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# HEADWAY

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**GERMANY CAN  
BREAK THE  
PEACE CIRCLE  
BY JOINING IT**

—SIR NORMAN ANGELL

# HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

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## BEHIND THE NEWS

ON APRIL 14 the President of the United States sent an appeal and a warning to the heads of State of Germany and Italy.

Mr. Roosevelt begged Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to spare mankind the misery and ruin of another world war. Three States had been destroyed recently by force of arms; the peoples were afraid. Naming thirty countries in Europe, nearer Asia, and Northern Africa, he asked the dictators to give a pledge not to attack them. When he had received favourable answers he would attempt to secure similar guarantees from the other side. He would also join in discussions for world disarmament and for the removal of obstacles to world trade. There would be opportunities for the negotiation of political agreements.

"Here is the way of escape from disaster; I implore you to take it," was the President's appeal. His warning was implicit. "If you drive the world into the way of war you will find the judgment and resources of the world against you."

PERHAPS Mr. Roosevelt's bold initiative will fail of its intended effect. It may not turn the world towards a happier future. That depends not on himself but on the two powerful men he addressed. But already it has cleared the air.

From now onwards events will be seen in truer relation to one another; the causes and the motives behind them will be more obvious; the chances they offer for deception will be diminished.

Pacific professions alone will serve no longer; the words of peace must be made good by a policy of peace. No one who honestly means peace should hesitate for a moment to give the pledge for which Mr. Roosevelt has asked. A promise not to attack their neighbours presents no difficulty to those who would not in any circumstances commit an armed aggression. It would inconvenience only an aggressor whom it would put in the wrong at once before the tribunal of world opinion.

Points of procedure are too trivial to take into account; compared with the supreme good at which the President aims they do not deserve a moment's thought. They cannot have the weight of a feather in the answer to the one fundamental question: "Will you, at no sacrifice, since to renounce violence which you do not intend to use will cost you nothing, help to strengthen the fabric of peace by restoring the shaken confidence of other countries."

PROCEDURE and pique have figured largely in German and Italian commentaries on President Roosevelt's move.

Complaint is made that the rest of the world knew of the note through radio and the Press before it reached Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini. It was, in fact, telegraphed to Berlin and Rome more than twelve hours before it was published. If communications in the dictator countries are too slow to find the dictators in that ample period the blame rests at home and the inefficiency must be put right there.

Another point is that Mr. Roosevelt aimed at the German and Italian dictators and at them alone. He did. But men who pride themselves on being clear-sighted realists, superior to the wilful blindness and self-deception of the democracies, must have noticed that three countries in Europe, and only three, have been invaded and annexed during the last two years—Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Albania. Having carried off the swag, they ought not to take offence because Mr. Roosevelt has seen their swollen sacks.

Finally they resent the immediate welcome given to the note by the democratic governments. They suspect a conspiracy between Washington and London. It might have been wiser for British Ministers to have maintained a greater reserve; the appeal and warning was not addressed to them. But whatever they had done they would have been reproached; for some critics the most obstinate delay would have been too fast, and for others the utmost speed too slow. In many other countries, in South America, in the British Commonwealth, in Europe official approval was announced within a few hours; almost everywhere Press and public applauded enthusiastically.

These small matters deserve record only because it is ominously significant that much is made of them.

IN THE DICTATORSHIPS there has been systematic and prolonged evasion. The word is not too strong. In the democracies there are some misunderstandings.

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Mr. Roosevelt does not stand for things as they are, he is not concerned with them. He demands security for all as the necessary pre-condition of peaceful change. "Establish your claim in peaceful discussion," he says in effect, "and I will help you to obtain the removal of your just grievances." It is essentially the League of Nations plan.

Nor did Mr. Roosevelt propose the calling together forthwith of a world conference. His word, obviously most carefully chosen, was "discussions." His scheme was not headlong, impractical. In due course, if all went well, a conference would meet. But the ground would have been prepared beforehand and everything possible done to assure success. The full text of the President's note appears elsewhere in the present HEADWAY.

## NOT ACCEPTED

ON April 28 Herr Hitler replied to President Roosevelt at a special called meeting of the Reichstag. His two hours' speech did not accept the invitation to help to strengthen world peace. That is the crucial fact. All the rest, by comparison, means nothing at all. The moderation of many passages, the compliments to Great Britain, the profession of a desire for peace with Germany's neighbours were words, words, words. And the world has heard many words from Herr Hitler, which his acts have not made good.

HERE are some striking passages in which the speaker made high claims for himself:—

I am, however, now compelled to state that England's policy, both unofficially, and officially, leaves no doubt that the will and conviction that a war between England and Germany will never again be possible, is no longer shared in London, and that, on the contrary, the opinion prevails there that no matter in what conflict Germany should one day be entangled, Great Britain would always have to take her stand against Germany. Thus war against Germany is taken for granted in that country.

I most profoundly regret such a development, for the only claim on England I have ever made, and shall continue to make, is for the return of our colonies. But I have always made it very clear that this was never to become the cause of a military conflict.

Since England professes to hold the view that Germany should be opposed in all circumstances, and confirms this by the policy of encirclement, the basis for the naval treaty has been removed.

Mr. Chamberlain has gone to the utmost limit of concession to avert a conflict with Germany. All his ap-

peasement is ignored; he is told dogmatically, without a scrap of evidence, that he takes war against Germany for granted. But the high-handed treatment of facts was the character of Herr Hitler's speech from beginning to end. For example, forgetting Austria and Czechoslovakia, to both of whom he had given explicit guarantees, he dared to assert:

I have given binding declarations to a large number of States, and none of these States can complain that we have ever presented them with any demands conflicting with these declarations.

## TWO TREATIES TORN UP

HERR HITLER'S fervent professions present him as the chief champion of peace and good neighbourliness in Europe. But what he did was to tear up two treaties without reference to the other parties. Both those treaties were initiated by himself; in neither case was there any question of terms imposed upon an unwilling Germany.

The Naval Agreement with Great Britain contained no provision for its ending. No suggestion is made that Britain has failed to keep it. Simply Herr Hitler disliked Britain's stiffer policy in Europe, so into the waste-paper basket!

The German-Polish bargain had another five years to run. After 1944 either party could give six months' notice to terminate it. It bound Germany and Poland to settle all questions between them peacefully. Poland, said Herr Hitler, in perfunctory and irrelevant excuse, had received elsewhere a guarantee against aggression. Therefore he released himself offhand from his promise not to attack her.

This assertion, not now made for the first time, that he and he alone is the sole judge of how long his most formal agreements with other nations are valid, is the basic reason why Herr Hitler's promises have ceased to be acceptable. He seems unable to comprehend any system of law in which he is not both a litigant and sole judge. Whenever he chooses he disowns his own contracts and offers others in their place. But contracts from such a source are worthless.

THE BEST COMMENT on Herr Hitler's speech is that made unofficially by President Roosevelt: "The door is left an inch open."

Bilateral guarantees of non-aggression have been given before by Herr Hitler. He has defaulted on them to Austria and Czechoslovakia. Appeasement has been tried. There remains collective security. It has not been

tried and found to fail. It has been found difficult and has not been tried. It must now be worked, for it alone holds out a true promise of justice, freedom, and peace. However great its difficulties they can be overcome.

## OTHER PROMISES

HERR HITLER, at the Sport Palace, Berlin, on September 26:—

This is the last territorial claim which I have to make in Europe.

We do not want any Czechs. When the Czechs have come to an understanding with their other minorities (i.e., Hungarians and Poles) I shall not be interested in the Czech State any more, and, so far as I am concerned, I can guarantee it.

We do not want to see other nations among us. We want to live our own life, and we want other people to do the same. This doctrine leads to a limitation and restriction of our foreign policy. Our foreign political aims are consequently limited. They are not defined from case to case. They are firmly laid down in the determination that they must exclusively serve the German people.

Herr Hitler, in his letter to Mr. Chamberlain, on September 29:—

It is completely incorrect to maintain that Czechoslovakia in this manner would be crippled in her national existence or in her political and economic independence. I regret the idea of any attack on Czechoslovak territory. There can, therefore, be not the slightest question whatsoever of a check to the independence of Czechoslovakia.

Herr Hitler, at Saarbrücken, on October 9:—

Now, as a strong State, we can be ready to pursue a policy of understanding with surrounding States. We want nothing from them. We have no wishes, no claims.

TWO QUOTATIONS from the Prime Minister placed one after the other suffice to expose the world's rush towards ruin during the past seven months. Speaking to the crowd in Downing Street on the evening of September 30, immediately after his return from Berlin, he said:

This is the second time in our history that there has come from Germany to Downing Street peace with honour. I believe it is peace for our time.

On April 26 in the House of Commons Mr. Chamberlain, announcing that conscription was about to be enforced, supplied the disillusioned commentary:

I myself have renewed the pledge given by my predecessor that compulsory service would not be introduced during the life of this Parliament in peace-time. We are not at war now, but when every country is straining all its resources to be ready for war, when confidence in the maintenance of peace is being undermined and every one knows that if war were to come we might pass into it in a matter not of

weeks but of hours, no one can pretend that this is peace-time in any sense in which the term could fairly be used. (Ministerial cheers.)

Step by step events have followed their course of logical and foreseen development, in which Munich marked a decisive phase, and now the hideous conclusion emerges too clearly to be any longer denied.

### DAWN IN THE EAST?

IN the far East the sky brightens. It may be a false dawn, but those who know Asia best are most inclined to believe that aggression drifts towards defeat. Japan is no longer as sure as she was that violence pays. Her "special undeclared war" in China drags on, encountering always new obstacles, demanding always new sacrifices. Her promised gains not only continue to elude her; they dwindle steadily with the passage of time.

A ravished China can give Japan neither raw materials nor markets. Meanwhile the process of ravishment, while it inflates her budget with unproductive expenditure costs her daily many lives on the long lines of communication of her armies. Chinese irregulars take an unceasing toll. The lowest estimates place the number of Japanese soldiers killed each week, in ones and twos and threes somewhere in the vast theatre of operations, at 1,000. And now in many places large Chinese forces, newly trained and armed, are coming into action; their attacks are shaking the ramshackle structure of Japanese occupation.

In the days of their warfare with Chiang Kai-Shek, the Chinese Communist armies elaborated the technique of the "short attack." They became expert in picking vulnerable points, in concentrating under cover, in launching sudden surprise attacks, in snatching an immediate success, or in breaking off the fight as soon as the defence rallied dangerously. The same tactics have been carried over, most dangerously for the Japanese, into the struggle against the foreign invader.

FINDING themselves in difficulties for which they had made quite insufficient allowance, the Japanese are showing signs of a returning moderation. One is their refusal to bind themselves to the German war chariot. Despite the severest pressure, often repeated, the Tokio Government has persisted in declaring that Japan cannot become a party to any European quarrel, and that her adhesion to the Anti-Communist Pact does not entail hostility to the democracies. This firmness is known to

have caused grave annoyance in Berlin. There is no reason to suspect its genuineness. Japanese selfishness may not always be enlightened, but it is alert and obstinate. And in the rôle of cat's paw for the dictators Japan would run great risks for the benefit of others. Japan is ready to use the dictators for her own purposes, but does not intend to be used by them. If she is not careful she will find herself degraded from the rank of "honorary Aryan," conferred on her by the race illusionists of Berlin.

AT the eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow on March 10, Mr. Stalin, defined Russian foreign policy. It had, he declared, four objects:—

- (1) Peace, and the strengthening of business-like relations with all countries.
- (2) Close and neighbourly relations with all countries which have a common frontier with the U.S.S.R.
- (3) Support for nations which are the victims of aggression.
- (4) Retaliation against any instigator of war who might attempt to infringe the integrity of the Soviet borders.

IN WORCESTER CATHEDRAL, preaching to a congregation of 3,000 persons, the Archbishop of Canterbury said:

It is a challenge which must be met for the sake of the world itself. In our own country and in other like-minded countries there must be defence of things that are more sacred even than peace.

I have often quoted a saying that peace itself is not an ideal. It is a state of things that depends on the achievement of the ideals of justice and freedom.

I think we can honestly pray for our country to face the challenge that has been flung out against these sacred things. We are moved by no selfish national ambitions, but confronted with a fundamental moral issue from which it is impossible to escape and as to which it is impossible to be neutral.

### STATES WHICH ARE A DANGER

CARDINAL GOMA, Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain, has warned those who are seeking to divorce religion from the new State. "The revolt of our martyrs against the tyranny of an iniquitous State is a fact of great importance which must make us reflect." States which strive to suppress and absorb human personality are a danger.

The pantheistic State and exaggerated nationalism are grave errors which the Church has always condemned, and which it condemns now. Spain must

guard against "foreign infiltrations" which endanger the treasure of the faith.

HEADWAY readers will remember the contributions to its columns of the Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr. Mr. Hofmeyr has been installed Chancellor of the Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg. In his address on that occasion, he said:—

The greatest conflict in the world to-day is that between the spirit of democracy and the spirit of authoritarianism.

In that conflict no university worthy of its great traditions can fail to range itself on the side of democracy as a vehicle for the free human spirit and for the expression of the principle of freedom. Freedom for all to develop their capacities to the fullest extent is perhaps of special significance in South Africa, and as a nation we will be judged undemocratic in proportion as we deprive non-European races of the freedom to develop.

Mr. Hofmeyr condemned as "utterly vile and contemptible" the pandering to base feelings and the reversion to barbarism that some politicians desired in respect to natives, coloured people, and Asiatics. Others who had adopted the principles of Christian trusteeship of the native people and the maintenance and the protection of the rights of Asiatics who had made the Union of South Africa their home must not allow themselves to be stamped.

### CONSCRIPTION

THE QUESTION is being asked where does the League of Nations Union stand on conscription. The answer is that conscription is not the Union's business, which is defined in its Royal Charter.

The subject was raised at the meeting of the Executive Committee on April 27, but the Chairman ruled that it was not one on which the Union ought to express an opinion any more than on any other item of domestic policy. Members of the Union would, of course, express their individual opinions about the merits of conscription, but it should not be made the subject of discussion or resolution either by the Executive or Branches of the Union.

ONE ASPECT of the conscription issue, however, has so special an interest for supporters of the League cause that a reference here must be forgiven. In the world of to-day conscription in Great Britain is no longer the exclusive business of the British people; it concerns others almost as intimately. What will be the effect on Britain's friends abroad and on her possible enemies? Now that the Government has proposed compulsory service, what would be the effect on the one and the other of its withdrawal? Perhaps peace or war hangs on the answer to these questions. The nations have grown so close together, their fortunes are so

completely caught up in the common web, that home affairs now are international affairs.

THE Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has adopted a resolution in which:

Noting Japan's aggression in the East and the manifest danger that Germany and Italy may continue their series of aggressive blows in the West; and noting that huge quantities of raw materials required for war purposes have been imported lately by these countries from the British Empire; it reaffirms the Union's oft-repeated demand for concerted measures to withhold purchasing power and war supplies, including oil, from Japan; and urges that immediate action should be taken, by governmental purchases or otherwise, to stop exports of war material from British Empire sources to Germany and Italy. Every effort should be made to secure the co-operation of France, Russia, the United States and the Netherlands.

### TO HELP THE L.N.U.

MEMBERS and friends of the L.N.U. who have beautiful gardens are asked to help the Birthday Fund by admitting the public to them on a specified day during the summer at an entrance fee of 1s. per head. Branches can co-operate by making up parties of members to visit the gardens which are being shown.

The Secretary of the Union will be glad to hear both from owners of gardens who wish to help and from members who can suggest names of individuals who might be invited to do so. To meet the wishes of the Queen's Institute of District Nursing, it has been agreed that the Union will refrain from approaching anyone whose name is on the list of those who open their gardens for the benefit of the Queen's Institute. These should, therefore, not be included in suggestions sent in.

Some Branch Committees will prefer to make their own arrangements with owners of gardens in their area. In such cases, particulars should be sent as soon as possible to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, so that they may be included in the lists which will be printed in forthcoming issues of HEADWAY.

A PART FROM the fact that the League has lost more members and may shortly lose others, League comment on the crisis must be brief if it is to avoid plunging into back history. A League commentator would, however, be more than human if he did not note with a certain regretful satis-

faction that His Majesty's Government seem to be thinking, at long last, in terms of collective security, a phrase which a few months ago had to be uttered almost *sotto voce*, even in Geneva.

### COVENANT, OR WAR

OF DIRECT LEAGUE ACTION there can be no question as things stand. M. Benes' appeal under Article 10 of the Covenant when Czecho-Slovakia was annexed was of course "not receivable" since it did not emanate from a Sovereign State. One cannot do better than conclude, at the risk of repetition, with the oft-repeated slogan of a well-known international journalist,—who, incidentally, was deprived by his Government of his nationality for having dared to say it so often: "*En dehors du Pacte, il n'y a que la guerre.*"

THERE IS no denying the acute anxiety caused in Switzerland by the destruction of Czechoslovakia. The absorption of Austria may have raised delicate and dangerous problems of frontier neighbourhood. But the Swiss could at least hug to themselves the comforting thought that Austria

was taken over in the name of self-determination, and could cherish the illusion that Germans were thus returning gladly to Germany, while insisting that the 71 per cent. German-speaking population of Switzerland were not German, but Swiss, and therefore no proper objective for Herr Hitler's racial ambitions.

The brutal enslavement of 8,000,000 Slavs, and the undisguised strategic preoccupations of the Reich in the adventure, must have come as a shock to all those Swiss who had been content to feed on illusions. If 8,000,000 Czechs were not safe, because Germany needed a highway to the Black Sea and the Near East, what are the chances of 3,000,000

German-Swiss weighed against the importance of the St. Gotthard route, to name but one of the strategic advantages for the Reich arising out of the subjugation of Switzerland? Add to this the fact that Eastern Switzerland has been for long honeycombed with Nazi intrigue, and the deep underlying disquiet of the Swiss people may readily be understood.

WHAT will the Swiss Government's policy be? It can be assumed: (1) that Switzerland will refuse to join any alignment of European Powers directed, even defensively, against any other Power or combination of Powers. To act otherwise would be to stultify Switzerland's whole foreign policy, in particular, the much-prized policy of "integral neutrality"; (2) that if Switzerland is attacked from any quarter, Switzerland will fight.

The controversy ranging round the High Command in the Swiss Army has been at last resolved, under the menace from the North. "The colonels have laid down the pen and resumed the sword." No further joint declarations will be made by the Chambers. The representatives of the Confederation hold that they said all that they had to say on this subject in March of last year.

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## THE TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S NOTE

President Roosevelt's appeal and warning to Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini marks a turning point in world history. It will be referred to continually. It is printed here in full in order that "Headway's" readers may have it conveniently at hand.



### IN CONSTANT FEAR OF A NEW WAR

You realise, I am sure, that throughout the world hundreds of millions of human beings are living to-day in constant fear of a new war or even a series of wars. The existence of this fear—and the possibility of such a conflict—is of definite concern to the people of the United States, for whom I speak, as it must also be to the peoples of other nations of the entire Western hemisphere. All of them know that any major war, even if it were to be confined to other continents, must bear heavily on them during its continuation, and also for generations to come.

Because of the fact that after the acute tension in which the world has been living during the past few weeks there would seem to be at least a momentary relaxation—because no troops are at this moment on the march—this may be an opportune moment for me to send you this message.

#### All the World Will Suffer

On a previous occasion I have addressed you on behalf of the settlement of political, economic, and social problems by peaceful methods and without resort to arms. But the tide of events seems to have reverted to the threat of arms. If such threats continue it seems inevitable that much of the world must become involved in common ruin. All the world, victor nations, vanquished nations, and neutral nations, will suffer. I refuse to believe that the world is of necessity such a prisoner of destiny. On the contrary, it is clear that the leaders of great nations have it in their power to liberate their peoples from the disaster that impends.

It is equally clear that in their minds and in their own hearts the peoples themselves desire that their fears be ended. It is, however, unfortunately necessary to take cognisance of recent facts. Three nations in Europe and one in Africa have seen their independent existence terminated.

A vast territory in another independent nation of the Far East has been occupied by a neighbouring State. Reports which we trust are not true insist that further acts of aggression are contemplated against still other independent nations. Plainly, the world is moving towards the moment when this situation must end in catastrophe unless a more rational way of guiding events is found.

You have repeatedly asserted that you and the (Italian or German) people have no desire for war. If this is true there need be no war. Nothing has persuaded the peoples of the earth that any governing Power has any right or need to inflict the consequences of war on its own or any other people save in the

cause of self-evident home defence. In making this statement we as Americans speak not from selfishness or fear or weakness. If we speak now it is with the voice of strength and friendship for mankind.

It is still clear to me that international problems can be solved at the council table. It is therefore not necessary to the plea for peaceful discussion for one side to plead that unless they receive assurances beforehand that the verdict will be theirs they will not lay aside their arms. In conference rooms, as in courts, it is necessary that both sides enter upon discussion in good faith, assuming that substantial justice will accrue to both, and it is customary and necessary that they leave their arms outside the room where they confer.

I am convinced that the cause of world peace would be greatly advanced if the nations of the world were to obtain a frank statement relating to the present and future policy of the Governments.

#### A Friendly Intermediary

Because the United States, as one of the nations of the Western hemisphere, is not involved in the immediate controversies which have arisen in Europe, I trust that you may be willing to make such a statement of policy to me, as head of a nation far removed from Europe, in order that I, acting only with the responsibility and obligation of a friendly intermediary, may communicate such declaration to other nations now apprehensive as to the course which the policy of your Government may take.

Are you willing to give assurance that your armed forces will not attack or invade the territory or possessions of the following independent nations:—Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain and Ireland, France, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Russia, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Iraq, the Arabias, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Iran?

Such an assurance clearly must apply not only to the present day but also to a future sufficiently long to give every opportunity to work by peaceful methods for a more permanent peace.

I therefore suggest that you construe the word "future" to apply to a minimum period of assured non-aggression—10 years at the least—a quarter of a century if we dare look that far ahead.

If such an assurance is given by your Government I will immediately transmit it to the Governments of the nations I have named, and I will simultaneously inquire whether, as I am reasonably sure, each of the nations enumerated above will in their turn give a like assurance for transmission to you.

Reciprocal assurances such as I have outlined will bring to the world an immediate measure of relief. I propose that, if they are given, two essential problems shall promptly be discussed in the resulting peaceful surroundings, and in those discussions the Government of the United States will gladly take part.

#### The Brink of Economic Disaster

The discussions which I have in mind relate to the most effective and immediate manner through which the peoples of the world can obtain progressive relief from the crushing burden of armament which is each day bringing them more closely to the brink of economic disaster.

Simultaneously, the Government of the United States would be prepared to take part in discussions looking towards the most practical manner of opening up avenues of international trade to the end that every nation of the world may be enabled to buy and sell on equal terms in the world's market, as well as to possess assurances of obtaining the materials and products of peaceful economic life.

At the same time those Governments other than the United States which are directly interested, could undertake such political discussions as they might consider necessary or desirable.

We recognise the complex world problems which affect all humanity, but we know that study and discussion of these must be held in an atmosphere of peace. Such an atmosphere of peace cannot exist if negotiations are overshadowed by the threat of force or by the fear of war.

I think you will not misunderstand the spirit of frankness in which I send you this message. Heads of great Governments in this hour are literally responsible for the fate of humanity in the coming years. They cannot fail to hear the prayers of their peoples to be protected from the foreseeable chaos of war. History will hold them accountable for the lives and happiness of all—even unto the least.

I hope that your answer will make it possible for humanity to lose fear and regain security for many years to come.

## HITLER AND UNION POLICY

SIR NORMAN ANGELL

NOTHING is to be gained by refusing to recognise the astuteness of a great deal of Hitler's reply to President Roosevelt.

Hitler says that he is prepared to give the guarantee for which the President asks if it is asked for by and given to each of the States named individually, and is reciprocal; if, that is, each undertakes not to make war upon Germany. In other words, Hitler is in favour, as he has always expressed himself to be, of a series of bi-lateral peace agreements and opposed to collective arrangements. He favours a separate peace pact with each State.

See what it means. Germany solemnly promises not to go to war with Ruritania, in return for which promise Ruritania pledges itself not to go to war with Germany, unless, of course, directly attacked by Germany. That is to say, if German forces are engaged in war with one of Ruritania's neighbours, Ruritania cannot go to the assistance of that neighbour, since it is not Ruritania which has been attacked. It makes any collective arrangement for mutual defence between Germany's neighbours impossible. Each of those neighbours, knowing that the bi-lateral peace pacts with Germany preclude others coming to its aid in common and collective defence, is obliged to make with the Reich the best terms it can. In other words, the individual peace pacts will enable Germany to continue that process of ever-extending "peaceful" domination which she has pursued so successfully during the last two years in the cases of Austria and Czechoslovakia.

The danger will be the greater just because the appeasement offered in Hitler's speech will be regarded with real sincerity by the mass of the German people as an offer of peace. And we can hardly blame the Germans for confusing peace and "appeasement" since great sections of our own people have suffered under that precise confusion.

Hitler is indeed to-day preaching what the British opponents of the League have been consistently preaching for years. If, says Hitler, in effect, two parties have a difference let them settle it between themselves directly, "bilaterally"; don't call in all the neighbours to complicate and bedevil the issue. It is in precisely such terms that a large part of the British Press urged that the difference between China and Japan in 1931 and between Italy and Abyssinia in 1935 be "kept away from Geneva." Much of our Press then argued: "Let the parties concerned settle it between them." We know the result.

Hitler is not prepared to surrender armed defence. Nor are we. They are bad arguments, intellectually dishonest, if you mean to defend your nation by arms. For all defence means "threatening war." It involves saying to the potential aggressor, "If you do things which we regard as attack—invade our homeland, or colonies, or protectorates, or possessions, or seize our ships, we shall make war on you." And the assumption is that if your threat to go to war in the event of these things being done is backed by sufficient power, they will not be done, and your defence will be a peaceful defence.

"Threatening war" is regarded by Hitler, as by most critics of the Covenant, as normal and right. He says in effect:—

Defend yourselves singly, individually. That is right. But you shall not combine with others for collective defence; for that is encirclement. I am prepared to give an absolute guarantee to each of you never to make war upon you, if each of you will do the same thing so far as Germany is concerned.

Now it is perfectly clear that to undertake never to fight a nation until we ourselves are attacked, never, that is, to enter a defensive confederation, is to condemn all lesser States to the domination of one greater one. The only possible means by which weaker States can possibly confront a stronger is for the weaker to combine together.

It is a very elementary social principle that the basis of all law, all equality of right, is the defence of the weak against the strong. If we repudiate this, and allow others to be overcome one by one, we shall find ourselves without allies when our turn comes to resist the strong, shall find ourselves at his mercy.

Yet, if we were not on our guard, this offer of Hitler's to undertake never to make war upon any of his neighbours if they will undertake not to commit themselves to make war upon Germany might have been accepted by us; for it is of the very essence of that "appeasement" which has consisted in acquiescing in aggression against others if only the aggressor will promise to leave us alone. Hitler's theme that it is right and good to defend your own country, but bad to defend the law, bad to interfere in the quarrels of others, to attempt to defend them, is not merely the view which the isolationists of the Beaverbrook type have advocated for years, but is the view of most of the Covenant "reformers," who would eliminate its mutual assistance clauses as "coercive." To defend yourselves singly—and hopelessly—is not, it would appear "coercive." To defend yourselves in company with others, and this effectively, is coercive. Hitler agrees.

There is one simple criterion for distinguishing between the defence which is coercive and that which is not. If we defend a law, or constitution, or code, or covenant, which offers to those against whom we arm the same rights that we ourselves claim under it, then obviously it is no more "coercive" to him than to us. It is not encirclement because the other can at any moment break the circle by joining it.

\* \* \*

Incidentally, we do not perhaps fully realise how great a vindication of the L.N.U. policy is the recent change of attitude on the part of the British Government. We of the Union have always insisted that the danger would steadily increase so long as the collective principle, the obligation to support the victim of aggression, was ignored and repudiated. When this forecast was fulfilled and the danger became so visible, so obvious, as to be no longer capable of concealment or disguise, then at long last the bitterest critics of the policy of the League of Nations Union invoke its policy. Let us hope it is not—once more—too late.

The guarantees which are now very rightly given to Poland carry, as the whole world knows, infinitely greater risks than inherent in similar guarantees given under the Covenant to Manchuria or to Abyssinia.

The reason for reminding ourselves of this bit of history is obvious enough. It would seem to indicate that we can only be stimulated to do the right thing when peril and catastrophe is almost on top of us. And that is equivalent to saying that as soon as the danger seems to pass (not necessarily at all when it actually has passed, for the danger has been developing all the time this last seven years) we shall slip back once more into the old perilous complacency and decide that it is a safer policy to appease the aggressor than to defend his victim.

# GERMANY AND THE ROOSEVELT APPEAL

By GORDON SHEPHERD

*who has travelled widely in Germany and knows the country and the people well*

IN 1919 it was not only the diplomats of Europe who tried to relight the lamps which the war had blown out. Between the Rhine and the Meuse there was a square of shattered land where for four years the common people of Germany, France, and Belgium had been locked in a struggle they none of them wanted or understood. Here, at the Peace as during the fight, the three peoples were thrown together: dotted lines were drawn round the Germans of Eupen-Malmédy and Lothringen, and they were brought under the Belgian and French flags; Allied soldiers moved into the Rhineland and Saar, many of them to marry German women and settle. Inevitably, countless associations of friend and foe sprang up, a new brotherhood based on sorrow and built up with hope. Most moving of these was a League of Women, of the mothers of France, Belgium, and Germany, who swore to rear their sons never to kill one another. It was the Geneva Covenant without ink or paper, and for years this little borderland league grew and flourished. Then, surf-riding on the repressions of a nation, the Nazi movement came to power in Germany. It came to destroy the Settlement and the internationalism in which it was framed. So the Government outlawed and destroyed this League of Women, and the German mothers were pointedly reminded of their part in the great new war machine.

## Is There a Will to Peace?

That little story illustrates the greatest problem of world politics today, a problem which looms greater than any patriotic phobia, though it is not dreamed of by the diplomat's philosophy. Does a real will to peace and understanding still exist among the people of all nations? Or have the claws of propaganda so rent that Christian fabric of which the European consciousness is woven that nothing but the gaps and the memories of unity remain?

Consider this most topical case of the appeal of President Roosevelt to the German Government. One writes "German Government" in that political jargon which is the air we breathe: yet surely no appeal was ever sent out more directly to the very heart of a people itself. Roosevelt has asked the simple question: "Will you work with us for peace?" It is the one ques-

tion a peasant can answer as ably as a statesman. Hitler must reply not in the name of a political creed, but in the name of a nation of men. Roosevelt has made him spokesman, not dictator, of the Germans. Yet it is clear that Hitler's answer—whether rejection, part rejection, or evasion—will not be acceptance. Is he in this the true spokesman of his countrymen? We know what the Nazi thinks of the Roosevelt Note. But what does the German think?

## Lessons From Personal Experience

German public opinion is too cruelly stifled for us to give a direct answer. All one can do is to patch together inference with one's own personal experience of the people.

First, in seeking for genuine reactions among the German people, we must separate out the fanatical National-Socialists, who are more walking pamphlets than units of the human race. One estimate is that Germany today contains a population 35 per cent. of which is in frenzied support of the régime, 50 per cent. indifferent at heart, and 15 per cent. more or less hostile. That 35 per cent. may be called the Nazis proper. They are mainly to be found in the Regular Army and the police and paramilitary units, among the vast bureaucracy which affords meteoric advancement for the bourgeois careerist, and, most tragically, in the German youth now at school, who are spoon-fed from kindergarten with party doctrine. This 35 per cent. is a dead echo of official speeches. The reply Hitler gives in the Reichstag they will repeat. We cannot look for spontaneous opinion among these people. Something ghastly has happened to them. They have lost more than the ability to voice their thoughts. They have lost the *will* to think.

## Indifferent and Hostile

The ranks of the indifferent and hostile are varied: we see persecuted Jews, Communists, Catholics, and Protestants; intellectuals driven from the universities; aristocrats who have watched their social prestige abased; Junkers who despise the new democratised officer class and mistrust the Italian army; even industrialists, supposedly staunch for Hitler, who are yet finding the Nazi autarchy more exacting than trade depression.

These are the people who can still think. What does the peace offer mean to them?

Let us, to begin with, cite some of the influences which might make for a favourable reception of the Roosevelt Note. First, the offer does come from a popular nation. Americans, Englishmen, and Swedes are the three peoples best liked by the average German. That is not merely a statement which I personally have found true the length and breadth of Germany: it is a popular statistic of every German tourist agency.

Second comes the great fact that, in spite of a long military tradition, the German people remain a peace-loving people, opposing to the notion of war all the instinctive repugnance of the highly-cultured nation they are. The Prussian soul may be as unyielding as the Prussian army boot, and the Prussian baby may be born with spurs on. But Prussia is not Germany, and never will be. The Austrians, even Goebbels had to complain, were a kindly people, "von Gemütlichkeit vermindert," while the Rhinelander, as is well known, has more wine in his veins than blood. All this seems only natural of a people so supremely fertile in culture and the arts of peace. But what is more, even Nazi doctrine must needs recognise it.

## War Not Deified

Hitler never screams at his people those deifications of war which have wormed their way into the permanent body of the Italian Fascist doctrine: "War is to man what maternity is to woman. War alone puts the stamp of nobility on a people. We do not believe in peace." Is it not significant for our purpose that whereas naked conquest of alien peoples nakedly avowed is the main plank of Fascist aggression, every German coup to date has been worked up and justified to the German people as the incorporation of oppressed brothers into the glorious Reich? The doctrine of "Volkstum" may be a distorted one, but it ends with the "Volk." That all talk of incorporation is a mere word-screen may be true, but it is beside the real point, which is that the German leaders do not deify bare conquest in Europe because they do not get the right response. I have yet to meet the German with an enthusiasm even for a colonial empire which is comparable

to the spontaneous Imperialism of the Briton. For them the Bismarck tradition still holds: Germany's destiny is in Mittel-Europa, within the cradle of her people.

We have now reached this point in our enquiry: to our plain Herr Schmidt the Roosevelt Note (assuming he knows its details fairly) starts off with the advantage of coming from a popular quarter of the world (though not, perhaps, in the most popular way, as we shall show below). Further, its request for non-aggression guarantees all round will harmonise with his fundamental indifference to "inorganic expansion" (though, be it noted, there are Germans "unclaimed" in eight of the bordering States Roosevelt named). Finally, the word of peace and the idea of peace will appeal to a heart which is still deeply human and deeply religious.

## Two Fears

To these positive influences we must add two negative ones: two fears, which incidentally, apply also to those 35 per cent. sleepwalkers we have been excluding. There is, first, the fear of encirclement, that obsession of an "Einkreisungspolitik" by hostile Powers to east and west, which I have found widespread among all classes of older Germans, and which the Goebbels Press has just revived. There is, second, the fear that the combined strength of the Powers ranged now against Germany would crush her steadily in the advent of war. No amount of race doctrine injections has numbed the German mind to the memory of his last defeat, nor ever will. Thus to the influences which make the German naturally favourable to the idea of comprehensive peace settlement must be added those fears which he feels towards the outcome of a European war.

But what, on the other side, will antagonise the Germans in the Roosevelt Note? Here, again, we meet the problem of how far the redeemable 65 per cent. of the people have been transformed by the propaganda they hear and read. One thing is certain: we cannot take the Goering-Goebbels Press tirade as representative of the national view. Whereas the Italian is inspired by propaganda, the German is more numbed by it. He feels, as his own expressive word puts it, "stumpf." The mere sound of that word conveys what I mean.

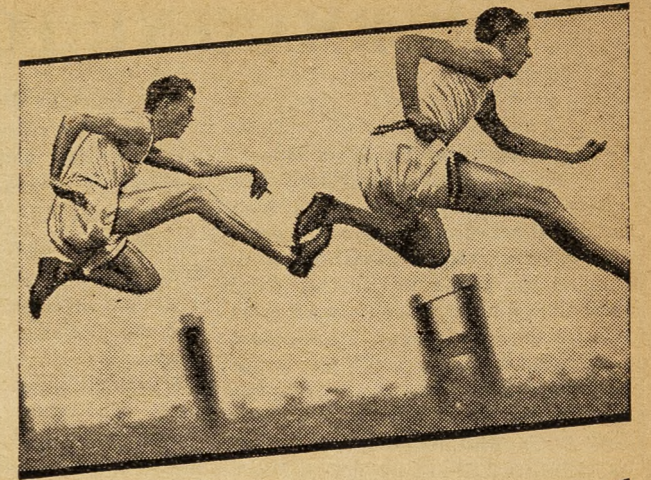
## Two Resentments

Yet I think the Note will arouse two genuine resentments. There is, first, the fact that the Roosevelt Note is a Peace Plan levelled at Germany by an American President. That will recall visions of 1918—a broken army, a starving people, the stirring idealism of Woodrow Wilson, and the hard facts of the sequel to that idealism in a soldiers' peace. There is no earth deep enough to bury history like that.

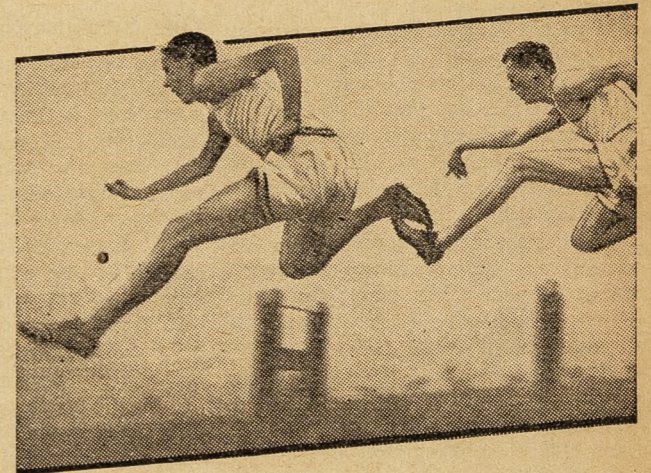
Further, the Note openly advocates international conciliation. This will arouse in almost any German, first, a distaste for sitting at the same green table as Russia, and, second, a bitter contempt for Geneva open diplomacy. I do not say these feelings were not stimulated by propaganda. I do say that now they would go on without propaganda, and that is what concerns us here.

But it seems clear that, in so far as one can weigh these imponderables, honest German public opinion would come down more heavily on the side of the Roosevelt Note than against it. The average non-fanatic German I know will welcome the move because he likes America and Americans, Britain and Britons; because he has no love for that bare conquest which the Note is meant to insure against; because he fears the combined strength and strategy which lurks behind the Note; and, above all, because his own deep humanity has not yet been quenched.

We know enough of the sinews of war. Let us take comfort from these, the sinews of peace.



*Over and*



*Over again!*

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# A PERMANENT POLICY FOR PEACE

By VISCOUNT CECIL

THE message of President Roosevelt to Germany and Italy has set before public opinion with characteristic clearness and courage the issue whether crude nationalism is to dominate the world or whether there is still time for the peace-loving Powers to insist that justice and international co-operation shall have the last word. That is a challenge to us all. In what general direction should our foreign policy move with the object of securing, as far as possible, permanent peace in the world, and especially in Europe?

Germany, Italy, and Japan, with one or two smaller countries attached to them, seem to be determined to object to all forms of international control in foreign affairs and to most forms of international co-operation. The countries that rely upon this doctrine can only be described as international Nihilists, in spite of the fact that they make a great parade of their opposition to Bolshevik government as an anarchic creed: the doctrine means complete international anarchy.

As the years have proceeded the position has become more and more clearly defined. The underlying contention is—and this is the contention we must meet—that each sovereign country is a complete law unto itself. No treaty binds it against its own interest; none of the doctrines of international law are recognised as effective, even though some have been accepted by the civilised world for many years and even for several centuries.

## All Obligations Rejected

The two recent instances of the seizure of Czechoslovakia and of Albania have been recognised by practically the whole of the civilised world as striking examples of the rejection of all obligations, moral and legal, by the aggressor States; and the Japanese invasion of Manchuria has been similarly condemned. It is plain that in practice the action taken by these States, not less by the Japanese Government than by Germany and Italy, constitutes an extreme danger to all other countries. It is much as if in any country you had bands of brigands going about controlled by chiefs who were either very bad or very mad. That these proceedings injure the victims of aggression is obvious, of course; but they constitute, also, a grave danger to all other States, particularly and especially perhaps to the British Empire, since its whole prosperity, and even its existence, are bound

up with the maintenance of international peace and order.

Sometimes the point is discussed whether it is right for this country to fight for Czechoslovakia or Albania. That is a most misleading way of putting the problem. It is not a question whether we should fight for this or that country which is a victim of aggression. The whole question is whether we are going to fight, if necessary, for the maintenance of law and order in international affairs. The Foreign Secretary has intimated that we stand for the cause of law and order, if for no other reason, in the interests of self-defence.

## One Fundamental Principle

The one fundamental principle on which all international relations must be based is the readiness to fulfil international undertakings. Of course, that does not mean that there should never be any negotiation or concession or discussion in any international difficulty. It merely means that concessions should not be made in such circumstances as will lead to the conclusion that they are the result either of force or of indifference to the rights of others.

What steps should be taken in the direction of enduring peace? At the moment it may well be that there is nothing to be done except to increase our armaments and increase our alliances for peace, though I confess I should very much prefer a general peace alliance rather than these piecemeal declarations. But I do not believe, and I do not think the Government believe, that any such policy can be of permanent value. If it goes on it must end in dividing the world more and more into two parts; and though it may be for the moment possible to draw to our side so large a proportion of the strength that the anarchic Powers will not venture to challenge us, yet even that seems far from certain. If we were to establish it as the permanent solution of our difficulties, it would sooner or later lead to just such a catastrophe as occurred in 1914, only under circumstances which, owing to the advance of science—if that is the way one must put it—have become very much worse than they were then.

You may say broadly that Napoleon's dictum that any war in Europe was of the nature of a civil war is ten times, a hundred times, more true now than it ever was in his day. That is the central fact on which our foreign

policy must be built, and it is altogether inconsistent with the purely nationalistic point of view, which regards each country as an entirely separate entity which need take no account of any other country.

Our great objects must be, in the first place, to foster in Europe, and, indeed, in the world, co-operation for common objects, whether they be humanitarian or social or intellectual. Secondly, we ought to elaborate international machinery for the peaceful settlement of all controversies, open to everyone, and giving as far as possible every guarantee of impartiality. And, finally, in the event of all efforts of peaceful settlement of a controversy breaking down, there must be some means of preventing any nation from throwing its sword into the balance and trying to enforce a settlement by violence according to its own views.

Granted the principle of national interdependence, and the consequent necessity of settling international disputes without war, it follows that it becomes the supreme interest of every country that it should accept this doctrine of co-operation against an aggressor, whoever he may be. It may be said, perhaps with truth, that there must be a limit, for it is impossible to ask far distant countries, such as those in South America, for instance, to co-operate for peace in Europe; and it may well be, therefore, that it is essential to break the world up, as it were, into regions, where the full obligation of combining for peace will prevail. To whatever extent that may be true, yet the broad principle remains that peace is indivisible; that is to say that if you propose in any region to have a peace system, let us say for Europe, then, wherever it is broken in that region, it inflicts an injury on all those who are trying to keep the peace.

## Shock to Cause of Peace

No one can consider recent history without realising that the whole cause of peace has been affected by such an event as the seizure of Czechoslovakia or the invasion of Albania, and it is for that reason, no doubt, that the Government's policy of alliance has become essential as an emergency measure, but, though it is essential as an emergency measure, I submit that it is insufficient as a permanent policy. For instance, it is quite obvious that

it is exceedingly difficult to collect, one by one, countries that will join our peace alliance. All sorts of local and national difficulties arise. Moreover, it is a great disadvantage that a restricted peace alliance is necessarily and inevitably an alliance against someone—in this case against Germany and Italy. That is in itself a very bad thing and, as I see it, quite unnecessary. You do not want to create two groups or the old balance of power. That was never a good system, even at its best, because it means a kind of perpetual threat of war, and any attempt to revive it would be disastrous, in view of the immensely increased destructiveness of modern warfare.

## Not Only Prevention

Moreover, it is wrong as a permanent policy to have a system which simply aims at preventing aggression and nothing else. That is open to the criticism that you are trying to crystallise the *status quo*, which is certainly not a good thing. It is probably wrong and certainly impracticable. Things change, and we must change with them. Therefore machinery for peaceful change is just as necessary as collective security. In the same way another essential for anything like permanent peace is a reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement. Nothing will persuade me, as long as competition in armaments goes on in the way it is going on now, that there can be anything like real, permanent, enduring, stable peace. International disarmament is a very difficult proposition under any circumstances, but under a system of groups of nations it will become intrinsically impossible.

Any system of peace must be based on this—that every nation has a right to come into it, that there is to be no exclusion of any country, and that while, on the one hand, adequate machinery must be provided for settling international disputes without war, by negotiation or arbitration, on the other hand there must be overwhelming force available to peace-loving countries to put a stop to aggression if it takes place. That does not mean, as some people have said, that all nations must be ready to combine for security. It is enough if you have in your peace combination sufficient power to prevent any chance of successful aggression. It is not essential that all should combine for peace. It is essential that all must have an equal right to the justice which you seek to enforce.

It may be said, and with truth, that the ideas which I have been sketching are the foundations of the Covenant of the League of Nations and, as the

Foreign Secretary suggested, very largely the foundation of the new policy of the Government. Where the two conceptions differ is simply in this, that the League contemplates a permanent alliance of peace with subsidiary organisations for ensuring international justice. That really is all it is. The Government policy, so far as it has gone at present, merely provides for the emergency which is before us. On the lines on which they are working at present, as soon as the emergency disappears, if it does disappear, the whole of their organisation, the whole of their hopes for the future, will disappear as well. No one who has lived through the last few weeks can have been insensible to the immense disadvantages of having to manufacture an instrument for peace afresh as each emergency arises. It has meant delay, it has meant misunderstanding, it has meant all sorts of petty jealousies. Had the League of Nations been kept in full vigour and energy it would have been easy, without any disturbance, to have utilised its machinery for doing exactly what the Government are seeking to do at the present moment only, as I think, with much greater efficiency.

## Alliance Open to All

This policy of organising a peace alliance, open to all, with such permanent machinery as will make it always available, is the only possible hope for the future. The League had ten years of remarkable success. If the British and French Governments especially had shown more energy and foresight in support of the League, the grave difficulties of which we are all aware might have been avoided. Here we are at present living from hand to mouth without any clear idea as to what is to be our ultimate policy. The time has come when we must take the Covenant of the League of Nations as our basis, since that exists, and mould it into an effective machine for peace on the lines which have been urged for very many years by the statesmen of the world.

No doubt some changes in the working of the Covenant would have to be made. As I have suggested already, the obligation to use coercive action against an aggressor might be confined to those members of the League belonging to the same Continent. So, too, it should be made quite clear that the coercion of an aggressor is an obligation resting on each member of the League to act in concert, but only in concert, with what other members are ready to do. That, I believe, is the meaning of the Covenant as it stands, but it ought to be made quite clear.

These matters could be dealt with by a resolution of the Assembly. There are some other changes which would have to be made. They are all of a minor character, and they might require an amendment of the Covenant. It may very well be that the proposals made by President Roosevelt in his very striking message might properly be the first step towards the inauguration of a new order.

If I have been at all right in my exposition, the League of Nations may just as well be described as being founded on self-defence as on any moral obligation. Quite apart from that, I am clear myself that the people of this country demand that our foreign policy should have a basis of morality or, if you prefer it, of idealism. This is especially true if there is any danger of war.

The speeches that were made in this country to induce our people to sustain the cause in 1914 were all based on the highest possible considerations of morality. It was in the spirit of those speeches that our fellow-countrymen sanctioned the War and gave their lives on its battlefields. They would have heard with stupefaction that their Government, in asking them to fight, were not moved by any moral obligation.

## Idealism Won the War

I remember in 1920, just after the War, meeting five or six young officers who had so distinguished themselves in the War that, as was the custom at that time, they had been admitted to the Staff College without examination. I am not going to mention their names, but some of them have attained very high positions in the British Army since that time. After dinner we were talking on these subjects, and one of them said, "Well, after all, it was British idealism that won the War." They all agreed with that. Coming back almost within a few months of being in the trenches, the whole impression of the War still vivid in their minds, that was their conclusion. It was just because the Treaty of Versailles did not take sufficient account of this feeling that it was such a tragedy, and unless you can give the young men of this country some assurance that any future treaty will be of a very different character you will find recruiting devoid of enthusiasm. That assurance can best be given if the League of Nations or some such body is in vigorous control of international life. In spite of modern realism, we in this country know that morality is not less important in international than in individual life.

# DESPATCHES FROM THE CAPITALS

HEADWAY'S SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

## AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE WILLING TO "GO ALONG"

WASHINGTON, April 20.

THIS is being written at one of those tense moments in history when the cards have been dealt and the players are looking over their hands. Washington has little idea how the game will come out. But President Roosevelt and his State Department advisers have a confident sense of satisfaction that they have done their utmost to prepare for the long-expected crisis.

They have, as a matter of fact, been partly responsible for bringing matters to the crucial juncture where the forces of aggression must decide whether to challenge the forces of resistance, or subside. It is what they wanted. To help bring it about they have put pressure on London and Paris by steps which will provide an absorbing chapter in the background of history when and if it is ever disclosed.

A new and clear explanation of their point of view is provided in the following quotation which the President has endorsed as representing his own opinion:

*"Pressure from the Berlin-Rome axis will not ease until it reaches the point of serious resistance. Then only can a different and honestly conciliatory attitude be expected from the Dictators. Nothing less than the show of preponderant force will stop them, for force is the only language which they understand. But, like less exalted bullies, force is to them a real deterrent."*

This is a succinct and accurate expression of the premise of Roosevelt foreign policy. On the basis of it Mr. Roosevelt has for months been attempting to induce resistance, on the assumption that resistance is the road to peace, or at least to a better prospect of peace than lies down any other route.

At this writing his stated essential of resistance in Europe has apparently developed. The significant question, therefore, is the amount and character of American support which Mr. Roosevelt can put behind it.

There is almost complete unanimity within the ranks of the Administration. The State Department itself was the last Department to swing into line. Until Munich it contained influential groups which leaned towards isolation, or appeasement of Germany, or con-

sidered general world revision desirable. But these have all joined up now. Sumner Welles, the Under-Secretary, had leaned long towards European revision, but is now the first technician of the President's policies. Secretary Hull might have leaned away from such direct collective action as the President favours had not the ineptitude of German diplomacy driven him alongside the President as well.

Public opinion generally is coming along. There is no great public enthusiasm for the President's course. But the revulsion against his leadership on which Berlin and Rome have been counting has failed to develop. There was precedent for revulsion in the almost violent reaction against the "quarantine" speech of October, 1937. And every opportunity has been provided for another wave of revulsion. Republicans and anti-administration Democrats have done their utmost to develop a foreign policy opposition.

Mr. Roosevelt himself gave isolationist opinion a splendid opening when in an unguarded moment recently he promised to return to his holiday home at Warm Springs, "if we don't have war."

Such a remark six months ago would have stirred up a tempest of fear, abuse and opposition. It did cause a little squall. But the mildness of it is surprising and indicative of the extent to which public opinion is willing, albeit reluctantly, to "go along."

The progression of public attitude is disclosed in the successive results of polls conducted by the Institute of Public Opinion. The question was whether the United States should allow arms to be sold to England and France in event of a European war. Before Munich only 34 per cent. favoured such sales. Early in March, after Munich, the same question was put again and the percentage mounted to 55. During the first week of April it was put a third time and the percentage climbed to 66. An analysis of the answers showed the Republicans and Democrats were voting almost alike.

This failure of either a partisan opposition or widespread public revulsion against the President's foreign policy to develop tends to reduce the importance of the arms embargo issue in Congress. It is considered axiomatic now that if war comes American arms will go to England and France either by repeal or evasion. So many different points of view have developed in Congress on Neutrality Act revision that it may be impossible to agree on any one formula. The White House

and State Department are perfectly satisfied that if war does come within the next few weeks they will have no difficulty in making arrangements—and if there is no war it doesn't matter very much whether the embargo is repealed or not.

## DEMOCRACIES MUST REALISE TWO THINGS

BERLIN, April 24.

BEFORE these lines are published Herr Hitler will have answered President Roosevelt's peace proposals of April 15, and the world will have taken yet another step towards one of three goals—war, a further humiliation of the democracies, or a genuine peace. Though the text of Hitler's speech is not yet known, there is no doubt about something more important. It is that whatever he may say will in no way alter the fundamental lines of Third Reich foreign policy. All that it can do is to hasten or delay developments. The Fuehrer and his closest advisers may conclude that the democracies at last mean business and that to defy them openly just now might produce the very situation which both the totalitarian leaders desire, above all, to avoid, viz., a major war. Then he may declare for peace at the moment, not for any pacific reason, but because the risk is too great.

In such circumstances it is obvious that there are two things which the democracies must realise. The one is Hitler's ambition in the realm of foreign policy; the second is the need that they shall understand his methods, as the first step towards their combating him successfully.

Anyone who has followed Nazi activities during the past five years must have realised that its path to European hegemony has been indicated by three signposts—"equal status," "self-determination" and "Lebensraum." The first two have served their purpose, and even British diplomats have seen through them. "Lebensraum" (living space), the present slogan, includes every claim a nation can make for getting what it wants anywhere in the world. In practice, it means the exclusion of the Western democracies and Soviet Russia from Central and Eastern Europe and the imposition of the Nazi way of life wherever Germans are to be found.

The methods by which Hitler seeks

to achieve his ends are clever, but their success has been in no small measure due to the ignorance or the deliberate connivance of those who profess to oppose them. There is nothing original about the Fuehrer's tactics in foreign affairs to anyone who has studied his career in home affairs. The tragedy from the democracies' point of view has surely been that those who controlled their policy would not believe what stood before their eyes.

But whatever the past—and for this the British people will pay dearly—the present question is whether we realise that Hitler still reckons upon our coming to his aid by refusing to take any decisive steps towards the establishment of a system of collective security. Such a system would be the only effective check to totalitarian advance today. British guarantees to Poland, to Rumania and to Greece are not treated in Berlin with the respect they deserve, simply because it is felt that, even if these are consolidated by the inclusion of Soviet Russia, British class interests will still act effectively against the successful use of the system. Whether this point of view is right or wrong is unimportant, compared with the fact that, if the Germans believe it, and act accordingly, the consequence may be yet another blow to democracies.

Hitler's methods are centuries old—divide and rule. It would be foolhardy to imagine that we shall be left untouched. The time is not yet; but already one hears young Germans voice the opinion that "we shall soon be ready, and if Britain stands in our way, then let the cannon speak." And, however peace-loving he may be, nobody who moves in influential circles here can doubt that such an attitude is becoming increasingly popular because of the continuous anti-Anglo-Saxon propaganda and the half-heartedness of British foreign policy during the past few years.

It may also be helpful to point out that the German leaders to-day think of a world war only as the end of a series of incidents, each one of which will make Germany stronger and more able to resist should the catastrophe ultimately come. In the meanwhile, it is seen as a continuous "war-in-peace" in which "nerves" play a decisive rôle, and it is believed that the nerves, not of the British people, but of their leaders, will be worn down, mainly because of their failure to deal with the psychological guerrilla warfare which is being conducted from Germany.

Britain's duty is to go on consolidating its position militarily and diplomatically, and, above all, "ideologic-

ally," by showing itself a little more genuinely interested in those democratic ideals to which it pays lip service; then, much of the propaganda would fail of itself. Such actions would check the dry rot which has set in in Central Europe since the Munich agreement.

## THE ENTENTE BECOMES CORDIALE

PARIS, April 29.

GREAT BRITAIN'S adoption of conscription is greeted with satisfaction in France as an act of no less historic importance than the British guarantees of assistance to Eastern European countries against aggression. While the acceptance of the principle of universal military training by England may not be of great material consequence, since it will be months, if not years, before the men will be trained, the psychological consequences of the new law in their effect on French as well as German public opinion are tremendous.

So long as Britain adhered to the volunteer system, a good many Frenchmen viewed the Chamberlain Government's reversal of foreign policy with much scepticism. The old jib that "England will fight to the last French soldier" was heard everywhere. This taunt fitted in admirably with the purposes of Nazi and defeatist propaganda. The suggestion was current that Britain was passing around guarantees all over Europe, but it would be the French *poilu* who in the end would be called upon to make them good.

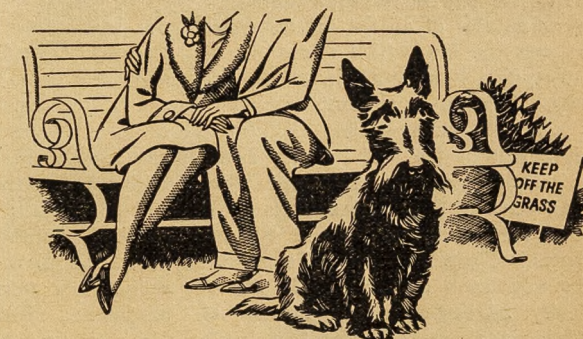
Something in the nature of an anti-British campaign was launched in Alsace by those suspiciously pseudo-autonomist organisations that have now been suppressed by decree with the cry that Britain and Russia were leagued together to push France into war. One day Parisians awoke to see placards posted on their walls proclaiming that unless Eng-

land adopted conscription the French people were being "duped." The police promptly tore down these notices, but not until they had been read by many and approved by not a few. At a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber, a deputy was with some difficulty restrained from introducing a motion proposing that the British Government be asked to put into effect a system of obligatory training.

Alive to the fact that this defeatist propaganda was undermining the morale of the French people, the Daladier Government has for some time been pressing England to adopt conscription. The French Foreign Minister, Georges Bonnet, urged it strongly on Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax when he accompanied President Albert Lebrun on his State visit to London.

Consequently Mr. Chamberlain's announcement that the British Government had finally decided to ask Parliament to enact conscription had the effect of a tonic on the French people. It was realised on this side of the Channel that Britain was in grim earnest in organising resistance to further Nazi acts of aggression. The prophets who had been glibly predicting that a new Munich was in the offing became silent.

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## PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE

By RONALD CARTLAND, M.P.

The decision of the British Government was approved by all French political parties. Conscription is regarded in Continental countries where the parliamentary regime prevails as an essentially democratic institution. Leon Blum's editorial in the *Populaire* rebuking the British Labour Party for their opposition to the Bill was typical of this attitude. The logical French mind could not understand how a party which had criticised the Government for its weakness and championed the principle of collective security in international affairs should oppose the adoption of methods which made the enforcement of this principle possible.

The enormous British peace-time Budget has also greatly impressed the French people. France appreciates it all the more because she, too, has just been called upon to make new huge financial sacrifices in order to hold her own in the mad armaments race. Paul Reynaud, the brilliant French Finance Minister, had to find fifteen billion francs to meet the expenses of building new weapons as well as the cost of mobilisation. He did it by promulgating a new series of some thirty decree laws which impose drastic governmental economics and inflict new financial burdens on the taxpayer.

Thousands of railwaymen have been dismissed to reduce the deficit of the State-owned railways, the profits of munitions makers are being limited to 10 per cent., and a 1 per cent. turnover tax is being levied on all sales. As this will be pyramided several times in the course of production, the ultimate consumer will have a 4 or 5 per cent. tax to pay on many articles.

Most notable of all the decrees, however, was the law which re-established the forty-five hour week in private industry. Thus the forty-hour week law, the most controversial legislative achievement of the first Popular Front Government, has been abolished without an outcry. French labour is swallowing its bitter pill almost without a protest. There is no talk of a general strike now such as the C.G.T. unsuccessfully attempted as a means of obtaining the repeal of the first batch of Reynaud decree laws last November. French Labour realises the seriousness of the international situation. Symptomatic of the feeling of patriotism that dominates the French working-class was the decision of the C.G.T. to call off the annual suspension of work on May Day this year.

Paul Reynaud is making heroic efforts to keep the system of economic liberalism alive in France and to prevent his country from having to resort to the methods of autarchy and planned economy adopted by the totalitarian countries.

IT is, of course, impossible in these articles to present any consecutive history. The international and political scene alters as rapidly as any kaleidoscope. What changes we have witnessed even within the last month! When I last wrote, the British Government had not given one of the guarantees which have become now part of the principal structure of our foreign policy. The Germans had recently entered Prague, but Memel had not capitulated and the Roumanian Agreement had not been signed. Albania, by the general public, was unthought of.

No one, I think, went away for the Easter recess in an entirely happy frame of mind. The Polish guarantee had been universally approved of. I have never seen Parliament, at any rate superficially, so united in support of His Majesty's Government. But we all recognised in the face of the reports—far stronger than mere rumour—that nothing less than a guarantee was called for. No one, again, imagined that this guarantee to one threatened country was any more than a stop-gap. But most people felt that this declaration would at least carry us peacefully over the holidays. The tradition that our holidays, and our religious festivals in particular, are "close seasons" for international alarms dies hard.

### No Crisis During Holidays?

I heard over and over again before we separated such expressions as "I am only going to Le Touquet" or "I shan't go further than Paris." They reveal the conventionality which even now many members attribute to Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini. It is still thought, apparently, that we shall receive an ultimatum, giving us time to mobilise and to prepare our minds as well as our guns for the opening bombardment. When the Dictators' plans for our destruction are mature, the blow will fall as suddenly as the landing at Durazzo. The fact that the honourable member is on holiday is likely to prove no more than an incentive to our foes to venture a quick decision. Just because we were all scattered for Easter, and because only a few hours before the House dispersed the Prime Minister declared that he had nothing to report in regard to the Albanian rumours, most people were more than usually horrified when the news came through that Mussolini had added Albania to his Abyssinian triumph. Mr. Churchill alone

in the House of Commons, in the debate for which we were specially recalled, laid emphasis on the time factor in the Dictators' plans. But, again—and this follows on Mr. Wickham Steed's article in last month's *HEADWAY*—how came the Government to be so misinformed? How was it possible for Mr. Chamberlain to catch the midnight train to Scotland not twenty-four hours before the Italian naval guns released their first salvo? The Commons should continue to press for an explanation, though I fear they will not. They seem to me to underestimate its importance. Mr. Churchill used grave words when he suggested that the proper information was being withheld or doctored before it reached the Cabinet.

### Not Unexpected

Mussolini's attack on Albania was, however, not entirely unexpected. I have heard since of more than one well-informed, thoughtful student of international affairs who confidently predicted this as the next step in the Axis campaign, and even foretold the approximate date of its commencement.

At least on this occasion Parliament was recalled. It is still a bitter memory to many that during the September crisis of last year, the House was only summoned when they could do no more than register protests at what had been done and could not be undone, and listen, impotent, in a kind of Reichstag atmosphere.

The present circumstances are, of course, different in that we are making binding guarantees rather than loosening them. Responsibility is, therefore, better shared. There are no triumphs to be gained. Only sombre, severe facts to be resolutely faced. I don't think all the Government supporters are pleased with the new series of bilateral pacts. Some of them would even go so far as to welcome a return to a system of collective security! What alarms members is that it is not yet generally recognised the burden that these guarantees must impose on us. The slogan that "Guarantees every day keep the Fuehrer away," like all slogans, leaves the operative factors unsaid.

Mr. Chamberlain's speech, in which he announced the Greek and Rumanian guarantees and foreshadowed an agreement with Turkey, seemed to me like a story with the last chapter missing. What new re-armament pro-

posals are envisaged? Doubling the Territorial Army is a gesture, but translated into men and machines and cannon in relation to our new commitments it is as though we attempted to cure cancer with a liver pill.

Naturally, Mr. Roosevelt's message put heart into all those who have pleaded so often during the last year or so for the closest Anglo-American co-operation. It gave courage, too, to some of those who felt that even with our allies we were not a match for the Anti-Commintern Front. Mr. Chamberlain's statement in the House on the Government's welcome of the President's gesture was very loudly cheered; but afterwards in the Lobby one got the impression that members feel that the path to peace has many twists and turns, and we may yet see this noble gesture used as a jumping-off ground for further dictatorial demands. The one thing to be guarded against at the present time is any weakening of the Peace Front abroad or any slackening of our own efforts at home. The House is unanimous about this.

### Calm and Ready

It is always difficult to generalise about public opinion. One hopes that one is fully aware of the opinion in one's own division, but over the holiday I did my best, by visiting various districts in this country, and talking to

all and sundry, to discover what might be called the common mind of the British people. First of all, there is no doubt at all that our people are calm and perfectly ready, when the moment arrives, to go forth to battle. Indeed, the comment I have heard most often made is that there will be no peace until we deal with Herr Hitler; yet this recognition of the inevitability of war (which I do not accept myself) is made in full realisation of all its implications. Because of belief in the justice of our cause, our people are assured of the result of war. The spirit of 1914 still lives. Next, there is the almost universal desire for compulsory service, but it goes almost without saying that compulsory service must go hand in hand with the mobilisation of industry and the conscription of wealth. Finally, and most serious, there are many people, and especially young people, who ask what positively shall we be fighting for? What does England mean to us? What should it mean to the world? I have heard more talk of the two million unemployed in this connection than ever before, and of extremes of wealth and poverty, luxury and starvation existing side by side. I am appalled by the number of people, particularly those who should know better, who imagine that wish-fulfilment will meet the situation: that

"something" will prevent war, and that we therefore can continue the same round of existence.

### Wanted—a Revolution

Indeed, if this article of mine were not one of a series, I should head this "Wanted, a Revolution." For nothing less is needed. Compare the whole structure of the German State and the philosophy of living which is being put into daily practice in Germany with our own lazy, easy-go-lucky, refuse-to-face-uncomfortable-facts outlook. This is not only in the case of our defence measures. Every aspect of our national life has to be overhauled. Our mental strength will be tested more and more keenly: it is part of the Axis technique. Does the Cabinet yet realise this? If they do, they have remarkably failed to show that they do. Some people blame the age of our present leaders. And if there is bitterness amongst youth, it arises from the fact that they realise that most of those who are now directing our country's destinies were too old to bear arms in the last war. A young man said to me with intense bitterness: "Those old men ruined the world for my father; now they are ruining it for me." I do not blame our leaders. I blame all of us who are not uniting to present the virile, positive faith of Democracy in action.

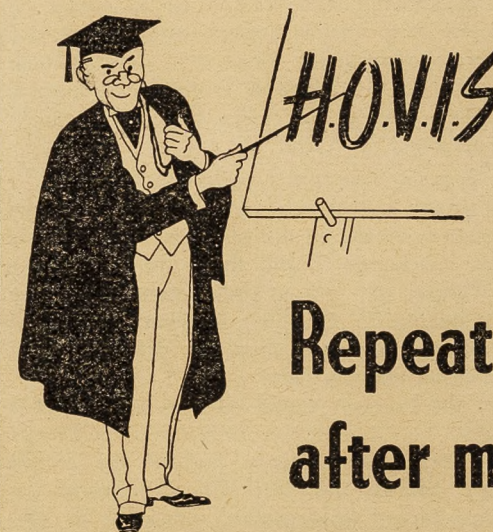
## PHYSICIANS AND HEALERS

By FREDA WHITE

An account of what the League has done for China

NO man can escape his own nature. There are some to whom smuts stick, or money; some who are bitten by all flies, or loved by all women; some who are beset by adventures. Dr. Melville Mackenzie, of the League's Health Service, is one of the last. Exciting events pursue him. Not that he is known to put much effort into evasion; on the contrary, he runs to meet them.

Well do I remember seeing him at the League Council-table. He was back from restoring peace between the Kroo tribes of Liberia, where, single handed, he disarmed twelve thousand desperate fighters. Great and powerful Foreign Ministers, in turn, spoke to praise and thank him. There he sat, a small "Black Highlander," douce and shy, the modest blush creeping round his neck under the raven cap of hair. Even in that absurd position, there was a sort of sparkle of vitality about him. Looking at him, I thought, "You may have been born at Huddersfield, my lad, but no Sassenach city can claim you. You are out of the North, where the people are poor and clever, proud and wild, in love with learning and with danger. Your



Repeat  
after me..

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TRADE MARK

and never say 'Brown'

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Macclesfield





likeness is in a book already; change that black colour for red; put a broadsword at your side, and there you'd be, Alan Breck Stewart, Melville Mackenzie."

It was, no doubt, that demon of curiosity, of restlessness, which urged Dr. Mackenzie out of the British public health service and into the League secretariat. There it met another kind of demon, the insatiable energy of Dr. Rajchmann, busied upon organising medical co-operation clean through the earth. Here was the right agent for the League to send when the far states asked for advice. And Rajchmann sent Mackenzie; to Africa, to Athens when the town was so smitten with dengue that the tram-cars were stopped, the shops shut, none on their feet to nurse the sick, to cook food, to put out a burning house; to the high passes of the Andes, traversed on mule-back and by aeroplane by turns.

Rajchmann is gone from the League's service, alas!—the last of the giants, of that galaxy of first-class men who dedicated themselves wholly to the fulfilment of the whole Covenant. But Mackenzie is still there, the secretariat's Robin Good Fellow, to "put a girdle round about the earth in forty minutes." Precisely, in March, 1939, he has flown to China to advise upon the organisation of the League's medical mission there.

The story of the League's expert advisers in China has yet to be told.

In the early days, before Japan invaded the central provinces, they helped the National Government in numbers of its reforms, from medical education to silk-cultivation. After 1937 the whole energies of the Chinese rulers had to be turned over to maintaining their country on a war footing. They got no political support from the League; their appeals to the Great Powers not to supply oil to Japan with which to fly the planes destroying Chinese civilians fell on deaf ears. Their one successful suggestion was a request for doctors to help them organise a medical service, for the prevention of epidemics and the relief of the civilian population and refugees. The money voted was some £100,000, of which the bulk was China's own League contribution, remitted for the purpose.

The League sent three doctors, one Swiss, one British

and one French, each with a small medical unit. They had a base of supplies at Hong Kong, now cut off by the fall of Canton. They worked in co-operation with the Chinese medical authorities, forming an epidemics commission.

### No Food, No Clothes, No Drugs

The first unit, under the Swiss Dr. Mooser, went to the far North West. There was no proper hospital accommodation, of course; at best tiny huts, with paper windows, where the sick lay on the floor with neither bedding nor blankets. They had no food, no clothes, no drugs nor surgical instruments nor bandages. In the little town of Yennan there was a hospital of a sort; a series of caves dug out of the earth of the hill-side. Men carried barrels of water from a river. In those incredible circumstances the unit set to to make a laboratory to produce vaccine and to organise some sort of health measures for the district.

Dr. Robertson, of the second unit, went to the central provinces. These are the areas across which drive the tides of refugees, millions of them, starving, desperate, carrying the bacteria of endless epidemics. There were, however, the Chinese health services, undermanned and embryonic as they were; they co-operated in trying to establish epidemic control. Diseases were reported; inoculation against small-pox and cholera set on foot. Dr. Robertson appealed for food and clothes, since a little human help makes all the difference between success and failure in anti-epidemic measures. It was an example of the brutality of the Japanese War in China, that an isolation hospital of the Commission was wrecked by a Japanese air-raid, though it had no military buildings near it.

Dr. Lasnet set to work in the South-West, organising a laboratory for vaccines and an inoculation campaign. The French authorities of Indochina provided a base of supplies and helped with transport.

### Gifts from Many Sources

The Commission was helped by gifts from many sources; the Danish Government and the Danish Red Cross sent anti-toxin, the London Lord Mayor's Fund clothes; the P. and O. provided free transport of supplies, the Messageries Maritimes reduced fares, the great firm of Jardine Matheson stored and sent supplies, and gave its staff services free. The Netherlands gave money grants. Bayer, most famous of German pharmaceutical firms, sent atebrein.

In July, 1938, a cholera epidemic broke out, and the League appealed to all national laboratories for vaccine, to be sent to the Singapore Bureau. Australia and Ceylon sent half-a-million doses each; Denmark, 130,000; Roumania and Jugoslavia and Turkey, each a million; Egypt and Argentine sent their quotas, and the United States three million doses. No Power save the League could have gathered such help so quickly.

The 1938 Assembly voted the same grant again for Chinese medical aid. But the 2,000,000 francs are down in the "temporary" expenses which may be cut down this September. It is impossible to imagine that the British Government could consider such an economy—if one didn't know how the Treasury behaves over League expenses! Meantime, with the Japanese capture and sacking of all the main Chinese cities, medical work must be reorganised. This help at least the League can offer, a pitiful substitute for the fulfilment of the Covenant, but in itself an earnest of the union of the healers of the world.

## UNION AND LEAGUE

By EDWIN KERR, an authority on international affairs and international law

Mr. Kerr continues the HEADWAY series on the argument of Mr. C. K. Streit's book "Union Now."

IN these dark days, when so many are wondering whether the effort and misery of the last general war were meaningless, an analysis like Mr. Streit's is of the utmost value. It is just because the ruin of our hope seems so nearly complete that it is of such vital importance to come to grips with first principles in our search for the cause of disaster.

It is common to hear it said that Britain betrayed the League. The accusation has in it an element of unfairness. Read the Covenant, and ask what Government kept faith. There is in the sequence of the story a strangeness well worth attention where so solemn an agreement is so universally broken.

The theory under the influence of which the Covenant was shaped was that of the old-fashioned Liberal nationalism. This theory held, though vaguely, that there is a special and distinctively admirable human group, the "nation," apprehended by some mind of intuition, and endowed with special rights both against its own members and against mankind. So far, Hitler and Mussolini would agree; but the Liberal Nationalists believed further that if such groups could be made approximately homogeneous, and given democratic constitutions, they would be pacific. They were conceived each as a single person, and were to be morally judged as such. They were to be the citizens in a society of "nations"; and if one broke the law, the others were to raise the hue and cry, and combine to constrain it.

### State Not a Person

The trouble is that a State is not a person, and does not behave like one. State and individual are (to borrow the old phrase) clean different things. Men in a primitive community do not make a formal compact to defend public order; they do it spontaneously, because disorder is an obvious nuisance. The States, on the other hand, made a formal compact, which they did not keep.

The root of the matter is that States cannot coerce each other into obedience except by war, or by the threat of it; in a society whose members are States only, every breach of the law must be collective, and every act of compulsion incalculably cruel; and a system involving the use of war, or the threat of it, as a regular instrument of government is doomed from birth.

The champions of the sufficiency of the Covenant's plan for collective

security tell us that if only rulers would give a lead, peoples could be won to fight for the principle of law as readily as for their own countries. This may well be true; but the system demands that the peoples take the initiative, and that they will not do. Independent governments do not seek the good of mankind as a whole; they are held to another course by very strong motives; some of them ethical; and the peoples, whose one strong common feeling in public affairs to-day is hatred of war, will not demand it. A democracy will fight of its own accord only when an obvious attack has been made on something it feels to be its own. Otherwise it will pay for peace any price that its leaders think it can afford.

### Principle of Federation

The principle of federation is unfamiliar in this country, where, as Sir Thomas Smith wrote in the sixteenth century, the Parliament representeth and hath the power of the whole realm, both the head and the body; but elsewhere it has proved its worth. It is the principle of a double citizenship for every individual man and woman, in a smaller community and in a wider one, and of two corresponding loyalties, defined by a fundamental law. The central authority is thus related directly to each individual: the citizens of the larger community, as of the smaller, are not States, but men. A federation, therefore, however loose it may be—however narrow, that is, the limits of the sphere with which the central authority is concerned—is radically distinct from a League. It is the general lesson of history that a league has so strong an inherent tendency to disintegrate that it can only be held together by the pressure of external danger; whereas a federation can of its own vitality last and thrive. States, as such, cannot be citizens: men of great diversity can.

Mr. Streit's vigorous plea for a federation of democracies within a larger league is therefore extremely compelling. His opinion that such a union is obtainable at this moment can-

not here be examined. But it is to be supposed that the present state of things will not last; either there will be a relaxation or the catastrophe. In either case the chance may recur of beginning to rebuild; and we should be ready, seeing clearly the forces that obstruct us—the enormous strength of vested interests in power, of partisan loyalty, of the inertia of habit.

### Face Past Mistakes

There is a very great advantage in facing squarely the fact of past mistakes. The old-fashioned Liberal Nationalism was inspired by generous sentiment; nor is it the primary cause of our troubles, for no theory is that; but it has played the part of an amiable astrologer at the bedside of a consumptive. The true antithesis to German nationalism is not a variation or a dilution of that doctrine. It is a much older belief; the conception of a great and varied civil community in which the freedom of every individual is defined and protected by a known law. The freedom of "nations" save in so far as it means the maintenance of individual human rights is a foolish cheat. Unless we can realise the ideal of Mr. Streit, we must be content with the ideal of Mussolini. Real collective security is only practicable within the framework of some measure of individual citizenship; and here is a matter in which all, except the lover of war and the logical anarchist, can work together. Until that goal can be achieved, we must make up our minds to accept the age-old war-system, with its modern improvements, and endure it.

UNION NOW will be the subject of further articles in "Headway," presenting all aspects of the case. Dr. Gilbert Murray will write in the June number.

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## SPANISH REFUGEES IN FRANCE

By E. M. PYE, who herself worked for the homeless Spanish refugees in Catalonia and was among the first to bring them help when they fled to France after the fall of Barcelona

THE flight of something like half a million refugees over the frontier of Spain into France in the space of about a fortnight is an important historical event. As far as the mass of the civilian population was concerned, there is no doubt that the destruction of their homes and of human life by bombardment and machine gunning from the air created the panic of which the wholesale flight was a symptom.

And yet in my remembrance of that nightmare fortnight what stands out clearest is the dignity, order and patience of the population on the march. As I saw them encamped on the Spanish side of the frontier, without any shelter from the torrential rain, or standing four abreast in a long queue that stretched solid from one village to another, waiting for the frontier to open, blown upon by bitter winds and soaked to the skin, one saw only a patient misery that was moving to behold.

A large proportion were peasants who had brought their victuals in a sack, with perhaps a sheep or two, or a mule, goats and other livestock, such as hens or a rabbit, sharing the same discomfort with the same patience. Then on the blessed day when the frontier was opened and the crowds surged over—in spite of the families who got separated from one another, and the children who lost their parents (have they yet found them?)—a sense of relief and almost happiness at reaching the friendly country was widely felt.

But their troubles were far from over. One of my most poignant memories is the sight of the open hillside under the stars, with thousands of women and children huddled on the ground, where the hoar frost added a chill to the air, and caused the restless sleepers to crowd still closer to one another.

### 45,000 Fugitives in Three Days

The French authorities did the best they could, and by a tremendous feat of organisation they had some 45,000 women and children fed, vaccinated and sent on into the departments within the first three days.

The whole invasion seems to have been quite unexpected and unprepared for. When, after the civilians who were received into the interior, the army started to find its way over, the problem became even more tragic, for there was nowhere to send the men, well, sick or wounded, except a few hastily improvised hospitals and some camps whose conditions were, and are, extremely bad.

The whole brunt of meeting this invasion has fallen upon France, whereas it is in reality an international responsibility.

Perhaps the most to be pitied are the 6,000 members of the International Brigade, who are interned in the camps—Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Rumanians, etc.—for they have no one at all to look after their interests, and what future can they look forward to? Who will take up the task of making arrangements for them ever to leave the camps? Surely the Non-Intervention Committee, at whose request these men were separated off from the army and put into their present position, ought to take some responsibility for them.

For the others, there are welcome signs that the geographical situation of France is not to be considered as sufficient excuse for all the other countries to wash their hands of the refugee problem, and the British Government has announced financial assistance through the British Red Cross.

Many relief organisations had representatives doing their best to help during those tragic days—the National Joint Committee, the Spanish Medical Aid, which did yeoman service in connection with the temporary hospitals, and the International Commission for the Assistance of Child Refugees in Spain, the scope of whose work was extended temporarily to include women and men who were wounded or sick or over military age. Representatives of the Commission are still on the frontier doing their best to mitigate at least some of the hardships in the camps.

In the meantime a small non-political committee of French people has been started to investigate the conditions in the camps for refugees, of whom there are about 120,000 in the interior departments. Virtually all these refugees are fed by the French Government, and after the food shortage in Spain the refugees are generally enthusiastic over the generosity of the supplies given them.

### Comfort and Cleanliness

In some places bedding and clothing are urgently needed, but not everywhere. I visited Le Mans with one of the French inspectors, and was amazed at the care that had been expended to make the refugees as comfortable as they could in the tragic circumstances. Every refugee in the huge warmed dormitory that had been arranged in the Technical School had a bed to him or herself—true, it was a plank bed with a straw mattress, but it was clean, and there was one each! They had installed a classroom for the children, who were producing wonderful pictures, to the admiration of their French hosts, and throughout the whole town one found a sensitiveness to the needs of those in distress that was deeply appreciated by the Spaniards. One woman said it was not what they gave, but the way they gave it, which had aroused such deep gratitude.

Another camp installed in a cinema was certainly overcrowded, but there was difficulty in reducing the numbers, because the food was so good that no one wanted to leave! In that department an advertisement of the need for shoes and clothing had produced 3,000 parcels, all from private individuals, and they had enough to deal with all their refugees.

There are, of course, other places where much less is done and where the needs are great. These are being met in part by the Commission d'Aide aux Enfants Espagnols Réfugiés en France (2, Square de la Bruyère, Paris IX) itself, and in part by the International Commission. The Friends' Service Council is also lending some of its Spanish-speaking workers to assist the able Frenchwomen who are devoting themselves to the work. The committee hopes to be able to ensure that the children do not return to Spain until some measure of tranquillity has been restored and that their well-being is safeguarded as far as possible.

It is too soon to know with any certainty how many of the refugees in France will not be able to return to Spain and how many of those in Central and Southern Spain will have to leave. But it is certain that there are a great number, and the generosity of the public that has so far had such wonderful results must now add to its efforts the provision of means for a new life overseas for thousands. Fortunately, the tie is strong between Spain and Latin America, and it is hoped that in the New World a new life may be possible for many.

## J. B. PRIESTLEY

every week in the

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Next article - MONDAY

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