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IN WAR-TIME

The Journal of the League of Nations Union

No. 57

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A MESSAGE FROM MR. EDEN

Pride of place in the Annual Report of our WARWICKSHIRE AND BIRMINGHAM FEDERAL COUNCIL is given to the following message from MR. ANTHONY EDEN, who is President of the Federal Council:—

I am very glad to have this opportunity, as President of the Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council of the League of Nations Union, to send a message to fellow members in the Council's Annual Report.

I am convinced that the work which this and other branches of the League of Nations Union are doing to keep alive the whole conception and the ideals of international co-operation is well worth while. It is the determination of His Majesty's Government to do all in their power to establish a general organisation for the maintenance of international peace and security on the lines forecast in the Moscow Declaration. I am sure that in this task His Majesty's Government can continue to count upon the wholehearted co-operation of the League of Nations Union.

ANTHONY EDEN.

EDITORIAL**TOWARDS THE NEW LEAGUE**

"We affirm that after the war a world organisation to maintain peace and security should be set up and endowed with the necessary power and authority to prevent aggression and violence."

(From the Joint Statement issued by the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth, May 18, 1944.)

The "new League of Nations" was front-page news in many British newspapers on the morning of May 11. So much progress had been made by the Dominion Prime Ministers in their discussions in London on world security that the Press was given some indication of the lines along which the talks had been proceeding. Although still in the nature of an "interim report," the news is heartening to all members of the League of Nations Union.

The British Government came to the conference table with definite ideas to put before the other nations in the Commonwealth. These were based on clause 4 of the Moscow Four-Power Declaration, recognising "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States and open to membership by all such States, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security." The Dominion Premiers, it is understood, fully approved of the British scheme for making such an organisation a reality.

Reports indicate that the suggested international organisation will be in structure closely akin to the League of Nations, with such modifications as appear necessary in the light of experience. In particular, the machinery for dealing with aggression will be tightened up. The British Government are ready to assume fuller responsibility than they did in the period between the two wars. The Great Powers, because they have the necessary material strength, will be the core of the defence system. But the smaller States will help in all practical ways and, in return, their rights in the international community will be fully respected.

The next stage, it is expected, will be consultations with representatives of the Allies. After that, perhaps, more detailed

information concerning the general international organisation may be forthcoming. Already, however, it is clear that the view to be pressed by the British Government in these important negotiations will be broadly what the League of Nations Union has long hoped and urged. More than ever, at this crucial stage, is it the job of the whole Union to show public opinion why we need an International Authority and how it can be made to work. Mr. Eden, writing on the imperative task of establishing the general international organisation, appeals, in his message published on the front page of this number of HEADWAY, for the "wholehearted co-operation" of the Union. Let us one and all resolve to justify the Foreign Secretary's faith in the value of our Union's work.

The International Labour Conference

It has not been easy for British readers to get a clear picture of what was done at the International Labour Conference of 41 nations at Philadelphia. Day-to-day reports in many newspapers gave a completely misleading view of the proceedings, by concentrating on "scenes," "incidents," and acrimonious exchanges. Not only were the inevitable differences of opinion magnified out of all proportion, but the solid spadework in the commissions—the real backbone of the Conference—went almost unregarded.

The Conference is now over, and those who took part seem generally well satisfied. According to Mr. J. Hallsworth, the British workers' delegate, "It is true to say that an overall view of the accomplishments of the Conference is that it has attained at least 90 per cent. of what it set out to do." Those objectives were described in detail in articles in the last two numbers of HEADWAY. Outstanding among the results is the agreement by the 41 nations on the declaration of social purpose, which greatly

strengthens the position of the I.L.O. in the post-war world. The welfare charter for colonial territories is another considerable achievement.

The chief handicap experienced by the Conference was the absence of the U.S.S.R. A virtual invitation to Russia met with no response but a savage denunciation of the I.L.O. in *Izvestia*, the Soviet official journal, coupled with demands for changing the whole basis of the I.L.O. which were clearly out of the question. Nevertheless, the Conference was confirmed in its conviction that some means ought to be found for getting Russian co-operation. No doubt it is the I.L.O.'s connection with the League which rankles. Yet one remembers that, in the early days when Lenin was describing the League as "a League of capitalist tigers," a similar problem arose in connection with the League's Health Organisation. In the fight against epidemics in Eastern Europe Russia, while still making a show of having nothing to do with the League, agreed to work through an international committee meeting at the same time and in the same place as the League's Health Committee. A working arrangement to ensure Russian participation in the work of the I.L.O. is urgently needed—nine other countries not connected with the League, it should be remembered, are already among its members.

Drug Control Plan

An article on the drug traffic in last month's HEADWAY touched upon the need for instituting effective control in the enemy and enemy-occupied territories as soon as they are liberated. The Permanent Central Opium Board has since held a meeting in London, which has resulted in the preparation of a comprehensive plan for the guidance of military and civil authorities in grappling with this problem. Already the Board has been in consultation with British and American Army representatives.

Sir Atul Chatterjee, the President, and other members of the Opium Board explained the purpose of these measures to HEADWAY just after the meeting. The Board is in a strong position, because no Government has denounced the opium conventions and more countries are bound by them than by almost any other inter-

national agreement. Even in wartime information about the drug traffic has been coming in from occupied countries such as Holland, Norway, Belgium, Hungary and Albania. In some occupied countries, we know, control is still going on. But the confusion and chaos which is bound to break out in some places will give the drug traffickers their chance, unless well thought out plans are ready to checkmate them. A serious situation may develop which may affect not one country but the world. The Army authorities will have an extremely difficult task in front of them, so the Board thought it right to give whatever advice it could. Further, there are some danger spots from which little information is available, e.g., Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, where the opium poppy can be grown.

Sir Malcolm Delevingne stressed that, outside Europe, the League system of drug control is functioning normally. When the time is ripe the Opium Board will have to take up the problem created by Japan in the Far East. At the moment, however, it is concentrating upon the European angle because that is most immediately urgent.

WESTMINSTER BRANCH**A Debate on:**

"WAS THE LEAGUE A FAILURE?"

Speakers:

MR. VERNON BARTLETT, M.P.
MR. BEVERLEY BAXTER, M.P.
MAJOR PETHERICK, M.P.
MR. W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

Chairman:

THE REV. DR. SANGSTER.

FRIDAY, JUNE 9, 7 p.m.

CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.1.

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THE GERMAN FRONTIER AND THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

BY ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE L.N.U. EXECUTIVE

Marshal Stalin and Mr. Churchill have agreed "upon the need for Poland to obtain compensations at the expense of Germany both in the north and in the west." Poland is likely to lose her Eastern territories to Russia, but to receive East Prussia and Upper Silesia from Germany. To many well-meaning Englishmen this seems unjust and inexpedient and contrary to the Atlantic Charter. There is something to be said on the other side.

Is It Unjust to Give German Territory to Poland?

If Germany had done no wrong to Poland, this proposal would be unjust. But, in fact, Germany has annexed Polish territory, has destroyed the Polish State, and has subjected the Polish people to oppression. Why should we say that so wanton an aggressor ought in justice to lose nothing, that she ought merely to give back what she has taken? This is not ordinary justice, but a special kind of justice invented for Germany. The principle "Heads I win; Tails I cannot lose" would indeed be agreeable to all criminals; but could any principle be less just or more calculated to encourage crime?

Let us suppose, however, that Germany ought not to be punished for her crimes and that no nation should judge another. Let us suppose also that Germany should not compensate Poland for the loss of her Eastern territories—though even for this Germany is indirectly responsible. Let us even suppose that Germany should not compensate Poland for the criminal treatment received at her hands. Let us strain the idea of justice in all these ways to the advantage of Germany. It still remains clear that if the cession of East Prussia and Upper Silesia will diminish German powers of aggression and make peace more

secure, only a fantastic view will rule out such a proposal as unjust to Germany after all the wrongs that she has done.

Is It Unjust to the Local Inhabitants?

The Poles assert that some five million Poles live in the Eastern territories which Russia claims. If these are returned to Poland, it is not unjust that the Germans of East Prussia and Upper Silesia should make way for them even at the cost of some hardship to themselves. The Germans have inflicted endless misery on innocent Poles. They cannot reasonably complain if some innocent Germans, rather than innocent Poles, have to suffer hardships in tidying up a mess for which Germany is responsible.

It is in any case probable that the Eastern Germans will flee before the approaching Russian armies. If so, why should we bring them back?

Is It Expedient?

It may be said that even if Mr. Churchill's proposal is not unjust, it is inexpedient; for Germany will never accept what will be in her eyes an intolerable wrong.

We must agree that a settlement is more likely to last if it can be accepted by all, and that it is more likely in the long run to be accepted by all if it is just. But this should not mean that we can have peace only if we give Germany what she wants. To many Germans, unfortunately, a German defeat is itself an intolerable wrong; to many Germans the mere existence of an independent Polish State is an intolerable wrong; and perhaps to most Germans the Polish "Corridor," as they are pleased to call it, is an intolerable wrong. Until the present Hitler youth has grown old and died, and perhaps for long after, many Germans will refuse to accept any reasonable settlement of the Polish frontier. We

ought not to blink the fact that many Germans will await a third "Punic" war—the idea goes back before 1914—in which we are the Carthage to be finally and permanently destroyed.

The permanent loss of East Prussia and Upper Silesia may well cause less resentment in the long run than a corridor cutting off East Prussia from the rest of Germany. It will deprive her of one German outpost which threatens Russia and puts Poland at Germany's mercy; and also of another German outpost rich in the heavy industries which are the sinews of modern war. It will bring home to Germans a much needed reminder that aggression may bring loss as well as gain, and it will do so in a region which is German only by past aggression; for the seizure of East Prussia by the Teutonic Knights was the first step in the German "drive to the East"; and Frederick the Great began his career of conquest by seizing Silesia and completed it by the partition of Poland. The Prussian belief in aggression and the Prussian power to wage war arose mainly from these conquests. There will be little hope of peace till the German outposts have been forced back into their own country.

Is It Contrary to the Atlantic Charter?

Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter says that "territorial changes should not be made except in accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

This is a sound principle in itself, but it has to be applied with judgment. If it need not be applied to a Polish "island" surrounded by Russians, equally it need not be applied to a German "island" surrounded by Poles; and East Prussia is such an "island," though admittedly a very large one. But above all the principle must be applied, as Mr. Cordell Hull has indicated, in conjunction with other principles. As he has said, the Charter "includes also the prevention of aggression and the establishment of world security"; it "certainly does not prevent any step, including those relating to enemy states, necessary to achieve these objectives." To make Article 2 an absolute barrier, in the case of Germany, to any changes of territory, however just and however expedient, would be deplorable—and not less deplorable if we are prepared to waive it in the case of Finnish or Polish territory. We have made no such contract with Germany, and it is to be hoped that we never will.

The Attitude of the League of Nations Union

These are difficult matters, requiring both knowledge and judgment. A final verdict can be passed only in the light of the settlement as a whole, and there may well be differences of opinion about what is or is not expedient. The League of Nations Union should not commit itself to the view that only one attitude to these questions is possible for reasonable men.

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WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN RATTENBURY

A constructive debate in the House of Commons, initiated by Colonel Walter Elliot on monetary co-operation after the war, came like a breath of fresh air, following as it did a discussion of the hateful implications of economic warfare. Colonel Elliot's very varied experiences served him in good stead in this debate and his speech was most interesting. He moved acceptance of the Statement of Principles in Cmd. 6519 as a suitable foundation for further international consultation with a view to improved co-operation after the war. Mr. Loftus had wanted to add to this the words: "Provided that under any final scheme or proposals H.M. Government retain adequate powers to enable them to maintain the policy of cheap money and control of the internal price level."

The Money Plan Described

The International Money Plan referred to is a compromise outcome of a year's expert discussion of the draft proposals put forward by the British and American Treasuries, known respectively as the Keynes and White Plans. The Keynes Plan was for an International Clearing House and applied banking principles to international transactions, creditor nations being paid in the form of entries in the I.C.H. books. The White Plan was for a Stabilisation Fund, from which deficit countries could purchase currencies to meet their trade obligations. The new Plan is a joint statement of principles by the experts of Great Britain, the U.S.A. and 28 United Nations. It would set up an International Monetary Fund of between £2 and £2½ billions, but with the definite object of helping international trade, high level of employment and exchange stability.

To describe it Colonel Elliot used metaphors. They were, he said, engaged in the "unifying of the gauges of the international railway line." The question of the control of the trains, the management of signal boxes and shunting yards, and the direction of traffic flow would come in their proper places. The proposals were two—one for a short term policy and the other long term. The short term proposals

involved only one thing—that the countries concerned should state to each other in exact terms what they reckoned the value of their currency to be, and should undertake to notify any change in the value by 10 per cent. and to seek consent for any change of more than 10 per cent. During the whole short term period all the restrictions now in force would run on without anything contrary to the letter and the spirit of the monetary agreement being involved.

A Currency Shop

On the main proposal for the establishment of an International Monetary Fund, he gave the metaphor of the nations opening a currency shop and stocking their shelves with their currencies. These will be labelled in plain figures, and they will not change the labels without letting other people know nor will they make important changes without asking the consent of the other people in the shop. In the event of disagreement they can walk out of the shop and take their currencies with them. If certain currencies are not available—that of the United States was suggested as a possible case in point—then the proposals for dealing with the situation are drastic. They amount to a blockade of a country that is unwilling to make its currency available.

There are many countries whose currencies have been smashed to pieces by the war. We shall have to re-establish trade relations of pre-war days before we can re-establish their currencies. If we cannot get international co-operation, it is not merely a question of the gold standard on which we shall collapse; it is a question of a general collapse that will creep like paralysis over the world. Either we cooperate internationally or we go down.

But is the Fund large enough? There may be an outflow under the scheme of £80,000,000 in one year, but our Exchange Equalisation Fund is many times that. Would it withstand the economic blizzard that might come? Mr. Elliot reminded the House that he was Financial Secretary to the Treasury when the economic

blizzard of 1931 struck the country. He remembered the week before we went off the gold standard. Before that they had raised first £50,000,000 which went in a fortnight, and then £80,000,000 which was swept away in the flood. The run during the critical week was terrific. Even so, 112 members voted to remain on the gold standard though they had no gold.

The Gold Standard

Mr. Elliot said that we lost prestige by going off the gold standard, but Sir George Schuster interjected that he was in India at the time and there it resulted in a gain of prestige. To this Mr. Elliot retorted with his experience of what happened with regard to India:—

"I was sitting in the Treasury rooms watching the run from the country to Bombay. The Parsees were running on us like tigers, tearing the gold from us. The moment there was the change they swung round like an indicator, saying 'Here is money for jam.' They all began to rush back again, buying pounds sterling as fast as they had been selling them. They must have cleaned up millions. I do not want to run the finances of this country for the purpose of putting vast fortunes into the pockets of Parsee speculators." Could the proposed arrangements stand a vast assault of that kind?

Many aspects of the suggestions in the Command Paper were spoken about by subsequent speakers. Mr. Graham White remarked that before the end of the last war we had a cut-and-dried idea of what we were going to make of the world through the League of Nations. The Prime Minister had reminded us a few days previously that the scheme had not been tried, but we had a cut-and-dried scheme. He thought it would be wiser to confine our thought and attention to the material conditions which were the essential foundations of any superstructure of world society which we might erect.

Mr. Shinwell was very critical, his view being that we were proposing to throw away obvious bargaining benefits in international trade for the dubious benefit of using resources of the pool. Was there, he asked, the remotest prospect of the U.S.A. reducing her tariff barriers to allow British goods to enter?

Answering the many points raised, Sir John Anderson declared that the Government had come to the House as promised

with no commitments. He agreed that the matter demanded most careful consideration. On the question of voting power, the idea was that it should run parallel to the quota, and that Britain and the U.S.A. should be practically equal—20 to 25 per cent. each. The currencies would be held in the central banks of the different countries. There was no foundation, he thought, for the view that the scheme in any way involved a return to the gold standard, although it recognised gold as a valuable commodity.

There was much in this interesting debate which cannot be mentioned in one short article. To those readers who may wish to get a more complete picture, a perusal of Hansard for May 10 is recommended.

C.E.W.C.

The Council for Education in World Citizenship recently held its first conference in Sheffield. Some 180 Sixth Form girls and boys from the secondary schools of Sheffield and the surrounding district attended, and had the advantage of the friendly co-operation and the commodious premises of the Y.W.C.A. The Director of Education, Dr. W. P. Alexander, in opening the conference, spoke of it as the most important event in local education since he had taken office in the city.

The days were divided between lectures and educational films, which were attended by all, and the division of the students into nine groups or "commissions," which met to study various aspects of the general problem. The lecturers, all of whom were heard with keen attention, were Miss Freda White on International Co-operation, Mr. H. C. Dent on the Education Act, Professor A. D. Ritchie on Science and the Future, Mr. Drzewieski on the Youth of Poland, Mr. H. Fraenkel on Germany To-day and To-morrow, and Dr. J. B. Davey on Tanganyika Territory. The reports of the commissions showed how ready were young people, without much help from their environment, to take an intelligent and active part in the political and social life of the day.

At the close Miss Monica Luffman spoke on the work of the Council, and steps were taken to form a Regional Committee of the Inter-Schools Committee. The arrangements, which were in the hands of Miss Helen Dale, local secretary of the League of Nations Union, worked with great smoothness.

G. M. W.

THE MOSCOW POLICY

By VISCOUNT CECIL

It sometimes happens in the history of an idea that an event occurs which summarises the progress made and from which all future discussion starts. So it was with the fall of the Bastille in Paris. Its actual importance was not great. But it symbolised the *ancien régime*, and with its fall modern France was born. So it was when James the Second fled this country. Up to that moment the cause of absolutism in Church and State was by no means lost. Thenceforward, the Parliamentary Government of England was assured. It may be that the Four Power Declaration at Moscow will be found to belong to this type of occurrence.

The Check to the League

Since 1920 the conception that peace, essential to the progress and happiness of mankind, can only be secured by international effort has been struggling for mastery. The first constructive attempt in this direction, the League of Nations, was only partially successful. It showed, indeed, that some 50 or 60 states could join together for the common good, that they could create an institution with proper machinery in order "to promote international co-operation and establish peace and security," that by its means many valuable social and industrial reforms could be pressed forward and that minor disturbances of international peace could be suppressed. But when it was challenged by criminal Powers in command of important material resources, those peace-loving states which had the necessary strength were not prepared to use it to support the League system and the restoration of international tranquillity.

There is nothing unprecedented in such an occurrence. All great progressive movements have had to endure checks in their early stages. Slavery, after a struggle of a century and a half, is still not completely extirpated. Parliamentary Government has gone through many vicissitudes since it began to have a real existence here in the seventeenth century. The setback to the League in the last 10 or 15 years may well be regarded as no more than an incident

in its growth. The Moscow Declaration is a renewed call for the creation of an international organisation based on sovereign equality for the preservation of peace. It would be difficult to put into so few words a more accurate description of the purpose and machinery of the League. And it is noticeable that in most of the various schemes for establishing such an organisation, the details follow pretty closely the terms of the League Covenant. There are, no doubt, differences as in the case of our Draft Pact—but they are not nearly so important as the resemblances.

Lessons of Experience

That is, in my view, right. It would be most unfortunate and contrary to all British precepts of political wisdom if we were to start entirely fresh, disregarding what we have learnt from our first attempt. The proper course is for us to consider what was the defect in the League which prevented it from stopping the present war and then to make the changes in its constitution necessary to cure that defect.

I think there were two main imperfections in the League system. The first was that many of the Governments that agreed to it at Paris in 1919 never really appreciated what it meant. Both they and their peoples seemed to regard it as a kind of incantation which would expel the demon of war from the body politic. They never realised that, in the last resort, peace must depend on the readiness of the peace lovers to use force for its protection. The result was that, when it became clear that, first the Japanese and then the Italians and Germans were determined on a policy of aggression, those who demanded the use of the powers of the Covenant to coerce the wrongdoers were reviled as warmongers and their policy was described as "Midsummer madness."

This was not merely due to political miscalculation. It was also caused by a lack of real belief in the League as an instrument of Peace. Peace was, indeed, desired. We were told that the League was the "keystone of our Foreign Policy." But these professions were cold and lifeless. Compare them with the

deep emotional feeling of patriotism. Or the revolutionary enthusiasm of 18th Century France. Or even the passionate belief in the German idea as represented by Nazism. Something of that kind is necessary if we are to have power to kill war. That is—or ought to be—what our Union exists for—to convert frigid approval of security into a flaming passion for a just and lasting Peace.

How to Make it Work

But even that is not enough. The English law refuses protection for an invention unless the inventor can show not only that he has a novel idea, but also that he has perfected means by which it can be carried out. The same principle applies to plans for Peace. General phrases are of little use; still less are criticisms of the work of others a solution of the problem. That is why the Executive Committee has prepared a definite draft plan—not offering it as a complete treaty, but as a document sufficiently detailed to make it clear how an efficient peace scheme could be made to work. The ideas embodied in the Moscow Declaration are its basis, and we believe that it is a practical document which would have a good chance of acceptance in essence by the United Nations when victory has been obtained. It is criticised as being only a new edition of the Covenant of the League. That is partly true, and why not? The Covenant, as the Prime Minister has intimated, might well have succeeded if it had been properly supported. Indeed, in many respects it did succeed. What madness, then, to scrap the whole thing and start afresh! Had we done that in the past with our Constitutional Reforms in England, the marvellous structure of Freedom and Justice of which Mr. MacKenzie King so eloquently spoke the other day might never have taken form. Let us keep the features of the League which succeeded—its general constitution, its Secretariat, its Publicity, its moderation, and its high ideals—let us improve its peace-keeping machinery, let us elaborate its provisions for social and economic reform, let us simplify its actual drafting, and, above all, let us strive to create in its support a profound conviction—nay, a devotion, without which the formidable moral and material vested interests of war will assuredly defeat us.

JUNE 14th

Two years ago President Roosevelt called upon the people of the United States of America to keep 14th June, America's own Flag Day, as a United Nations Day on which they would salute the flags of all their allies as well as their own. For two years this day has been observed by the United Nations in America, in this country and wherever men were free.

This year, when the United Nations are going forward to final victory, United Nations Day has a special significance and, in order to secure its wider observance, the Union took the initiative in promoting the formation of a United Nations Day Committee under the chairmanship of the Earl of Lytton. The Committee includes distinguished representatives of nearly all the United Nations, including among its honorary officers Mr. John Winant, the American Ambassador, who was for so many years the Director of the International Labour Organisation; Mr. Thanassis Agnides and Mr. Erik Colban, former Directors of the Disarmament Section of the League of Nations and now the Ambassadors of Greece and Norway in London; Dr. Wellington Koo, the Chinese Ambassador; Mr. Jan Masaryk, Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, and Professor René Cassin.

In present circumstances it is the Government's wish that no great national observances involving travel should be organised, but it is hoped that flags will be flown, that the B.B.C. will make special reference to the day and that messages will be published in the Press. Wherever the Union or other organisations are holding local meetings on or about June 14th the opportunity might well be taken to refer to United Nations Day and to that unity which is our only hope for final victory and the preservation of which is our only hope for lasting peace.

A two-colour leaflet on the subject, speakers' notes, a list of suitable films and other material are available from the Union's office.

Our Address:

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UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

For the third year in succession **ABERYSTWYTH BRANCH**—after losing members at the outbreak of war—has been able to record a steady increase in its membership. Meetings, regular distribution of literature and school essay competitions have contributed to this satisfactory position.

Strong appeals for further support were made at the Annual Meeting of the **FAILAND BRANCH** by Mr. H. G. Tanner and by Mr. Martin Davies. The latter contrived to link an account of his experiences on the Burma Road with the principles on which a future League of Nations would be based. In this little branch over the past five years, thanks to unflagging efforts on the part of a few stalwarts, both membership and subscriptions have shown a small but steady increase.

Mr. F. W. Parrott, in his 18th annual report as Secretary of the **KIRKBY ST. STEPHEN BRANCH**, told the Annual Meeting: "In my correspondence from old boys of the Council School now serving abroad, I am struck with many references to the League of Nations and how a good machine was not allowed to function properly and of the need for some equivalent organisation to be established after the war. I am sure that when the war is over and soldiers return, there will be a great flood of desire to prevent the outbreak of a third World War."

In addition to a slight increase in paid-up membership the **HORSHAM BRANCH** reports that the Church Correspondent, Mr. J. Charman, has been very active and has secured three new corporate members. The Junior Branch at Horsham High School has been revived with about 100 members.

At the Annual Meeting of the **HALLAM BRANCH**, the Ministry of Information Film, "World of Plenty," was shown.

When Mr. C. W. Judd, Secretary of the Union, addressed the Annual Meeting of the **PADDINGTON BRANCH**, members from St. John's Wood rallied round to swell the audience.

CAMBRIDGE BRANCH, although unable to hold many public meetings during the past year, has carried on active study through

the Coleridge Ward Group which has held 39 meetings.

KINGSTON BRANCH has been greatly encouraged by the response to its series of tea-time meetings at the Zeeta Cafe, with attendances varying from 80 to 100. Usually a contingent from the Surbiton High School and Technical College comes for the talk. The speakers have included Dr. Harold Moody on "The Colour Conflict," Signor Gardini on "Free Italy," Senator Henri Rolin on "Can Small Nations Survive?", the Bishop of Kingston on "Your Part after the War," Miss K. D. Courtney on "The Moscow Declaration," Miss Freda White on "Food for the World," and Miss Agatha Harrison on "India." At the Rotary Club Lunch Mrs. Scrutton, the Branch Secretary, represented the L.N.U. at a Brains Trust, the other speakers being members of the Club's International Committee.

The Buffet Lunch held in May by the **LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION** was addressed by Mr. Jaya Deva, author of "Japan's Kampf." Speaking on the war in the Pacific, he reminded us that this is a totalitarian war and that Japan is as much the enemy of *all* the United Nations as Germany. While Japan would be unable to stand up to a long war because of the lack of certain vital resources, her defeat could be hastened by well-sustained political propaganda.

At the next L.R.F. Lunch, on Tuesday, June 13, Professor Arthur Newell, Director of the Institute for British-American Understanding, will speak on "Britain and America: Partners in a World Task."

As a finale to its Discussion Group Meetings, **PAISLEY BRANCH** organised a Brains Trust which was so popular that there are now demands to repeat it. Even more successful was a debate on "Were the German People responsible for the War?" in which students of six nationalities took part. The Hungarian, Polish, Yugoslav and Jewish speakers said "Yes" and the Indian and Scottish speakers said "No"; the audience appeared in general to side with the majority.

In commenting upon a highly successful Brains Trust held recently the Secretary of the **BENTHAM BRANCH** writes: "Five or six

times as many people seem to come to this type of meeting as to the ordinary public meeting with one advertised speaker."

The **WALTHAMSTOW COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL** held a Brains Trust attended by the whole school, which the Headmistress describes as "a huge success."

There was a capacity meeting for Dr. Maude Royden at **STREATHAM**, when the famous woman preacher eloquently pleaded that the idea behind the League of Nations was not dead. Peace, she said, would demand more of us than war. The relief of peace, the relaxing of tension, would be so great that it would seem almost impossible for people to set to work immediately to rebuild the world. But somebody had got to do it, and the world could again be saved by the few.

At a one-day Conference in **BURY** on "Replanning Europe," a special Youth Session was held on "The World I Want."

Mr. Leary N. Constantine, the West Indies cricketer, was speaker at a meeting organised by our **WITHINGTON BRANCH**.

HIGHGATE Discussion Group, which the hospitality of Mr. Felix Kraft enables to meet every fortnight, has already spent three evenings upon a detailed Study of the Executive's Draft Pact.

CLYDEBANK BRANCH had a good audience to hear Miss Lai Po Kan speak on China and its people, whose life and aspirations she contrasted with the Japanese "Co-Prosperity Plan" in occupied China to-day.

EAST WILLES DEN AND CRICKLEWOOD BRANCH, in abeyance since the outbreak of war, has been reconstituted under the secretaryship of Mr. K. W. Sorley. At the first meeting in St. Michael's Hall Miss Hebe Spauld gave a lantern lecture on the work

of the I.L.O. Contact has already been made with the local Education Authorities and the Youth Committee, by which means it is hoped to enlarge the membership of the Branch.

ROTARY CLUBS visited by L.N.U. speakers during May included: **ASHFORD** (Rev. Marcus Spencer on the U.S.A.), **ENFIELD** (Mr. Sven Ebbesen on Denmark), **ST. ALBANS** (Mr. Leslie Aldous on the International Labour Conference), **SLOUGH** (Rev. Marcus Spencer), and **WOKING** (Mr. Paul Palmer on Denmark). Dr. R. M. Luzzatto's address to the Rotary Club of **NORTHAMPTON** was one of a series of meetings.

Speakers were supplied to a dozen more meetings of local organisations in the **LAMBETH** area.

Our **SAVINGS BANK BRANCH** has decided to take 30 books at a time on loan from the L.N.U. Library for the Departmental Library.

IT CAN BE DONE: One Branch which set itself to recruit new members gained 11 enrolments in one road.

BURMA SURGEON. By Gordon S. Seagrave. (Gollancz, Henrietta Street, W.C.2. 9s.)

Hailed by American critics as one of the great stories of the war, Colonel Seagrave's account of his work in Burma—unorthodox both from missionary and medical standards—is not for squeamish readers. Those who have followed the work of the League's Health Organisation in the East will often feel on familiar ground. An outbreak of plague threatens to undermine China's resistance to Japan. Malaria is a terrible problem everywhere. Lend-Lease traffic along the Burma Road helps in the spread of disease. In detailing the story of the hospitals under fire the author pays tribute to the fine work of the English Friends. The pitiful streams of starving refugees left him with no doubt that the Japanese hoped to start epidemics in India.

THE SOVIET SOCIALIST CONSTITUTION. (Russia To-day Society, 150, Southampton Row, W.C.1. 6d.)

This pamphlet contains the complete text of the Soviet Constitution, as amended up to February, 1944. It is recommended by the Board of Education for use in schools.

KENSINGTON BRANCH

Dr. G. P. GOOCH

on

"THE BALKANS AND THE WAR"

CHAIRMAN: PROF. BASIL WILLIAMS.

Wednesday, July 5th, at 5 p.m.

Essex Church Hall, Palace Gardens Terrace,
(Notting Hill Gate end)

ADMISSION FREE ALL WELCOME.

IDEOLOGY AND MUSIC

THE BATON AND THE JACKBOOT. By Berta Geissmar. (Hamish Hamilton, 90, Gt. Russell Street, W.C.1. 15s.).

Dr. Geissmar's chronicles, fascinatingly written and of absorbing interest to music lovers, provide incidentally a powerful indictment of the Nazi régime from an unusual angle. As secretary to Dr. Furtwängler, the conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, she watched the abasement of artistic standards in Germany, and later in Austria, when the Nazis set out to make music and musicians bow the knee to Baal. Later, as Sir Thomas Beecham's secretary at Covent Garden, she got an illuminating perspective view of events of which previously she had been a part.

This book inevitably calls to mind another, *HAMMER, SICKLE AND BATON*, written some years ago by Dr. Heinz Unger, who lately has been one of the London Philharmonic Orchestra's guest conductors. When invited to conduct in the Soviet Union, Dr. Unger found, at that stage of the Russian experiment, a political interference with music that was intolerable to a serious musician. He was not allowed to perform certain music at Easter or Christmas because of the religious associations which might be aroused in the minds of his audiences; he would be asked to play the movements of a standard symphony out of their proper order in order to give a more ideologically rousing finish. A chance action of Stalin's could damn the work of Shostakovich for years. On later evidence, there is some reason to believe that Soviet art has thrown off certain of the earlier shackles. Young composers of fertility and invention have been allowed to experiment in a way that, despite many crudities, makes their work interesting. Executants of the calibre of David Oistrakh—a laureate violinist combining superb technique with sensitive interpretive powers—have risen above the old level of technical incompetence.

So far, in Nazi Germany, no such signs of grace have emerged. Musical life has been annexed by the Party, and

made to serve political ends and propaganda. All this has been bound up with the "race theory," but the racial point of view has often been the merest pretext for blatant nepotism and settlement of private feuds on the part of the Nazis.

Furtwängler himself stood out for a long time, refusing to "aryanise" his orchestra. When Adolph Busch, Bruno Walter and Schnabel (an Austrian) cancelled all engagements in Germany, he remained because he thought he could win his battle on the principle of achievements being the only principle applicable to cultural matters. But other artists of international reputation saw the truth more clearly than he did. Menuhin, Kreisler, Piatigorsky, Thibaud and Casals were among those who refused his personal invitation to play in Germany as long as equal rights were not accorded to everyone.

The authorities humoured Furtwängler for a while, partly because he and his orchestra were a great asset to Germany abroad, and partly because Goering did not want his beloved Berlin Opera House to suffer. He was even allowed to publish an open letter to Goebbels on the neutrality of art—to which Goebbels replied: "Politics, too, is an art, the highest and most comprehensive art of all." The crisis came when Furtwängler tried to insist on his artistic right to perform Hindemith's *Mathis der Mahler*. Hindemith was *untragbar* (inadmissible) because he had Jewish connections and because he had recorded music with two "refugees" (Simon Goldberg and the late Emanuel Feuermann!). Furtwängler resigned, but the Nazis, by waging a cruel war of nerves against his nervous artistic temperament, broke his spirit and brought him back to a superficial acceptance of a régime that was betraying all that he held sacred.

Dr. Geissmar herself was virtually hounded out of Germany because she was *untragbar*. Nothing more illustrated the grotesqueness and hypocrisy of Nazi ideology than the way in which, on the occasions when she returned as Sir Thomas Beecham's envoy, she was fawned upon by those who had been her bitterest enemies.

One thing which the author makes clear

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

After an interval of four years the Royal Institute of International Affairs has resumed publication of *INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS*. It is being produced in Canada with the assistance of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs which, like other Institutes in the Commonwealth, is affiliated to Chatham House.

The time-lag before copies reach this country is of secondary importance owing to the permanent value of many of the feature articles. Thus, in the January number, there are contributions by T. H. Minshall on "The Problem of Germany," H. Vere Redman on "The Problem of Japan," and A. G. B. Fisher on "The Commonwealth's Place in the World Economic Structure."

The annual subscription (four issues) is 25s. sterling; single copies 6s. 6d. sterling.

A READING LIST FOR RELIEF WORKERS. (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 10, St. James's Square, S.W.1. 1s.).

This most comprehensive bibliography, compiled in co-operation with British voluntary societies, aims at directing the reading of people who are preparing to take part in relief work in liberated territories. Its scope may be gathered from the wide range of subjects covered—e.g., health and hygiene, nutrition, food and agriculture, welfare of children and young people, displaced persons, relief during and after the last war, and the background to present conditions.

AID TO CHINA

THE RED CROSS AT WORK IN CHINA is the title of an admirable illustrated booklet (48 pages, 1s.) which is being sold to help the United Aid to China Fund. It has been compiled by F. M. Osborn—a keen worker also for our Union's Sheffield Branch—from letters written by Dr. R. B. McClure, who has twenty years' experience of medical work in China. The fine photographs add to the value of this interesting booklet, which can be cordially recommended for young people as well as for adults. Copies are in stock at the Union's Book Shop at 11, Maiden Lane.

is that the outside world could, in the earlier years of the Nazi régime, have influenced events if it had taken a firmer attitude. At Party celebrations, too, the attitude of distinguished foreigners (Britons among them) took the wind out of the sails of Germans who were putting up a fight for their honour. Moreover, the immediate effect of each one of the successes that Hitler was allowed to win abroad was to intensify his policy at home.

Perhaps the real meaning of this utter degradation of art, not only in Germany but in Austria where Salzburg has been transformed as if Reinhardt, Hofmannsthal, Bruno Walter and Toscanini had never existed, may be best summed up in these words from a letter which Bronislaw Huberman wrote when reasoning with Furtwängler:—

"In reality it is not a question of violin concertos nor even merely of the Jews; the issue is the retention of those things that our fathers achieved by blood and sacrifice, of the elementary pre-conditions of our European culture, the freedom of personality and its unconditional self-responsibility unhampered by fetters of caste or race."

Thus the artistic and cultural struggle is one vital aspect of the battle between Freedom and Dictatorship.

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

Serious students of economics are turning from questions of nationalisation to monetary discussion. It is important to consider now the Individualist approach. In the degree to which the State acquires further control over the creation of money, private enterprise in industry will fall under State control. This book sets out an Individualist solution of the social problem.

Read

"FREE BANKING"

(An outline of a policy of Individualism)

By HENRY MEULEN Macmillan 7s. 6d.

"His arguments are carefully developed on a sound basis." *The Bankers' Magazine.*

"He meets (Socialist) objections fairly." *Glasgow Forward.*

"The most important contribution to economics since Adam Smith." U. V. BECKERATH.

FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

The League and Equality

(The writer of the following letter, Dr. D. van Embden, was Professor of Economics in the University of Amsterdam and a Senator until he came to this country as a refugee from the Nazis four years ago. He has been a regular reader of HEADWAY for some twenty years. We believe that his views, although not what one might expect from a national of a small State, will be of interest to other readers. Whether his plan would be workable is a different question.—Ed.)

SIR.—The *News Chronicle* recently published a reply by Lord Perth to an article, "Why the League Failed." In dealing with the contention that the maxim of equal rights for all Members of the League was among the main causes of its failure, the writer adheres to equality in these terms:—

"Do the citizens of Great Britain possess equally all the above qualities"—economics, education, financial stability, and intelligence—"but have they not equal rights before the law and under our constitution? Indeed, is not this principle the very essence of democracy, and, if so, why should it be admitted in national and rejected in international affairs?"

This most valuable principle should certainly not be rejected in international affairs. And yet it would be wise and just if the Covenant of a new League were to abolish the maxim of "one member one vote" in the Assembly and replace it by a plural vote proportionate to the very real inequality among the members.

Such a discrimination, in my opinion, would not violate the "essential principle of democracy," because the latter is not the only one on which a democratic community ought to be built. Equality before the law, equal enjoyment of all rights appertaining to personal or national freedom, is one thing. The exercise, by social groups, of their unequal political power—provided it is exercised legally and by peaceful means only—is another. As the latter right too is justly permitted within the boundaries of democratic States, its adoption in a comity of nations cannot be regarded as undemocratic.

The principle of an equal legal status for every human person (as for every individual nation) is the due equally of the richer and the poorer, the stronger and the weaker person or nation. In recourse either to a national law court or the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, it is not a foregone conclusion that the weaker party will lose. It is the pride of democracy that justice shall be done on a basis of strict equality.

On the other hand, all municipal corporations and counties, notwithstanding "equal rights before the law," have an unequal share in the political structure of the State and the framing of the law. And rightly so. From within the County of London, more Members are returned to Parliament than from Huntingdon or Flint. In the U.S.A. each of the 48 States, when appealing to the Supreme Court, has a strictly equal chance of vindicating its claims. To the House of Representatives, however, the State of New York returns many more members than does Nevada or Wyoming.

It is evident that this "power," allotted and ordered by the national constitution, does not consist of any physical force; its substance is the political opinions and economic interests which, naturally, are more powerful in large or densely populated groups and have to be acknowledged as such. As the constituent elements of the group are, of course, the individual citizens, the proportionate allotment is in a moral sense (which is the real one) not unequal at all. So why should it be otherwise in an inter-State community?

True, in the present stage of national sentiment and traditions, it would be highly artificial and futile to reduce, theoretically, a League of Nations in the last resort to a mere number of widespread individuals, ignoring their historic national groupings and the particular interests of the latter. Even federal States refrain from such overstraining of the concept of solidarity and accord in their Senates the same number of votes to each of their composing States, irrespective of their size or population. The same sort of safety-valve might be introduced in a new Society of Nations: On the one hand its principal body, the Assembly, based on a formal inequality of votes and charged with the constructive, positive task of framing the law and directing the collective policy. On the other hand, a second Chamber based on equality of voting, possessing the negative right of vetoing any of the Assembly's decisions; vetoing by a majority vote, leaving to the individual State whose motion to exercise the veto was defeated the self evident right to secede (which is more than is allowed to the States of the U.S.A.).

A Society of Nations, by recognising the unequal claims inherent in vastly superior national power, sacrifice and responsibility, would secure for itself the reliable co-operation of the Great States and, in doing so, would prove to be an immensely greater benefit to the smaller States than an "equalitarian" but unworkable—or at any rate forsaken—League.

Cambridge.

D. VAN EMBDEN.

Atlantic Charter

SIR.—As a guest in this country I did not feel justified in intervening in the discussion on the article by a member of the L.N.U. Executive you have published, though I share all the misgivings which have been so cogently expressed by the Dean of Chichester.

The letter of Mr. W. L. Kent, however, is so outrageous that I cannot refrain from entering the strongest protest against it.

Mr. Kent is not satisfied with the idea that Poland should lose half of her territory to Russia. No, he wants to mutilate Poland still further in order to reward these worthy Germans for having murdered only one million of Poles and two millions of Jews. And therefore he supports Hitler's claims to the Polish province of Pomorze.

As for the workers of Gdynia and the peasants of Pomorze, who have written one of the most glorious pages of this war in fighting with rifles and scythes the German hordes, Mr. Kent wants to expel them from their homes under the pretext of exchange of populations.

Surely political immorality can hardly be carried further!

London, W.8.

CZESLAW. POZNANSKI.

Munich

SIR.—In his criticism of Lord Maugham's defence of Mr. Chamberlain's action at Munich, Lord Lytton claims that if Mr. Chamberlain had said that an attack on Czechoslovakia would certainly mean war, Hitler might have hesitated.

As against this view it can be said that Hitler might not have hesitated, and bearing in mind the weakness of Britain's position it is possible that Hitler might have won a European war fought at that time.

A responsible Prime Minister could hardly make a definite threat of war unless there was a reasonable chance of that war being successfully waged. Judging by what happened in 1941, that reasonable chance did not then exist.

Furthermore, Lord Lytton suggests that if all the countries now at war with Germany had made a similar threat, the war would not have occurred. This is quite probable; but as neither Russia nor America showed any inclination to make such a declaration the situation envisaged in this academic speculation did not arise.

Mr. Chamberlain was faced with the fact that we and any allies we had were weak compared with Germany. How foolish therefore to criticise him because he would not go to war in such unfavourable circumstances. A player with poor cards cannot bid high against a strong, astute opponent.

Why the cards held by Mr. Chamberlain

were weak is a different question; but at the time they were apparently so weak that no decisive action was possible.

Kettering.

W. A. PAYNE.

"A Frank Avowal"

SIR.—There must be many supporters of the L.N.U. who are now more active in the British-Soviet movement, though remaining members of the L.N.U. and readers of HEADWAY. I think therefore that I am writing for others besides myself when I say:—

1. We welcome wholeheartedly the fact that the Moscow Declaration, U.N.R.R.A. and the Atlantic Charter appear on L.N.U. notepaper as its main terms of reference.

2. We feel that the name "League of Nations Union" is bound to carry people's minds back to the old days of an organisation which failed to expel Japan, Italy and Germany, but promptly expelled the Soviet Union. We think that the action of the U.S.S.R. against Finland was fully justified in the context of the failure of collective security, for which Mr. Litvinov had striven so hard on behalf of his government; history has already proved that this was so.

3. This feeling is intensified by the present I.L.O. Conference, the I.L.O. being the only machinery of the League still functioning. (*Other League bodies are still functioning.*—ED.) We look to HEADWAY for a sharp criticism of the I.L.O. for trying to build anything worth while on a foundation undermined by such supporters of Fascism as the present governments of Finland, Rumania and Hungary.

4. We should work actively for a "United Nations Union," the very tautology of the term suggesting the importance of banding together those who wish to see the unity of the United Nations become increasingly deep and real. We should not consider such a change of name by the L.N.U. a cowardly retreat; but rather a frank avowal that the period of the first League of Nations is now dead and gone, and that the experience gained by the successes and failures of that League must be built into the new structure of collective security envisaged at Moscow and Teheran.

EDWARD CHARLES (Rev.).

St. Luke's Vicarage,
Birmingham, 22c.

THE ABYSSINIA ASSOCIATION (33, Maudsley Street, S.W.1) has published a second edition, price 2d., of its 6-page folder *Restore Ethiopia's Access to the Sea*, by W. Arnold-Forster.

FRESHWATER MEMORIAL FUND

We publish below a *Fourth List* of donations to the Freshwater Fund, received at Head Office up to May 19, 1944. As in previous lists, they are arranged according to Branches—the names of individuals will not be published.

In the Third List last month, an item of £13 8s. was inadvertently credited to "Coventry" instead of to the *Green Lane Branch*—a very small branch in a suburb on the outskirts of Coventry.

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Airdrie	1	6	Girlington		
Altrincham	5	0	Baptist	1	0
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Burnside	0	15	Headingley	2	0
Chelmsford	5	5	Hendon	0	5
Cheltenham	16	5	Highgate	0	10
Chipperfield	2	10	Horsham	5	4
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ton	3	3	Huntingdon	5	0
Claydon	2	4	Hyde	3	10
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ley	3	2	Council	20	0
Edinburgh	1	0	Keswick	3	5
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Cross	3	3	School)	1	1
			Kingston	0	10

*If you have not subscribed
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Please do so before the General
Council Meeting, June 29.*

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Newport,			South Shields	0	7
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ford	0	5	Orton	10	0
Northwich	1	2	Watton	1	0
Oxford	0	5	Wells (Som.)	1	13
Paddington	30	0	West Mersea	0	10
Pangbourne	0	5	Whittington	0	10
Pickering	5	0	Wilmslow	7	5
Preston	5	0	Wimbledon	0	2
Putney	5	5	Worcester	3	3
Reading	2	5	Unattached	1	7
Stop Press: Total (May 22) .. £1,104 11s. 11d.					

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