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EDITORIAL

NOTES ON THE NEWS

THREE LEADERS SPEAK

Oratory is not enough to win wars, yet nothing serves better to steel the edge of national resolution and endeavour than timely pronouncements from our leaders. Three speeches, from the leaders of three great nations opposed to Germany, have in the past month given us tonics of different brands.

Mr. Churchill's authoritative surveys of the war, by their sheer brilliance of phrase and argument, have assured for him as eager and huge a waiting audience as have the speeches of any statesman of any age. It has never been the Prime Minister's way to play to the gallery or to administer soothing syrup. But his judgment of what the public wants to hear, whether the news be good or bad, is unerring; and, as far as considerations of policy and strategy allow, he takes them into his confidence. All the more because he has not concealed distasteful tidings in the past, his Mansion House review—immeasurably more hopeful all round than anything he was able to present a year ago—brings increased confidence that Vic-

tory, if not yet in sight, may come upon us round a not too distant bend of the road; and we must be ready for it.

M. Stalin's speech in Moscow, a month after Hitler had announced to the world that the final and decisive offensive of the year was about to begin, was also heartening, not because he said much that was startlingly new, but because of the unwavering determination of the Russian people which he interpreted and proclaimed. One never meets a Russian without that same superb inner confidence that his country's vast resources and reserves, its flexible "defence in depth," and above all the will to resist and win, will drag Hitler deeper in the mire with every step he advances. It was not idle boasting or mere wishful thinking when Stalin boldly prophesied that Hitler's doom was already written on the wall.

One point in Stalin's speech, reassuring in a different way, is worth underlining. "Our aim," he said, "is to help the Slavonic or any other enslaved European peoples in their struggle for liberation against Hitlerite tyranny, and

later to permit them freely to settle their own destiny in their own land. No interference in the internal affairs of other people!"

President Roosevelt, addressing the International Labour Conference at Washington, looked beyond the heat and smoke of war to the shape of the post-war world which must be built to reinforce peace when it comes. Incidentally the Conference, by showing that a community of free nations will have something better to offer than the old way of life, was an effective counterblast to the German "New Order" propaganda. In a sense, too, a march was stolen on the Axis. Hitler, as is known, intended to summon his vassals to a conference in Moscow where he would announce a peace formally establishing his "New Order" throughout Europe. The obstinate refusal of Moscow to fall has again upset Hitler's timetable, and the free nations have got in first. The Nazi conference may yet meet, in Vienna or elsewhere, but it will be an ersatz improvisation compared with the original intention. Meanwhile, as either a substitute or a prelude, there has been the "Anti-Comintern" meeting in Berlin.

THE FAR EAST

No part of the Prime Minister's Mansion House speech was more timely than the warning to Japan bound up with his pledge to America: "Should the United States become involved in war with Japan, the British declaration will follow within the hour." Backing this was the assurance that Britain was now strong enough to provide powerful naval forces, if required, in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The tragedy is that

such forthright words were not used years ago to deter would-be aggressors. Whether, in this case, they have come too late remains to be seen.

Japan, though in dangerous mood, still shows an uncertain inclination to wait on events, despite the pressure to create a diversion which is undoubtedly being exercised on her by the dominating partner in the Axis. Nevertheless, few experienced observers could have expected much from the mission of M. Kurusu to the United States, preceded and accompanied as it was by a barrage of bellicose utterances from Tokyo. More and more it is clear that Japan's idea of peace and order in the East is fundamentally different from that of the democracies. There can be no compromise; and we may hope that appeasement in the East (as in the West) has gone for ever. Meanwhile point is added to Dr. Quo Tai-Chi's appeal for real collective defence in the East. The urgent necessity is to close all loopholes, so that the aggressor will not be able to gamble upon striking at one point without bringing in prompt and overwhelming force against him.

AMERICAN AID

America, for the moment, naturally feels more immediately interested in events in the East than in Europe—or than in the prospects opened up by our great Libyan offensive. Still, with the revision of the Neutrality Act, we can be certain that American aid to the Allies will become increasingly effective. As Dorothy Thompson has said, "A nation must be judged not by what it did, but by the direction in which it is going."

THE I.L.O. IN WAR AND PEACE

By PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

(In his address to the International Labour Conference, November 6, 1941.)

The I.L.O. has been tried and tested. Through those extravagant years of the twenties, it kept doggedly at its task, shortening hours of labour, protecting women and children in agriculture and industry, making life more bearable for merchant seamen, keeping the factories and mines of the world safe and fit places for human beings to work in.

Now, for more than two years, we have weathered the vicissitudes of a world at war. Though Hitler's juggernaut has crowded your permanent staff out of its home at Geneva, here in the New World—thanks in a large part to the efforts of our friend John Winant—you have been carrying on. And when this world struggle is over, you will be prepared to play your own part, formulating those social policies upon which the permanence of peace will so much depend.

The essence of our struggle is that all men shall be free. There can be no real freedom for common man without enlightened social policies. In the last analysis, they are the stakes for which the democracies are to-day fighting. Your concern is the concern of all democratic peoples. . . . There is no greater evidence of the vitality of the I.L.O. than the loyal presence here to-day of representatives of nations which suffer under the last dictator. I welcome those representatives especially. I extend the hand of courage to the delegates of those labour organisations whose leaders are to-day languishing in concentration camps for having dared to stand up for ideals without which no civilisation can live. Through you, delegates from these despoiled lands, the United States sends your people this message:—"You have not been forgotten; you will not be forgotten."

President Roosevelt next made an ap-

peal to the whole American nation to make every sacrifice for victory now before it was too late. "Berlin is the principal slave market of the world," he declared, describing the fate which awaited American workers if Hitler should win. He continued:

In the process of working and fighting for victory, however, we must never forget the goal which is beyond victory. Defeat of Hitlerism is necessary so there may be freedom. But this war, like the last war, will produce nothing but destruction unless we prepare for the future now—unless we plan now for the better world we aim to build. If that world is to be one in which peace is to prevail, there must be a more abundant life for the masses of the people in all countries.

We are already engaged in surveying the immediate post-war requirements of a world whose economies have been disrupted by war. We are planning, not to provide temporary remedies for the ills of a stricken world, but to achieve permanent cures to help establish a sounder life. To attain these goals will be no easy task. Their fulfilment requires "the fullest co-operation of all nations in the economic field." (See *Atlantic Charter*, point 5.)

In planning such international action the I.L.O., with its representation of labour and management, its technical knowledge and experience, will be an invaluable instrument for peace. Your organisation will have an essential part to play in building up a stable international system of social justice for all peoples everywhere. As part of you, the people of the United States are determined to respond fully to the opportunity and challenge of this historic responsibility.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

By LESLIE R. ALDOUS

What was the significance of the International Labour Conference which met at Columbia University, New York, on October 27, and continued its deliberations for nearly a fortnight? Proof in plenty it gave of the continued vitality of the International Labour Organisation; evidence, too, that the League's sister body can carry on, confident of the enthusiastic support of virtually the whole world except the Nazi bloc. With Britain and the United States at one in their determination to keep the I.L.O. on the map, the prospects for the future are encouraging in the extreme.

It is a rare event for the Head of a great State to address an international gathering. President Roosevelt set the seal upon a momentous occasion by inviting the Conference to a special session in the White House, to hear the important speech recorded on page 3 of this issue. Harold Butler, in his new book, "The Lost Peace," says that he always found Roosevelt astonishingly well informed about the I.L.O. and all its works." In 1919, when the first International Labour Conference was about to meet in Washington, the furious battle then raging in the Senate over the Peace Treaty led to difficulties regarding accommodation. Butler tells how the young Mr. Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, "swept all obstacles aside and in a few days had put forty rooms at our disposal in the Navy Building itself. I could not help wondering how many junior Ministers in London would have succeeded in converting a part of the

Admiralty into the office of an international labour conference."

Who Was There

In New York, many of the delegations from some thirty-five countries would have done credit to the Conference even in peacetime. The tripartite representation of Governments, employers and workers, which is fundamental in the I.L.O.'s activities, was well maintained. Next to the cordial support given by the U.S.A., the most striking gesture came from the British Government which appointed Mr. Attlee, the Lord Privy Seal and Deputy Prime Minister, as leader of the British delegation. Mr. Ralph Assheton, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, and Sir F. W. Leggett, the Ministry's Chief Industrial Commissioner, were governmental delegates. Sir John Forbes Watson, director of the British Employers' Confederation, and Mr. Joseph Hallsworth, of the T.U.C. General Council, represented respectively the other parties to industry. Each was accompanied by experts and advisers.

In addition to the American nations who were there in full force, the countries taking part included all the British Dominions and all countries of Europe whose Governments had been transferred to Britain. Thus the Conference had the benefit of the experience of such well-known figures as M. Jan Masaryk of Czechoslovakia and M. Spaak, Belgium's Foreign Minister and Minister of Labour. China, too, was represented.

After the election of Miss Frances

Perkins, U.S. Secretary of Labour, to the chair, and welcome speeches from Mayor La Guardia, Mr. Herbert Lehman (Governor of New York State), and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler (President of Columbia University), the Conference at once settled down to business. There was no intention of adopting any new conventions or recommendations. The agenda was restricted to two items:— (1) "The I.L.O. and Reconstruction," a report prepared by Mr. Phelan, the Acting Director; and (2) "Methods of Collaboration between Public Authorities and Employers' and Workers' Organisations."

"The I.L.O. and Reconstruction"

The opening chapters of Mr. Phelan's report vividly paint the political, economic and social background of the present conflict. From this analysis, war-time developments such as the shifting of channels of trade and the industrialisation of countries hitherto mainly industrial stand out clearly. The Office anticipated that one of the effects of a second world war would be to quicken the pace, while frequently deflecting the direction, of social and economic developments throughout the world. The record of the I.L.O.'s work during the crisis makes inspiring reading. Advisory missions have been despatched to many countries at the request of their Governments. And ratification of International Labour Conventions still goes on, as witness the rise of the ratifications total from 859 to 882 since the war began. It is interesting to note that Switzerland, compelled by the war to acquire ships, has adopted some of the maritime conventions.

Coming on to "future policy," Mr. Phelan says that labour legislation in the old sense is not enough—concerted action is a clear necessity to bring about

economic security. Any Reconstruction Conference after the war will be bound to turn to the I.L.O. "Already the social objectives have been set by countless authoritative pronouncements. Overwhelming opinion declares that they can and must be achieved."

Views on Planning

Mr. Carter Goodrich, the American Chairman of the Governing Body, described the Conference as "an act of faith." "It is called," he said, "in the belief that social justice and the basic elements of economic democracy are not luxuries to be thought of only when the stern business of fighting has been settled, but instead the essence of the conflict and the very stuff for which free men fight. There is a stand to take and work to be done in war-time."

Mr. Attlee spoke on the same theme. "Britain's post-war plans," he declared, "must be fitted into those of a post-war world; for this fight is not just a fight between nations, it is a fight for the future of civilisation." Further, "we agree with the view recently expressed by Mr. Sumner Welles, that planning for the post-war period cannot be left until the end of the war, and we in the United Kingdom are therefore considering our plans now. We are determined that economic questions and questions of universal improvements of standards of living and nutrition shall not be neglected, as they were after the last war, owing to preoccupation with political problems."

All speakers agreed on the importance of planning for post-war reconstruction, though some (like Mr. Gibson of the T.U.C.) added the caution that "if we have not won it will not count for anything." "We have no time to

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PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE

By OWEN RATTENBURY

(We have arranged to publish a regular Parliamentary Commentary. Our contributor is a Gallery Correspondent of experience, and Editor of "The Journalist." In his first article, after discussing the present Parliament and its personalities, he surveys recent happenings in the House.)

At the beginning of the new Session of Parliament, it is useful to cast our minds back to the sources from which the present House of Commons came. It is increasingly becoming a company of nominated rather than elected members, and must necessarily remain so. Even if party elections were again the order of the day, the old registers and shifting population would almost certainly mean that a very small percentage of the electorate could vote.

Our Undisputed Leader

This House was elected on issues now forgotten, and in conditions quite alien from those now obtaining. The Premier is the undisputed leader of Great Britain inside Parliament and outside. It is extremely hard to suggest any man who could take his place, if unhappily that place had to be filled. Yet within the lifetime of this Parliament and for a good proportion of its length he was a voice crying in the wilderness, criticising the Government furiously and persistently; looked upon with a certain degree of impatience by members of his own party, when he was supported at all, owing it to the more independent of his political opponents.

The Parliament elected in 1935 supported a coalition of Conservatives, National Liberals and National Labour men—both the latter coteries being repudiated by the bulk of the Liberal and Labour parties. The Opposition con-

sisted of those main parties of the left, together with the three I.L.P. members and the one Communist.

Changes have taken place in personnel. Ordinary bye-elections brought at least one member of outstanding ability in Mr. Vernon Bartlett, who by his remarkable broadcasts had achieved what had been thought hitherto almost impossible. He had interested ordinary people in foreign affairs and foreign countries—even in Czechoslovakia, which Mr. Chamberlain thought so few people had heard of. Since the truce, members have been returned as nominees of the particular party whose member has died or resigned. The wonder is that the selection of candidates has been so good. Maiden speeches in this House have been consistently well informed and well delivered, so that the usual complimentary remarks of the next speaker have always been well deserved. Very distinguished soldiers like General Jeffreys, decorated by ten European countries in the last war, and other men of distinction in other walks of life—for instance, Sir Peter Bennett, Mr. Ernest Bevin and Mr. Oliver Lyttelton—have been found seats.

Mr. Churchill's Courage

Mr. Churchill's ascendancy does not come from his genius alone, great as that is. It has come particularly from his courage. As Mr. Maxton recently

said, he has an uncanny way of getting information that has proved to be right. That tells. But above everything it is courage that has scored. Only now are we beginning to see the full value of his courageous defiance to Germany when he took office. We see now into what a perilous position his predecessor and some of his present colleagues had brought the country. Courage and discernment were wanted for his appointment of Sir Stafford Cripps as ambassador to Russia. Mr. Churchill knew the qualities of character and intellect that official Labour failed to see in this man who was so appreciated by the more realistic miners. What an asset his character and intellect have been in Russia, history will no doubt tell.

In this session already there has been a very trenchant attack, with ugly questions to answer, made by Mr. Shinwell. One of his questions was specially interesting, and no reply was given. Is it conceivable, he asked, that every member of the Government wants a Russian victory—a Bolshevik victory? Now there is no doubt about Mr. Churchill's position in the matter. With promptitude and enthusiasm he at once accepted our new Ally. Likewise Lord Beaverbrook, especially since his meeting with Stalin. But can we be as certain of others in the Government? That has such a bearing on policy. We are looking to the future. Of course, we have to win the war before the nature of that future can be exactly visualised. Fortunately, out of the Churchill-Roosevelt talks, the Atlantic Charter has been produced. Already, however, questions are being asked as to how far that Charter will be applicable to India, Burma and certain other parts of the British Empire. These questions cannot be answered at present, but they must be

kept in mind; and possibly it would help if we were more sure of the principles in which we are supposed to believe.

Mr. Eden's Position

Mr. Eden's position is much more pleasant. He seems to be able to steer a straight course, and either to answer questions or say it is impossible to do so. He has probably come back into his old position just in time to save the country from some of the consequences of the disastrous policy which caused his resignation. The King's Speech states that Ethiopia was the *first* victim of aggression. Mr. Churchill talks of China's *five year* struggle against Japan, and we are glad that he recognises the situation so far—perhaps he would recognise it still further if he were not embarrassed by the life history of his Lord Chancellor! Captain Pilkington, who moved the Address, is not so embarrassed by associations, and he spoke of China's *ten years'* struggle. It was, of course, Japan's rape of Manchuria which set the ball rolling, when Sir John Simon, the then Foreign Secretary, acted in perfect accord with the very right wing French Foreign Office, defending Japan's action right merrily before the League of Nations. So, despite the findings of the Lytton Commission, Japan was white-washed and "Manchukuo" became a fact. The interval between that incident and the beginning of what is called "the China incident," was occupied by the Japanese in certain infiltration proceedings which denuded China of silver and filled her people with dope—literal dope smuggled to them as a matter of policy to weaken their resistance when the fighting should start again.

Was that part of the Axis design?

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HOW ARE THE FOUNDATIONS?

By BARBARA WOOTTON

(Our contributor, who is Director of Studies for Tutorial Classes at London University, puts forward challenging views on Social and Economic Reconstruction.)

Before building elaborate superstructures it is a good thing to make sure that the foundations are safe. The more I think and hear about plans for international social and economic reconstruction, the more I find myself wondering whether the foundations *are* safe. There seems to be some dangerous quicksands of muddle at the bottom of the whole business.

The first muddle has to do with the sort of thing that can, and the sort that cannot, be done by agreement. In the past we have, I suspect, gone wrong by expecting voluntary international agreement to accomplish the impossible. Because this method does, in fact, do some things with gratifying success we expect it to do everything. Disappointment follows, and the baby is in real danger of being thrown away with the bath water.

A Question of Advantage

The ultimate^o distinction that gets overlooked is, I think, this. There are certain matters in which it is greatly to everybody's advantage that *everybody* should behave in a certain way. There are others in which the important thing, to each interested party, is that *everybody else* should behave in a certain way. The first can be settled by agreement; the second cannot.

Now international relations are (alas!) brimming over with examples of the second of these classes. Such are disarmament, and (with some qualifications) tariff and trade policy, and most of the business of imposing minimum

labour standards on I.L.O. lines. I have never heard better lectures on the advantages of free trade than the arguments for the reduction of (other people's) tariffs put forward by firmly protectionist governments at the 1927 Economic Conference. In all these cases what happens is this. We agree, or try to agree, to limit arms, lower tariffs, observe minimum standards. We agree; but great are the dangers of finding oneself the one exception who plays fair when the others don't; and great, also, are the attractions of being the one exception who doesn't when the others do! The position of the one State disarmed in an armed world, or the one exposed to sweated competition from all the unscrupulous others is terrifying indeed; whilst the one and only well-armed among defenceless neighbours, or the one competitor who steals the markets of the rest by undercutting their standards wins advantages that are, in scarcely less degree, attractive.

In face of such temptations the chances that everybody—even perhaps that anybody—will play fair are necessarily slight. It is the old story of the villagers who agreed to give their priest a cask of wine, each contributing a quota from his own cellar. It occurred to one contributor that a single measure of water would not be noticed in a whole cask of wine. And the priest received a cask of water.

How painfully apt is the moral for disarmament, economic nationalism and labour "legislation"! In these fields

agreements will, sooner or later, break down. The strain is too great. So there must be effective sanctions; not agreement, but compulsion.

What Kind of Sanctions?

That brings us to the second fundamental muddle, which has to do with the *kind* of sanctions or force that is appropriate in international affairs. Although there are, I think, principles of general applicability here, let us look only at the special problems of labour "legislation." Suppose that an International Authority has laid down minimum standards about wages, hours, rest-days and so forth, after the I.L.O. pattern; and suppose that the Government of Ruritania just calmly takes no notice. What do you do? You can grin and bear it like the I.L.O.—in which case your Authority is not, of course, an Authority at all. Or you can resort to economic sanctions, and boycott the products of Ruritanian industry, impose a blockade, and so on. That kind of sanction is, however, both barbaric and illogical. If it is effective, the people that it will hit most severely are the Ruritanian workers whose standard of living the original regulation was presumably intended to defend.

The only way out of this dilemma is to give the International Authority power to deal with, and to impose its decisions, not upon states as states, but upon *individuals* within those states. Either it must itself enforce the minimum laws directly in the factories and workshops of Ruritania through its own inspectorate, with the right to bring offenders before its own courts; or it must have power to instruct the Ruritanian Government to get on with the job, with the right to step in itself in the case of default. That means that there must be direct mutual obligations

between the citizens of Ruritania and the International Authority: that there is, in fact, in the dreary old legalistic language, a true surrender of sovereignty. Further, the members of the Ruritanian Government must, in the last resort, be held personally responsible for any failure to carry out their obligations, or, conversely, for any action that outsteps their legitimate powers. The only alternative is to fall back upon the doctrine of collective responsibility—recently and rightly denounced as monstrous when perpetrated by the Nazis against innocent hostages.

It is best to be quite frank about this, and to say openly that, pending such a surrender of sovereignty, there are certain fields in which we *cannot* impose standards or obligations, much less legislation. We can and should, even so, seek to define the standards that are reasonable and attainable, and proclaim them across the world. But we must not call this "legislation," or pretend that these standards are binding, or even that they can be kept by gentlemanly agreement. Sham legislation and sham obligations are worse than no legislation and no obligation at all, because they discredit the respect for law and honour which is the foundation of civilised life. This is one of the cases where it is worse to have tried and to have failed than never to have tried at all.

Advance by Agreement

Happily, however, such cases by no means exhaust the possibilities. There remain the matters in which advance by agreement is not exposed to any such devastating risks. Into this category falls a wide variety of health and technical problems. For instance, to break an agreement about the allocation of

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UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

Reports on Count Balinski's recent tour in the EAST OF SCOTLAND have been flowing in from many quarters, and all tell the same exhilarating story: Everywhere the speaker had appreciative audiences, and gave a tonic to the local branches. In addition to the advertised meetings at Comrie, Aberdeen, Crieff, North Berwick, Edinburgh, Dundee, Elie, St. Andrews and Blairgowrie, several other "informal" meetings were arranged as the tour proceeded. In most places, "house full" was the order of the day (or evening); members of the public had to be turned away on occasions, and "floor-squatting" was also indulged in. One report spoke of Count Balinski's meeting as the most successful ever held by that Branch. Before another well-attended lecture, the local Branch had the happy inspiration of inviting some of the speaker's Polish compatriots stationed in the neighbourhood to meet him over a simple war-time lunch. "The best possible advertisement for future ventures," said another Branch. The District Council wishes Count Balinski all success in his grand work, and a "haste ye back to Scotland."

At ST. AUSTELL, a capacity audience listened to a Polish officer's wife speaking on "The Poland of To-day," and a special collection realised £6 for Polish war charities. To follow up this meeting, the Branch is arranging for the same speaker to visit local organisations, and to give public lectures at several places in the surrounding district. The Secretary has also managed to get going a series of very useful popular discussions at the local branch of Toc H on "Our New Order," which have proved to follow closely the ideas laid down in "World Settlement after the War."

"The best-attended meeting held by the Branch since I took office," reports the Secretary of the SUNDERLAND BRANCH on the visit of "Dr. Dawson," a German refugee, who spoke on "Germany Now and After the War." A novel method of

advertising helped to swell the audience. The usual advertisement was put in the local paper; the type for this was lent to a printing firm which printed off 100 post-cards at negligible cost: and these were sent to people who were likely to be interested. In the audience were many soldiers who arrived with their officers in Army vehicles. "Dr. Dawson," basing his opinion on reports which he got on conditions in Germany, drew a parallel between the present situation and that in the last war during 1917, when no one in Germany could conceive of defeat—and yet within six months the process of collapse from within had begun. Other branches may like to know that "Dr. Dawson" is willing to address further meetings for the Union.

L.N.U. activity in WALSALL is on the increase—largely because the Branch now has two concrete services to offer members in return for their subscriptions. First there is the Study Group, which has met regularly and produced first-rate discussions. Secondly, with the help of the local librarian, a collection of up-to-date books on international affairs has been set apart in a special bookcase at the Public Library. The Branch is planning to conduct a membership campaign.

"Through Occupied Europe" was the subject of the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION'S Sandwich Luncheon on November 21, when the speaker was Mr. John Ennals, a Press Correspondent who witnessed the over-running of Eastern Europe by Germany. The next Luncheon Talk will be on December 17, at 1 p.m., at the Y.W.C.A., Great Russell Street. Mr. S. L. Hourmouziou, Press Secretary to the Royal Greek Legation, will speak on "Greece—Defender of Freedom."

WALLINGTON'S enterprising winter programme had an enthusiastic send-off with an opening social—just a foretaste, we are told, of many good things to follow! Mrs. M. G. Stevens, who spoke, offered

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RUNNING A WEEK-END CONFERENCE

It was a wild, stormy autumn afternoon when some 40 L.N.U. members from Manchester and Sheffield gathered at the Longshaw Holiday Fellowship Guest House, near Grindleford, Derbyshire. But while the wind and rain swept the moors outside, the atmosphere within was warm and friendly, and we settled down to a week-end of stimulating lectures and lively discussions. In the opening session, Mr. L. F. Behrens mentioned the need for an alert and educated public opinion, and stressed the fact that, with our 20 years of work and experience, there is no body of people more fitted to help create it than the League of Nations Union. It is our job to see that before the end of the war the people of this country realise

that peace depends upon the security and well-being of other countries as well as of our own.

In speaking of some forms of collective security, Miss K. D. Courtney, after mentioning several of the new proposals which are current to-day, said the only safe and realistic idea is that of the League, and that people must realise it is sounder policy to build on the framework of an international organisation now in existence than to fling it aside for something new and less good. On Sunday morning Dr. F. Lincoln Ralphs gave us some useful ideas for our own propaganda; our strength, he said, must be measured in terms of our enthusiasm for principles; our line at the moment is not to try to convert the masses, but, working quietly, to exert a lasting influence over smaller numbers, and always to confront critics with facts and demonstration.

As it had stopped raining, most of us were able to have a walk after lunch through the Longshaw estate, which is National Trust property. The gloomy skies, with occasional gleams of sunlight bringing out the lovely autumn colours of trees and moors, were very typical of this part of the world, and the view was magnificent. Refreshed, we returned for our final session, when Professor S. Brodetsky gave a brilliant analysis of the Atlantic Charter, which he considered a landmark in the world's history, and though inadequate as a basis of a new world settlement, nevertheless an important beginning of common thinking between nations.

It was a happy and successful week-end, and we recommend this form of L.N.U. activity to other branches as likely to be the most profitable at the moment, and especially during the winter months when the black-out makes the holding of evening meetings so difficult. H. M. D.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

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the suggestion that war slogan posters might be left up after the war, and converted into Peace posters by substituting the word "Peace" for the words "War" and "Victory."

ALLESLEY BRANCH, although more than half the members were either evacuated or rendered homeless by enemy action, is still gallantly carrying on. The Junior Branch, which represents half-a-dozen schools, has taken over the distribution of NEWS SHEETS and holds fortnightly meetings. There are fortnightly discussions for senior members. At a recent meeting, held at Allesley House, by courtesy of Captain Strickland, M.P., and Mrs. Strickland, the speaker was a Canadian, Mrs. Evans, and the Junior Branch performed a play written by the Branch Secretary.

THE LOST PEACE

No one will read this great book without exhilaration and solid profit.* Here is wisdom and a native sense of history, and the authority of twenty years' personal share in international administration. Add to this something richer and rarer—travel over four continents with a purpose, on behalf of that talisman of social democracy and justice, the I.L.O., when the author met countless men and women of every kind, and saw with his own eyes the seeds of social ideas coming to bud—until the German jackboot stamped them into mud. A chapter on the League traces failure to lack of a strong lead by the Great Powers and of educative propaganda, so that people still thought of the world in 19th century terms; and to the violent hatred and sabotage of the Axis. No better explanation of to-day's *débâcle* will be found than following chapters on France, a leaderless house divided against itself; on Germany, with society and psychology unchanged in 1919, and still shot through with megalomaniac lust for power; and on the new States, who only wanted fifty years' peace or at least some constructive European policy from Britain and France to make good, but heard their death knell in 1936 when Germany was allowed to stage her come-back.

Yet interest will centre chiefly in what Mr. Butler says about the Lost Peace and To-morrow. The years after the last war—sick of the malady of no one taking trouble to make the Peace Treaties work properly—gave significance to two permanent points. No democratic country can live without economic and social security. And, failing this, European Youth vented desperate dissatisfaction with the working of government in various revolutionary movements—the easier because (save in Holland, Scandinavia, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia), the problem of

* THE LOST PEACE. By Harold Butler, Warden of Nuffield College. (Faber and Faber, 10s. 6d.)

strong executive and free play of popular representation was unsolved.

Above all, Mr. Butler urges, we must face realities, the world as we find it, when war ends. Separate nationalities there will be: they gave life to the resistance to Nazism; they mean vitality and variety for civilisation. Nevertheless, Isolationism whether for war or economics is stark dead. Emphasis will be on social reconstruction generally. There will be national planning, e.g., a saner balance of Agriculture and Industry; but, at the same time, calculated with some regard to a Continental policy which will benefit *all*, not only a preposterous *Herrenvolk*.

To begin with, Europe will be one Depressed Area. Only Britain and America—led by their two Great Men—can help immediately, with food, clothing, shelter and restoration of purchasing power. Machinery for this is to hand in the Allied war organisation of imports. It is all going to be an international job. And the League—Mr. Butler is uncertain of the extent or right time of its re-use—must contribute, notably through the I.L.O. and Economic Services.

European security, Mr. Butler suggests, must rest on a British pivot in the West, and a Russian in the East. Both nations are pacific. But the key to lasting peace lies in deeper mutual understanding between the British and American peoples. Furthering this the Dominions, as interpreting links, have a glorious role to play.

MAURICE FANSHAWE.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION DIARY FOR 1942

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AUTOCRACY IN IMPOTENCE

RUSSIA IN FLUX. By Sir John Maynard. (Gollancz. 7/6)

By means of a profound analysis of national character, literature and circumstance, Sir John Maynard provides us with a most convincing explanation of the 1917 Revolution. Those who know Russia and her outspoken writers will recognise this sombre picture of the giant, despairing mosaic of Russian history. Their only regret, that it stops in 1917. For ordinary readers a few guiding lines may help.

In the centre of the picture are the peasants, one-sixth of the peoples of the earth, living in vast, pervading open spaces, eternally wrestling with the incalculable forces of Nature; suffering rather than making their history. At heart they ever echoed Tolstoi's cry "No State for me." Even now their living standard is often like that of Northern India: the ultimate question, "Is there bread?"

On either side stand the State and the Greek Orthodox Church: each untouched by Renaissance or Reformation, each in its own way preparing for the Revolution. When it inspired respect and fear the State counted. Peter the Great lives to-day because he created a sort of totalitarian state in which all parts were subordinate to the whole. The Church, likewise, gave

to the Russian mind the idea that spiritual religion was present in the congregation as a whole: differing from the brotherhood meant being in outer darkness. So, when this "totalitarian integrality" reappeared, newly dressed, in Communism, it was familiar to workman and peasant.

But who made the Revolution? Certainly not the Bolsheviks, who were as surprised as any. Tsarism, in fact, committed suicide, the State ceased to exist. Like Topsy, the Revolution "grewed." The peasants shook off what they never felt they needed; and power fell into the street. Only the Bolsheviks had the courage to pick it up, to assume responsibility; and Lenin won because he enforced rigid, Jesuit-like discipline on a small party. He was helped by the army's acquiescence, by having at hand a sort of alternative local government in the Soviet system, existing subterraneously since 1905, and, above all, by giving the peasants peace and (against his better judgment) the land. Once they had the power, behind the loose confederation of communes, the chaos of each workman's control of industry, with which the Revolution began, the Bolsheviks started to plan for the restoration of a new discipline.

DURING THE LONG WINTER EVENINGS

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FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

From Sir George Young

SIR,—Your reviewer, in the November number, quotes from my *Federation and Freedom*—"if both (the U.K. and U.S.S.R.) are willing to work the European Union, it will work"—and objects that, granted the "if," a "better and bolder League" would be a simpler solution. No, sir. If the World League is not again to break down under responsibility for security and sanctions in respect of Europe, Asia and America, it must have, as a foundation, European and other *Federations*. Because National Sovereignty will otherwise be too strong for the structure of a World League, which must be a *Confederation*, and, therefore, failing federation, must be founded on, and function through, National sovereignties. Moreover, my solution, in his respect, is that of Lord Cecil.

GEORGE YOUNG.

The Little Peoples

SIR,—Having made many friends from among the little peoples, I should like to add a word of warning to Mr. Gordon Dromore's article of November, 1941. Both this country and the United States are apt to think of themselves as great democracies which are the envy of small countries. In fact, however, these small countries are much more apt to think of us as big Powers with the accent on the Powers, rather than as great democracies, and no wonder, for some of them are far more democratic than we are. It is difficult for me to imagine a Swiss or a Norwegian, for example, thinking of this country as a democracy at all, and when we start lecturing about democracy they put their tongues in their cheeks, and remember the remarks they constantly overhear, such as "These little countries contain some very nice people, but, of course, they don't count."

What we call "prestige" in the West and "face" in the East, the smaller countries call something quite different in

both directions. It is not the country that counts, it is the people that come out of it, and the eternal question at Geneva was not "What country is going to get on to the Council?" but "Who are they going to send?" Not only do small countries hate being bullied, they hate being preached to by great democracies or great anything else, and I don't blame them.

Great Yarmouth. A. BUXTON.

SIR,—I protest against the expression "stunted moron," used to describe Colonel Lindbergh in Mr. Dromore's article. The writer damns himself in his estimation of Colonel Lindbergh (he had better study that man's non-political activities before he went on "the other side"), and I resent the sully of HEADWAY'S pages by such an estimation. And this writer actually makes use of the expression "fair play" later in the article! London, N.W. 3. E. M. BEMBURY.

Religion and the League

SIR,—Many readers have deprecated the fact, expressed in Mr. Beale's words, quoted in the October number of HEADWAY, "of the complete absence from the Covenant, and from its attendant agreements, of any kind of recognition" of a source, outside and above man, from which comes the moral law of peace.

Our civilisation is based on Christianity; the February issue of HEADWAY, quoting from the "Manifesto," says: "the present evils in the world are due to the failure of nations and peoples to carry out the laws of God." This being so, must the League adopt a Neo-pagan attitude on account of the "people of all regions or none," and not attest its faith, that one day—

"A King shall reign in Righteousness,
"And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever."

A. M. W.

PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE

(Continued from page 7.)

Perhaps not, if the Hitler-Mussolini meeting was the commencement of the Axis. But it was the model on which the Axis was built. The actions of Mr. Eden in the long series of defiances of the League which followed are outstanding reliefs from a record of which the country does not now care to think.

Russia's Request

Russia's request that we should break off relations with Finland, Rumania and Hungary brought a crop of questions to Mr. Eden on November 19. In spite

of pressure, he gave no indication of the Government's policy, though undoubtedly a large majority of the members of the House would subscribe to Major Vyvyan Adams' dictum that the only possible basis of an alliance is common friends and common enemies. Of course, there is a complication in recent history with regard to Finland. No doubt the adjustment will come, and it is to be hoped that H.M. Government will not too long delay the decision that the Russian request demands.

HOW ARE THE FOUNDATIONS ?

(Continued from page 9.)

broadcast wave-lengths, or control of epidemics, or safety at sea confers no special advantage on the one defaulter in an otherwise loyal community; nor is there, in these cases, any special loss or peril (like the peril of the lone adherent to a generally flouted disarmament agreement) awaiting the loyal member in a community generally disloyal. Hence, in these matters, there are good prospects that agreements will be observed, as in fact they commonly are. Look at the list of League successes and failures and see if this is not the key to the classification!

More can be done to promote social welfare under this head than we have probably yet realised. The British Government is now distributing free milk (subject to means test), free fruit juice and cod liver oil (without discrimination) to infants. This kind of policy has surely come to stay; and not only here. As it develops the world over,

however, it must become plain that joint international arrangements for purchase and distribution of supplies will make for both cheapness and efficiency in its execution. And in such arrangements every party will gain by being included, and lose by being left out. In this case, to be the exception has neither attractions nor dangers. This deliberate and direct expansion of consumption is, moreover, wholly admirable, in and for itself. It is a simultaneous attack both upon malnutrition and upon the throwing-the-fish-back-into-the-sea business which is the outstanding disgrace of our economic practice. The fact that, when extended from the national to the international field, it does not run headlong into our still passionate (if anachronistic and suicidal) devotion to national sovereignty is an additional reason for putting all our weight behind it. Let's not make the same mistake twice!

THE UNION LIBRARY

A notice on page 13 draws attention to the facilities offered by the Union Library at Badminton School, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol. Readers may be interested to know that the Library is being widely and extensively used. Compared with this time last year, the number of people borrowing books is about trebled. At peak periods, i.e., just before the beginning of school terms, and in the autumn when Youth Groups and Branches are resuming their meetings, the Librarian sends out an average of 80 books a day.

Public libraries are among some of the most active borrowers—Cheltenham, for example, has a regular consignment of 30 books on loan. The National Central Library borrows many books each week for various libraries and commercial firms, among whom were recently the Foreign Office Library and Rowntree's of York. Requests for books have been received direct from training colleges and the educational departments of Local Government bodies.

The most widely studied subject seems to be, quite naturally, World Settlement after the War, with, in many cases, special reference to the economic questions at issue. Next in popularity comes the study of the history of countries in the forefront of the news, viz., France and the other occupied countries, Russia, the Balkans

and the U.S.A. League documents (especially the Health Section) and I.L.O. documents are also in good demand.

Some branches have asked for the loan of standard collections, to be used as the basis of local libraries for their members.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 5.)

lose," urged Mr. Spaak (Belgium). "It is not enough to talk or to proclaim our ideals. We must act."

The Conference did act. A committee was set up to prepare recommendations for collaboration in war and peace. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece signed a joint declaration providing for their working together as a unit for economic, social and other objectives and expressing the hope that in due course Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria would join. Lastly, the I.L.O.'s Emergency Committee was reconstituted, so as to make possible meetings on both sides of the Atlantic. Thus the International Labour Office, at Montreal and Geneva, will not have to work entirely on its own steam.

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