafter the world.

For years, make no mistake about it, Hitler has been directing German policy, in what people have fondly called "time of peace," on a war basis. Throughout this period, Public Enemy No. 1 for the Nazis has been any kind of organisation for peace—any kind of constructive effort for international co-operation, for strengthening the Law. Above all, the work of the League of Nations has fallen into this category. To do them justice, the Nazis—like Mussolini's Fascists before them—always realised the obstacle to their success which lay, and which still lies, in the League conception. For years they nursed an undying hatred against the League and all that it stood for. For years, in season and out of season, they lost no opportunity of proclaiming that the League was dead. The wish was father to the thought. Their constant vituperation was the measure of their realisation that the League was potentially the most formidable obstacle

to the attainment of their aggressive ambitions. Gangsterism and organisation for peace are contradictions in terms. They cannot live together.

Even now many do not understand how terrific were the attacks delivered year after year by the totalitarians on the League. Often these attacks were veiled in language calculated, like all half-truths, to deceive the unwary. They made great play with "the preservation of the *status quo*." But the *status quo* to which Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany really objected was any institution, system or agreement which aimed at preventing naked aggression and world domination. They hated the League not because it denied them justice, but because justice was the last thing that they wanted.

So here is an overwhelming reason for keeping in mind during the sterile and heart-breaking period of war the existence of League machinery, which is aimed at the precise opposite to Nazi Gangsterdom. Creation and construction are fundamental opposites to

destruction. All moves to preserve any of the constructive services of the League to humanity are heartily to be welcomed. In spite of conditions in Europe, much of the social and economic staff work is still going on. The Economic Section is now at Princeton in the United States. The I.L.O. is at McGill University, Canada. We hope that the British and other Governments will make the fullest use of all opportunities to encourage these tendencies—so much more could profitably be done.

The problems after this war, as after the last, will be international, and only international machinery can effectively grapple with them. This is realised over the other side of the Atlantic as much as here. One of America's greatest heroes of the last war tells his country: "This is a war against civilisation. It is a revolution which denies the dignity of men, and which banishes the hope of brotherhood and comradeship on earth." The League stands for that very brotherhood and comradeship. Its traditions cannot be allowed to die.

BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

In last month's HEADWAY, Mr. W. Arnold-Forster contributed an article on British-American Union, written *before* the British-American Agreement concerning the Atlantic and the transfer of destroyers to this country. The Agreement exemplifies the kind of approach anticipated in the conclusion of the article. Its implications are clearly far-reaching.

It is to be hoped that the British-American discussions now in progress in connection with the Pacific may have an equally successful outcome. One

result which the Union would welcome—and which may not be far off—would be a reversal of British policy about the Burma Road and the supply of war material to Japan. It is shameful and shortsighted for the British Empire (notably Canada) to be pouring nickel, copper and timber into Japan—who is now formally allied with our enemies, who is fighting one of our fellow-members of the League whom we are pledged to aid, and who is now seizing vital strategic points on the way to Singapore.

A BOOK YOU MUST READ

Says W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

THE WAR FOR PEACE. By Leonard Woolf. (Routledge. 7s. 6d.)

Do read this book. I shall be surprised if you do not find that your service for peace is helped both by Mr. Woolf's exposure of fallacies and by his constructive argument.

We have chosen, rightly, to fight rather than to let Hitler go ahead unchecked. Mr. Woolf insists that "Our action is criminally useless unless its object is to create a system of international relations in Europe in which the wars of 1914 and 1939 would be anachronisms and virtually impossible. If the system based upon power and power politics which existed prior to 1914, and was resurrected in the years 1925 to 1939 by the abandonment of the League, is again resurrected at the end of this war, the present war will have been entirely useless . . . but that means that, if we do not again create the League system in order to prevent war, we shall have to create something very like it."

This is "the war for peace."

Now, do you believe that this is a sound and practicable aim? If you feel at all shaky in this belief, Mr. Woolf has some tonic for you.

The War Method

At this moment hundreds of millions of people are trying to destroy, or make life intolerable for, millions of other people. They must have, or think they have, some object in making this vast organised effort. But can war durably achieve such objects as we professed, quite sincerely, to be fighting for in the

war of 1914-18? Mr. Woolf recalls that the Allies sought then to make the world safe for democracy, and that they forcibly imposed their will on Germany in 1918. Yet by 1928 it was already evident that the world was far less safe for democracy than in 1908. The Allies fought to secure the independence, the self-determination, of small nations: their victorious power made possible the birth of Austria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Baltic States, and freed Belgium from the invader. Yet to-day those countries have all been swallowed up again; and we are fighting the same old war, against the same enemy, with many of the same slogans. The war method doesn't seem to have been much of a success.

The war game is not only futile for such purposes, it is fatal to a degree which we are only now beginning to realise. Since the days of Napoleon warfare has become "total," absorbing the effort of the entire people, and killing power has been immeasurably increased by science and invention. Already our Spitfires are becoming old-fashioned, and there is talk of our getting "flying fortresses" from America because they can be classed as "obsolete." Meanwhile, scientists are quietly working at nice little intellectual problems such as the release of the atomic energy of uranium 237, which may to-morrow or the day after furnish half-wit children with even more potent means than they possess to-day for blowing themselves and their lovely nursery into crimson mud. In truth, what we value as Western Civilisation

must crumble before long if it has to withstand successive shocks such as this war every 25 years or so, and if we must live, between the wars, under the necessity of being prepared always for total conflict.

Exposing a Fallacy

Yes, the so-called "realist" will reply; war is a clumsy instrument, and fatal, perhaps, to those qualities which you value. But that can't be helped; for war is one of the enduring realities of human society. Nations control power; and to attempt to bring the use of national power under such control as will prevent its being used anti-socially, for purposes of war, is really "utopian." These are immutable conflicts of interest between nations which can only be resolved by conflict and by the self-judged use of national power. Here Mr. Woolf does a valuable service in exposing the fallacy of such arguments as they appear in Professor E. H. Carr's book, *The Twenty Years' Crisis*. That book, published about a year ago, included an attack on the League and on such policies as the L.N.U. has supported. It was reviewed at length by Sir Norman Angell in a slashing article in HEADWAY last November. I thought it was a useful book, in some ways: for its attack did shake up one's thinking and compel one in candour to discard some rotten stuff. But in the main I thought it profoundly mistaken, injurious to clear thinking about the problems of peace-making: and I am very glad to see that Mr. Woolf has carried further Sir Norman's destructive analysis. If you were not simply shaken up by Carr's book, but shaken out of your faith in the broad principles sketched in the pioneer Covenant of 1919, then, I repeat, do read Woolf's book.

Covenant Problems

The book ends with a brief—I think too brief—consideration of the problems which the Covenant tried to deal with. Mr. Woolf agrees with the Federal Unionists that the federal system would afford, in theory, the most suitable machinery for such international government as is needed. But he insists that we must consider not only the theoretical perfections of the machinery and organisation, but also, not less important, the psychology of the peoples concerned. You must, he says, go far enough to break with the past and its vicious circle, but you must not go too far, or the psychology which creates the vicious circle will destroy you and your organisation. And, he concludes that there is not as yet a sufficient sense of community to enable federal union on a wide scale to work properly after this war. But possibly the States of Europe may have got far enough to make possible their association in a European confederation of some kind, with a system of collective security for Europe.

In conclusion, Mr. Woolf advocates, as the League of Nations Union has done, two organisations. One, including States all over the world, would have such obligations as these: renunciation of the right of war; acceptance of pacific settlement for all kinds of disputes; disarmament; participation in a system of international government which would have the power to make laws or take decisions by majority vote. But the members of this wide organisation would not be obliged by their Covenant to take the risks of positive action to protect their fellow-members against aggression. The stiffest obligation they are likely to accept and honour would be, in Mr.

Woolf's view, the negative obligation not to aid a violator of the essential covenants of peace.

There is, of course, little chance of securing acceptance of this disarmament or of this all-inclusive pacific settlement unless the system does, by one method or another, give assurance of collective protection against aggression. Woolf's idea of a large League with light obligations as regards sanctions could only work if such a League is buttressed by stiff provisions for collective protection within certain regions.

Besides this large association, with its weak provision for collective security, there would be a group or groups

of States more closely united by obligations of collective security. Thus, there might be a European confederation within the framework of the world peace system and compatible with it.

Don't be tripped up by one obscurity in the early part of the book. Mr. Woolf repeatedly refers to "power" without making plain, till a later chapter, that the power he condemns is the power in national hands, *uncontrolled*. He recognises, of course, as the L.N.U. does, that the international authority must have effective control of such power as is necessary to protect its covenants of peace.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The following resolutions have been adopted by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union:

1. *That the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. strongly urges upon H.M. Government the desirability of reopening the Burma Road upon October 18th, the date on which the Anglo-Japanese Agreement in regard to the Road terminates.*

2. *That the L.N.U. suggests that H.M. Government requests the economic section of the League of Nations, now at Princeton, in collaboration with the I.L.O., to study and report on the economic measures required (a) for the transition period from war to peace in the period immediately after the war; (b) for general economic reconstruction in the post-war world.*

3. *The Executive Committee—*

"Welcomes Sir Archibald Sinclair's statement in a recent broadcast that 'we are fighting to free the victims of Fascist tyranny as much as those of German tyranny—the Abyssinians no less than the oppressed peoples of Europe,' and

"Trusts that H.M. Government will now make perfectly clear, by word and action, that our official war aims include restoration of the freedom of Ethiopia (which is still a Member of the League), that the Emperor is recognised by our Government as the rightful ruler of Ethiopia, and that Ethiopia, like Poland and Czechoslovakia, has the status of an Ally."

WHERE BRITAIN FACES ITALY

By LESLIE R. ALDOUS

Not long ago, in one of his admirable broadcasts, Mr. Anthony Eden uttered a timely reminder that we were not fighting a merely "European" war. Now that Italian troops have crossed the Egyptian frontier without the formality of a declaration of war, an intensification of hostilities in Africa and the Near and Middle East may be expected. This may be linked up with greater activity in the Mediterranean during the winter.

So far Signor Mussolini has shown little stomach for a full-scale trial of strength on any part of the extensive front where British forces face the Italian. His navy has been shy to meet the British fleet in the Mediterranean. His air force has lagged behind the R.A.F. in enterprise, and his machines have been shown to be inferior in both speed and performance. Until the Italian thrust into British Somaliland reminded us that Germany had an ally, the land clashes were little more than skirmishes. If the Italians gained successes at places where resistance was slight, the losses inflicted upon them in return by British bombers and mechanised units must be counted heavy.

Nazi Pressure

There is reason to believe that Hitler has become impatient with the comparatively passive role which his Axis partner has so far played in the war. He, who always declared that it would be a fatal mistake for Germany to allow herself to be manoeuvred into fighting a war on two fronts, may well think that the time is ripe to involve Britain in such a struggle. So the

Italians must do their bit by pushing towards the East.

It would be a mistake to regard a sudden flaring up of war in the Mediterranean or beyond as no more than a sideshow. True, one object might be to keep us guessing, or to make us move a substantial part of our fighting forces away from the Battle of Britain. It will be noted that Italy's entry into the war was shrewdly timed to coincide with the last despairing stages of France's resistance. Any fresh move, we may be certain, will be staged at a moment calculated to cause us the maximum embarrassment. Yet, from the Axis point of view, there is more to it than "nuisance value."

The Time Factor

"Now or never" must be Mussolini's motto once he takes the plunge. Events since he brought Italy into the war have not fulfilled his expectations. No doubt he was influenced by Hitler's assurance that, with France nearly down and out, all was over bar the shouting. Instead of which the "decrepit British lion," also supposedly at its last gasp, still shows no signs of accepting the *coup de grace*. Thus Italy's hope of coming in at the tail end of a lightning war, and with little effort on her part grabbing a share of the booty, has been steadily dwindling since June.

Time presses, because both economically and militarily Italy's position is vulnerable. Assuming that Mussolini must do something, his problem has been where to strike with the best prospects of quick results for himself—and for Hitler.

Italian Headaches

The potential battlefield is vast, the territories concerned covering an area as big as the United States of America with a large slice of Canada thrown in. But the map shows that, for practical purposes, large-scale land operations are narrowed down to certain regions. Even here they will not be easy. Expanses of desert present a serious problem to any army bent on taking the initiative. The mountain fastnesses of Ethiopia may hold added complications. Climate is one of the many difficulties confronting the Italians. Maintaining their lines of communications will cause them increasing worry the further they advance. Water supply, too, is another anxiety, despite the possibility of conveying water for large distances by air and specially constructed tanks.

If Mussolini could justify his claim that the Mediterranean is "Our Sea," his headaches would be fewer. Can he hope, by successfully running the British blockade, to replenish the oil, munitions and other supplies which he uses up in his straggling campaign? Certainly his stores in Libya and elsewhere will not last indefinitely.

A bold bid to get control of the Suez Canal and the Red Sea is the Duce's only hope. Hence the necessity to conquer Egypt. He has certain factors in his favour. First, the surrender of France has released the Italian armies which had to keep watch in the west of Libya. They can be used against Egypt. Should Morocco follow the example of French Equatorial Africa and throw in its lot with General de Gaulle, Italy may have to modify her strategy. Still, the original British plan of action, in which the collaboration of the French Eastern Army was an essential element, has been upset.

Syria also comes into the picture. If Italian ambitions there are realised, there is more than a possibility that Turkey may become involved in the war.

Account must also be taken of the very strong probability that the Axis Powers may synchronise a Mediterranean move with a move in the Balkans.

Britain's Assets

Italy's advantages, although far from negligible, are certainly not overwhelming. There are still the looming stretches of desert which must be crossed. As for Britain's assets, in the precious months since war broke out, our Middle East defences, which many experts considered inadequate for modern needs, have been strengthened. While Italy remained nominally "non-belligerent," good use was made by us of the breathing space. In Egypt and Palestine substantial forces are ready. Largely they are seasoned troops from other parts of the Empire. They are heavily mechanised to suit local fighting conditions. One result of the American decision to let us have 50 destroyers has been that further reinforcements in all three Services have been sent out in the last week or two.

Further, Mussolini must be uneasily aware that stubborn Ethiopia—never fully conquered—is watching and waiting, more than ever eager for the chance to pay off old scores. The Emperor, Haile Selassie, is close at hand. All the indications are that a rising against the hated Italians is only a question of time.

It may well be that events are forcing the gambler to make one throw too many—that, as one leading Egyptian newspaper has prophesied, "the Western Egyptian desert is destined to be the burial ground of Fascism."

CANADA WELCOMES THE I.L.O.

(From an Industrial Correspondent)

McGill University in Canada is now the war-time home of the International Labour Organisation. Throughout September arrangements for "moving in" have been steadily proceeding. This momentous decision to accept the generous Canadian offer of hospitality for the duration was announced to the world by Mr. John Winant, the Director of the International Labour Office, in two or three bald lines of print. Yet it represents the most important step yet taken by belligerent and neutral nations, working together, to keep the torch of international co-operation burning during the present war.

Who can doubt that, at the end of this war, it will be even more essential than in 1919 to make once again a bold and imaginative bid to build peace on social justice? In certain respects, the task will be more difficult. Industrial dislocation and the problems of reconstruction, because of the nature of total war, will assuredly be immeasurably more acute than twenty years ago. Hitler has put the clock back for workers in all countries under Nazi control. The repercussions have been world-wide. In countries like our own, fighting for freedom, organised labour in company with other sections of the community is voluntarily surrendering rights and benefits won with difficulty in the past—to crush all that Nazism stands for. But, in making these cheerful sacrifices in the war effort, workers everywhere expect that our victory will set the clock going again.

Experience and Prestige

Here the existence of the I.L.O. will

be the world's biggest asset. The task will be easier than in 1919 to the extent that the I.L.O. will not have to start as a new and untried organisation. Despite the war, it is rich in both experience and prestige—the result of its practical achievements over the past twenty years. Consider the beginning which has been made: Governments, workers and employers of some fifty or sixty nations have been brought together to grapple systematically with the problems of industrial progress. Backward countries of the East have been induced to take the first steps towards "fair and humane conditions of labour." New States in Europe—at least until Hitler overran them—were able to base their labour legislation upon Geneva principles. In Latin America, a fervour for industrial advancement has been stimulated. The older industrial nations have been brought to see that they have not reached the limit of social advancement.

No longer is the I.L.O. the Cinderella of the League. During the past few years, while the League's influence on the political side was declining, the I.L.O. was getting nearer the goal of universality.

A Mandate to Carry on

On the outbreak of war, some thirty nations at once urged that the I.L.O.'s activities should continue. President Roosevelt expressed what was in many minds when he wrote: "May I express the sincere hope of the Government of the United States that there will be no lessening of the activities of the I.L.O. during the existing world emergency? We pledge ourselves to continue our full

part in its constructive non-political international effort for the betterment of living standards." The I.L.O., with a definite mandate from so big a proportion of its States members, has been carrying on as vigorously as any body connected with the League. Normal its work cannot be in present circumstances. But its machinery is being adapted to the needs both of the present and of the future.

For the first nine months of hostilities the work did, in fact, go on with a minimum of interruption. There was, for example, the invaluable report produced on "Methods of Collaboration Between the Public Authorities, Workers' Organisations and Employers' Organisations." This masterly analysis of what was already being done in the various countries to achieve war-time collaboration was something more—it was a signpost for the future. In the report such considerations as general economic policy, production, distribution of labour, dilution and cost of living are fully taken into account. One thing stressed is the importance of bringing together experts representing different points of view and interests, each with special knowledge and competence, serving to some extent as checks on one another in the interests of general welfare while also pooling specialised knowledge.

Overcoming Difficulties

To-day the situation is more difficult. Hitler's rapid march over Europe compelled the cancellation of the annual International Labour Conference, which had been planned to take place as usual in June. Switzerland and Geneva are now virtually cut off from the rest of the world, and no sort of international work can be carried on efficiently from that centre.

Nevertheless, although the nucleus left at Geneva is little more than a care-taking unit, the "brains" have not been destroyed or dispersed. Before crossing the Atlantic, Mr. Winant, the Director, visited this country. The British and Canadian Governments, among others, fully approved the decision to set up an "organising centre" in Canada—it had to be called this because constitutionally the International Labour Office must be at the headquarters of the League.

What of the I.L.O.'s future programme? Although not yet cut and dried, the broad lines can be discerned. Research will certainly cover social conditions in war-time, with an eye to the post-war period. As we have seen, the social basis of the peace treaty is of the utmost importance. Another problem—that of freedom of association for workers—may be virtually a new one if, when the war ends, there are few Trade Unions left in Europe.

Direct Help

Meanwhile the war is not preventing the I.L.O. from continuing to give direct help in the framing of national social legislation. One of the experts on the staff has been advising Latin-American States on general labour legislation. Another is there now, advising on the more specific questions of social insurance. Canada is shortly to be helped in a similar way in connection with the new Canadian labour legislation.

Some day Geneva may again become the great international centre, but until then the work will go on. For, as Albert Thomas said, "The strength of the International Labour Organisation does not lie in stone, wood or steel. It is derived from the hearts of men."

ARE WE MAD?

A SUMMER SCHOOL IN BLITZKRIEG TIME

The trains were late as London was once more being raided but there were buses to meet us at the station and, by the time we sat down to dinner in the fine old sixteenth-century banqueting hall, we were already beginning to feel at home amid the stately rooms of Knebworth House. And in the morning it was difficult to remember the war as we looked out from the terrace over miles of peaceful countryside and looked forward to a long tramp, with Lord Lytton leading us, around the lake and through the woods, and back to watch some cricket on the village green. But our primary aim was not a holiday. We had come together for four days as a school to study how we can best use victory to organise a just and lasting peace.

"Really, you are an altogether incomprehensible people," confessed two of our foreign guests. "Hitler's armies are massed to attack you, threatening your country with the same ruthless annihilation that has smashed our own land, and yet you spend hours in trying to decide how Europe should be organised after the war." Is it quite mad or, perhaps, just escapism from the horrors of the hour to carry on with our Union work now? Well, it was our own Prime Minister, speaking in the House of Commons on June 18th of this year, who reminded us that, at the end of the last war, "Quite suddenly, quite unexpectedly our terrible foe collapsed before us and we were so glutted with victory that in our folly we cast it away." This time, even whilst we fight for our lives, we must at the same time plan to use the victory we hope to win.

"It all Depends on Me"

On the first morning Miss Freda White suggested that, whilst Governments in this

country must now take into account strong currents of public opinion on foreign affairs—as was shown at the time of the Peace Ballot—yet the real control of foreign policy is still largely in the hands of a privileged few. Preaching for the school in the parish church on the Sunday morning, Canon Hudson reminded us of the feelings of the men and women who for years have laboured to earn barely enough to keep away starvation or have been allowed to exist on a dole grudgingly given, and who now read on every hoarding that "*It all depends on me.*"

For all of us in the Union it must be one of our main tasks to see that ordinary folk everywhere enjoy in future not only a greater share of the good things of life but also a larger measure of control over foreign policy upon which so much depends. And we must see to it that they receive an education which will enable them to exercise that control to good advantage. One of our sessions at Knebworth was therefore devoted to the problem of training for peace in school and home, and we were fortunate to have as our speaker Mr. E. B. Castle, a member of the new Council for Education in World Citizenship.

The Present Position

After Dr. Gilbert Murray had given us solid grounds for faith that civilisation can survive the war and repair its ravages, we set out to examine what principles we should advocate now as a basis for the post-war settlement. First Miss Courtney examined for us the real and potential power of the League of Nations and suggested ways in which it might be strengthened. Mr. Figgures, in a brilliant survey of public opinion in Europe to-day, had warned us frankly that in his last contacts with foreign opinion in Geneva as Secretary-General of the International

Federation of League of Nations Societies and on his way home across France, Spain and Portugal at the end of June, he found that most people regarded the fate of Europe as already settled and saw in the Battle of Britain little more than a series of "mopping up" operations against a small outlying island. As we in this island and in our Empire convince the ordinary people of Europe that we can hold out, so, Mr. Figgures argued, it will become imperative for our Government at the right moment to put forward, at least in bold outline, a picture of the kind of European order it means to achieve.

Britain's Responsibility

"Remember," said M. Saurat, speaking for Free France on the last afternoon, "the separate countries of Europe have ceased to exist save only in the imagination of the people of these islands." In the same session, a round-table conference, we heard the views of Monsieur Poznanski, who spoke as a Pole with wide knowledge of European politics acquired through editing at Geneva the famous *Journal des Nations*; of Dr. Koepler, a former German lawyer now lecturing at Oxford; and of Dr. Kriz and Monsieur Kunosi, both closely associated with the Czechoslovak Government in London. As we listened we began to see that Europe must ultimately emerge as the slave State of the German *Herrenfolk* or as a co-operative commonwealth. The day of fully independent sovereign States in Europe is over. "Sooner," said one of our foreign visitors, "less liberty and more security than complete liberty with no security against future wars." M. Saurat—his own country, temporarily at least, out of the struggle—uncompromisingly called for a Pax Britannica for Europe: we must control Germany by force and the rest of Europe by finance whilst we plan and build the new European order ourselves. Dr. Koepler warned us that we could not afford to make peace with, and then support, any alternative Government in Germany still based on Junkerdom.

This "round-table conference" had before it a detailed proposal by Mr. Arnold-Forster for a future settlement: an all-embracing conference system and a closer association of as many States as are prepared to renounce effectively the use of war as an instrument of national policy, reinforced by an inner group of States fully determined to guarantee the maintenance of peace. The discussion might have got further if it had been more directly concentrated upon Mr. Arnold-Forster's proposals, but it was an education in itself to see the difficulties of arriving at a common programme by means of free discussion from so many different national angles.

Our Thanks

No account of the school could be complete without a tribute to Mr. Timperley who, with his wide knowledge of the Far East, helped us in his session to see our European problems as part of a wider world struggle; to the authorities of the Froebel Educational Institute, who made us such welcome guests at Knebworth House; to Lady Lytton for the charm with which she received us and to our chairman, Lord Lytton, who was present at nearly all our meetings and during the weekend told us something of the great work that he and his Council are doing for alien refugees in this country. On the last afternoon he reminded us that our round-table conference with representatives of other countries was taking place in a house where the Five Members had met at the opening of the Long Parliament to plan the work of that famous session. This time we were a small and unofficial group; but we hope to learn soon of more authoritative consultations out of which will emerge a design for a new Europe worthy of our country's present sacrifices and a beacon to all those on the Continent who have momentarily lost hope under the shadow of the Swastika.

C. W. JUDD.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

LET THE PEOPLE KNOW

The infamous Burning of the Books, in May, 1933, was a symbol of Nazi mentality. They glory in it to-day. Since Hitler came to power, Germans can read only what the Government allows to be printed. Germany has blown out her own brains and stamped on her soul.

With Democracy it is utterly different. We are still free—free to talk, to think, to read and to know. This freedom means everything. For the unenslaved world looks to us for leadership. From New York we hear the voice of Dorothy Thompson: "Never, never in her history has Britain been so beloved by all the brave and all the good and all the free wherever they may live on this earth." True leadership can never stand for the perverted German creed of cruelty, domination, slavery and war, but rather "goodness, gumption, grit—and knowledge." Let the people know.

Among the books of the month there are at least four of unusual importance. *THE WAR FOR PEACE*, by Leonard Woolf (Routledge, 7s. 6d.), is a very able analysis of League machinery as an irreplaceable medium for the solution of international problems to-day and to-morrow; it is reviewed at length elsewhere in this number of HEADWAY. *THE CAUSES OF WAR*, by A. Berriedale Keith (Nelson, 12s. 6d.), is a trenchant, authoritative, yet lively criticism of the foreign policy of Great Britain and France since the last war, by the well-known historian of the British Empire and our Colonial System. It also contains one of the best short accounts, to date, of the growth of German aggression, worked out during so-called "peace-time" and proceeding relentlessly according to plan. The picture which emerges is not good for our vanity; but the British people have always had the courage to learn a lesson from

disastrous mistakes. With a wealth of evidence Sir Arthur shows how Britain and France alike failed to realise that Great Powers must accept responsibility; that they were blind to the enormous potentialities of the League of Nations as a dynamic new factor for peace. The British people were, as a whole, definitely ahead of their Government in their view of the needs of the situation. And France and Great Britain recognised all too late the menace to civilisation in the Nazi theory and practice. The Foreign Office may have read *Mein Kampf*; but it is certain that for many years no Government could be persuaded to take it seriously. Part of the responsibility for a war—which it is plain might have been avoided—lies here.

In *FREEDOM'S BATTLE*, by J. Alvarez del Vayo (Heinemann, 15s.), we have the most objective and dignified account which has yet appeared of the causes and course of the Spanish Civil War, by a Spanish patriot who, as Foreign and War Minister, played a great part, in his own country and at Geneva, in trying to save Spanish democracy and forestall a European war. Many of the lies and exaggerations which cling to the story of this war are quietly and effectively killed. Spain to-day is desperately poor and with little liberty save such as is doled out, in effect, by Hitler and Mussolini. But, as Del Vayo says, her history "is full of audacity, courage and surprises."

The fourth book is *Viscount Halifax's SPEECHES ON FOREIGN POLICY, 1934-39* (Oxford Press, 10s. 6d.), which is a record of hard striving for peace by a Foreign Secretary who blends idealism and realism. Events were probably too strong for him, in that the damage to the foundations of international order had become fatal before he assumed office. But the profound belief in democracy, the reli-

gious conviction of the value of the individual man and woman, inspiring this book, light candles in the present conflict which cannot be put out. It is the Christian spirit which will win the war and save the post-war world.

Among smaller books, one will do well to keep an eye on the series on Current Problems now published, price 3s. 6d. a volume, by the Cambridge Press, under the general editorship of Professor Ernest Barker. Three have just appeared—*POLITICAL PROPAGANDA*, by F. C. Bartlett; *THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND*, by David Thompson; and *PROBLEMS OF THE BALTIC*, by W. F. Reddaway. The last of these (enlarging the outline of the Oxford Pamphlet, *THE BALTIC*, by Hampden Jackson, 3d.) gives a clear and convincing description of the recent history of the group of highly civilised, peaceful peoples who have fallen a victim to-day to the insatiate lust for power of their larger, brutalised neighbours. The fundamental problem of the Baltic area is to-day a grim question mark. Only an Allied victory can prevent this home of peoples small in numbers but high in soul, whose civilisation has been an unmixed gain to the human race, being wiped out body and soul by barbarous invaders.

Messrs. Macmillan have put readers under a real obligation by a new series of War Pamphlets, price 3d. each, of which six have appeared. None will read without advantage *LET THERE BE LIBERTY*, by A. P. Herbert, who writes with profound and fierce conviction of the particular merits of our institutions. "Would you rather see Slavery or Freedom win?" The reasons for your answer lie gloriously justified in these few short pages. *WAR WITH HONOUR*, by A. A. Milne, is a most honourable sequel to the conclusions drawn in his earlier pacifist book, *PEACE WITH HONOUR*. To-day one man's fanaticism has cancelled all rational argument. Only when we have resisted Hitlerism and overcome it can civilisation resume its march.

Everyone should read Mr. Milne's intensely honest *credo* at the close of this pamphlet. *NORDIC TWILIGHT*, by E. M. Forster, describes the frightful degradation of Nazi methods of education, and their contempt for the idea that the value of knowledge lies in its attempt to reach truth. There is no possibility, declares the author, of coming to terms with Hitler; for there is no difference between a Nazi peace coming from victory and Nazi war. Germany insults the brain, and no system can do this without becoming sterile and cruel. The remaining three—*NAZI AND NAZARENE*, by Ronald Knox; *THE CROOKED CROSS*, by the Dean of Chichester; and *WHEN I REMEMBER*, by J. R. Clynes—should all find ardent readers.

"The morale of every country is its secret weapon. It is also its secret armour." This is *Dr. Edward Glover's* "leit-motif" in the new PENGUIN Special, *THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FEAR AND COURAGE*, which should help the civilian to keep his head amid the stress and strain of war. The PENGUIN POLITICAL ATLAS, compiled and drawn by S. C. Johnson as a companion volume to the PENGUIN POLITICAL DICTIONARY, contains a hundred maps with explanatory notes facing each. (Price 6d. each volume.)

Readers are reminded of the valuable information which constantly appears in the well-known *King-Hall News Letter Service* (Hartfield House, Headley, Bordon, Hants). Two recent issues contain remarkable articles on "Strategy and Tactics of the War," by Commander King-Hall, and first-hand evidence of the isolation of the Germans in one of the conquered countries, Norway.

The SERIAL MAP SERVICE maintains the high standard which it set a year ago. Great Britain (agriculture, fisheries and density of population), the Ukraine, and the United States and Caribbean Sea are the subjects of the new maps in the September issue. There are comprehensive articles on all these subjects and also on Near Eastern Strategy and Suez.

THE BRANCH FRONT

A recent article in the *Manchester Guardian*, describing the work of the Regional Committee for Adult Education in H.M. Forces, gave at least one of our Lancashire branches the idea for a useful piece of war-time service. In the article, Mr. R. D. Waller, Honorary Secretary of the Regional Committee and also Director of Extra-Mural Studies at Manchester University, was appealing for volunteers to give informal talks on any topic of general interest to groups of Service men during the winter months. The only qualification needed, he stressed, was a capacity for keeping the audience interested.

Our Bury Branch saw at once that this was just the kind of work that many of our Union members had been doing for many years past. Mr. Waller, when approached, gladly accepted the offer of co-operation from the Union in this educational work for the Forces. The Bury Branch therefore circulated its members and a list of Union speakers is now being compiled to be sent to the Regional Committee. The talks, it is suggested, will deal with the general problem of international understanding as well as with special questions connected with international affairs.

"Aren't we daring?" asks the Halifax Branch in notifying Head Office of their intention of going ahead with a big meet-

ing which had been planned before the intensification of air raids over this country. This is not the only branch which seems to be regarding the aid raids as a challenge to carry on to the best of their ability—and, in fact, to put a little extra "pep" into their work.

The annual United Service at Kingston-upon-Thames will be held as usual on Saturday, November 9, at Kingston Parish Church, at 3 p.m., preceded by an organ recital at 2.30 p.m. The service will be conducted by the Dean of Chichester.

There is still a demand for Union speakers to address other organisations. Will branches bear this in mind? Recently one of our speakers, dodging air-raid alarms, completed a programme of three such meetings in a day—a Rotary Club lunch, a Women's Citizens Association meeting at which the "All Clear" sounded in the middle of the address, and an International Friendship League meeting. These are only a few of the types of organisations which will welcome talks on the international situation.

Our Newcastle (Staffs) Branch has a special interest in the local W.E.A. class on International Relations, for the tutor is one of the Branch members. A course of lectures on such subjects as "America" and "The Far East," run by the Silverdale Co-operative Society, also has the Branch's support.

A UNITED SERVICE

OF INTERCESSION FOR WORLD PEACE AND JUSTICE AND THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

ST. MARTIN-IN-THE-FIELDS, TRAFALGAR SQUARE

Saturday, OCTOBER 12, at 3 p.m.

Service conducted by CANON F. A. COCKIN, M.A.

Preacher: REV. SYDNEY M. BERRY, M.A., D.D.

Organ Recital at 2.30 p.m.

Arranged by the London Regional Federation of the League of Nations Union,
32, Fitzroy Square, W.1. ALL WELCOME—PLEASE COME!

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

Sacrifices Needed

Sir,—As a keen supporter of the League of Nations Union during the last five years, I feel very disturbed by the present lack of emphasis (to say the least) on the sacrifices which Britain must herself make at the end of this war if it is to have been at all worth while.

In the balmy days of peace it was occasionally and hesitatingly suggested that we might voluntarily surrender some of our possessions in order to secure a more equitable distribution of the world's resources—a redistribution which is essential if we are to make any peace secure. Now, however, the talk is of rearranging all but our own.

Dr. Murray, one of our presidents, in his article in HEADWAY (*September*), speaks of our great empire, and endeavours to show how we may retain all these riches without alienating other peoples; but how can we possibly expect Italy, Germany, Japan, and any other powerful nation, to look on such a state of affairs with the benevolence which we agree to show towards their lack of such possessions?

If we are to make peace secure we must surely equate as best we can the resources owned by each nation; and, if we are really anxious about the welfare of the native peoples, we will look forward to the setting up of an international body which itself will "own" the backward areas, and so avoid the jealous rivalry inevitably caused by the present state of things.

I hope the L.N.U. will show more vigour, and the foresight which we have come to expect of it, in this vital question of preparing the people for a real peace.

With best wishes for HEADWAY'S future,
Blackburn. N. HARGREAVES.

A Reasonable Peace

Sir,—I hesitated in replying to Mr. W. A. Payne's letter which appears in the

August issue of HEADWAY, as a continued correspondence between two people, though it may be interesting to the ones concerned, is not always so to the general readers; and the original matter being discussed may well be forgotten. However, on reading the concluding quotation of Lord Acton's—"Absolute power corrupts absolutely. All great men are bad"—I felt I must write to express my disagreement with such a sweeping statement. There is doubtless a great deal of evidence to show that absolute power corrupts even the best men, but I am not convinced that all great men are bad. Are not many scientists, writers, saints, included amongst the great and the good men? And cannot great statesmen and politicians be found amongst the "good men"? The names of two, Pitt and Lincoln, spring to my mind in this connection.

I presume that Mr. Payne will argue that, because great power corrupts those possessing it, no people should entrust any persons with great power in order to win a war as by so doing corruption would occur with most undesirable results on the people concerned. In the case of this country I suppose it would be better to suffer Nazi rule, with or without a preliminary "Peace Conference," rather than take the chance of forfeiting many rights and comforts in the hopes that when victory is achieved we shall be at least a free people. I prefer to take the risk of the latter choice, but the future only will show which will prove to be the better.—Yours,

(Miss) S. M. SCOTT.

Liverpool, 18.

From One of Our Oldest Branch Workers

Sir,—HEADWAY for September is specially good. I agree with every word of your article on the Burma Road. Concession to force always means further claims. Nothing is more likely to prolong the war

in Europe than our countenancing aggression by Japan. This will be cruel to our brave airmen who are risking their lives for us, and also to the brave people of London against whom Hitler is venting all his rage and fury. We should certainly try to help China all we can.

What sound sense, too, in Dr. Gilbert Murray's article! But I don't think it will do to obtain Russia's help. The Soviet is one of the evil powers which, along with Hitler and Mussolini, will have to be put down before the world is safe.

Maidstone. M. A. MOLESWORTH.

"The Miracle of Dunkirk"

Sir,—In regard to your correspondent's letter on "the Miracle of Dunkirk," is it not unwise to reiterate that this is a war for purely *Christian* ideals?

Not half the inhabitants of the Empire are even nominally Christian, yet are playing their part fully as gallantly as the Christians.

Surely it would be more statesmanlike, as well as a recognition of the high moral standards which are to be found in other creeds, to urge that this war is being fought for *ideals of righteousness*.

DOROTHY W. COLEMAN.

Mundesley, Norfolk.

Knebworth School

Sir,—As a member of the Union privileged to visit the Summer School at Knebworth, I should like to say what an excellent idea it was to hold it at the present time, and in spite of the difficulties of travel and communication how well the arrangements were made and carried out.

For forty or fifty people to surmount all their difficulties and gather together for a few days to consider the future of Europe after the war is high testimony to the way in which the L.N.U. has planted its ideals.

To our host and hostess, the Earl and Countess of Lytton, many thanks are due

for their kindness in enabling us to hold the Summer School in such delightful surroundings and in making us feel, as Lord Lytton said, that we were participating in a historic event and adding one more to the many with which Knebworth House is associated.

As a Northerner, I can only say "Bravo, London," to the way in which the spirit of the L.N.U. is being kept alive by both voluntary supporters and Headquarters staff in these dangerous days.

The Summer School at Knebworth will remain a happy memory and an inspiration for many years to come.

JAMES C. OWEN.

Marple, Cheshire.

What Readers Like

Sir,—HEADWAY is a mental tonic in these troubled times. In congratulating you on a most interesting issue, may I suggest what, in my opinion, would be a useful regular feature. Actual news of the position of the League at present would be highly appreciated.

You see what I mean. One comes across odd bits of news about the League by chance in the daily papers; but I take HEADWAY to keep up with League events. Please give us as much news as possible about what is happening to the League, its personnel, buildings and finances. Then, when we are asked, "What is happening to the League?," we can give the enquirer some facts.

JOHN HANSON.

Rochdale.

(We are always glad to receive suggestions from readers. As in the past, our aim will be to give regular information about League activities. An article on the present position of the I.L.O. appears in this issue.—ED.)

Our space is limited, and we cannot print all letters received from readers. Correspondents are asked to keep their letters short and to the point.