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# HEADWAY

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## *A New Feature in Journalism*

A READER of *The Times*, or *Daily Telegraph*, or *News Chronicle*, or *Daily Herald*, may or may not find the editorials interesting. What he would find more interesting would be to "sit in" at the intimate editorial discussions which decide what the leading article ought to be, the line that ought to be taken and why. It is certain that the average citizen would find the intimate discussion which produced the article more informing and more stimulating than the article itself. He would have the living argument as well as the conclusion.

Into just such editorial discussion HEADWAY proposes to admit its readers each month by a plan along these lines.

The Editor will ask a member of the Union Executive or a contributor to the paper to suggest within the scope of a letter what, in his view, is the significant aspect of the month's news or the existing situation, and to give his reasons. Some other writer, preferably an officer of the Union, will be asked to give his opinion concerning the suggestions of that first letter; and a third writer will be asked to comment on the two letters. The three letters will be published together, and the following month readers will be invited to give their views in letters to the Editor. This month Sir Norman Angell starts off with the first letter, Mr. Wickham Steed replies, and Lord Lytton, the Chairman of the Union Executive, comments on the two. Lord Cecil, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Viscountess Gladstone, Miss K. Courtney, Mr. Harold Nicolson, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Mr. Victor Cazalet, Mr. Noel Baker, Lady Hall, Lord Cranborne, General Spears, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Arnold Forster, Miss Eleanor Rathbone are all members of the Executive; it is hoped that they and others will contribute to future "Editorial Conferences."

This does not mean that other features of HEADWAY will be discarded; only that such discussion will occupy a prominent place in the paper.

HEADWAY LETTERS will, it is suggested, introduce a new method into periodical journalism. The News Letter of Commander Stephen King-Hall has won a

most remarkable success. It is now read by more than 50,000 subscribers. In the enlistment of its great public the writer's unique gifts have counted for much, his liveliness, his simplicity, his outspokenness. But that is not all.

A news letter performs for the reader a service of selection in a form suitable to the pressure of these times. Confronted by the Daily Press with an immense quantity of news, giving a mass of particulars and details often contradictory in character, the reader naturally wants to know, "What in all that is really important, and why?" Intelligent readers do not want their opinions made for them; they do want events and considerations so presented that they shall be able to form their own opinion, feeling that it is based on reality, fact, and truth. Even so, the intelligent reader is not wholly satisfied. Why is this or that particular item of the news chosen to the exclusion of other items? He would often like someone else's view upon the writer's choice. HEADWAY LETTERS will give him the reason and the other view.

HEADWAY LETTERS will also serve a purpose that HEADWAY has always hoped to fulfil for members of the Union. The purpose is that of enabling members throughout the country to participate in some degree in the discussions which go on virtually every week in the Executive Committee of the Union; to be kept in close contact with the problems of policy which present themselves to that committee.

The Government of this country now stands officially for the policy of collective defence—defence by the upbuilding of an international order, for which the Union has always stood. The Union is the only great organised body which has consistently stood for that basic principle. Now more than ever should its members be brought into close conference for the better understanding of the means by which its principles can be actually applied in the immensely difficult situation into which the world has drifted.

To that vital conference and discussion HEADWAY hopes, by the plan just outlined, to make a useful contribution.

# HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

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## BEHIND THE NEWS

THE nations are returning to the League. During the past two years they have trickled away. Now they begin to march back with every look of settled purpose. Deeds and words confirm one another. A peace front has been built up, agreement by agreement, in each of which no other advantage has been sought except the supreme advantage of a collective defence against aggression. At the May meeting of the Council of the League Great Britain and France made professions of loyalty to the Covenant in terms very different from the doubts and reservations of six months ago.

Parliament and public meetings had grown accustomed to speeches proclaiming (1) that realists in a hard world must solve practical problems in a practical way; and (2) that the League might be worked at some happier day in a better world. But even appeasers learn from experience.

For Great Britain Lord Halifax said in the Council on May 23:—

I have asked permission to make a short statement on the general political situation because I desire to explain briefly the view which His Majesty's Government take of recent events in Europe and their future attitude to the League of Nations. The changes which have taken place in Europe since last September are present to all our minds. It is not necessary for me to restate their attitude towards these events, nor is this the occasion to discuss them in detail. But they have imposed upon the Government a certain course of action. We have in consequence of what has passed felt obliged to undertake certain obligations of a particular character directed towards specific and well-defined ends.

One principle is common to all those obligations that we have assumed—

namely, resistance to the imposition of solutions by the method of force, which if continued must result in reducing civilisation to anarchy and destruction. The particular action which the Government have taken have not been carried out through the League. That was in the circumstances impossible. But everything that the Government have done is in strict conformity with the spirit of the League Covenant.

The negotiations on which the Government are engaged are not yet completed, but when they are the Government will propose to take an appropriate opportunity for communicating their results to the League. There will, I think, be general agreement that these events have inevitably affected the political influence and activity of the League. Indeed, it could not be otherwise, and we should be less than frank with ourselves and the world if we refused to acknowledge the fact. But I should like to make it clear that the Government hold no less strongly than they have ever done to the ideals of international collaboration, of which the League has been and is the symbol.

I am glad to think that many nations who are not members of the League are still fully alive to the great value of all the work that has been done for the welfare of humanity through the Labour, Health, Social, and other technical organisations of the League. Moreover, the great end and purpose in loyalty to which the League was founded and to which it has sought to give expression transcends any organisation or outward form. That purpose can never fade or die, whatever may be the practical methods adopted for giving to it at any particular moment practical expression.

All members of the League will look forward to the day when all nations may be able and willing to work together in the ways of peace for the common good of all. His Majesty's Government will in the meantime, so far as possible, frame their policy not only to defend

our present order against forcible destruction but more positively to revive those elements on which the re-establishment of international co-operation in a comprehensive, vigorous, and practical form depends.

\* \* \*

FRANCE has learnt as well as Great Britain. The French Foreign Minister, M. Bonnet, following his British colleague, told the League Council:—

The League could not remain indifferent to the tension produced in the world by the events of recent months. In the presence of these successive upheavals the League had not shown itself in a position to supply the necessary remedies. Experience had compelled it to observe an attitude of prudence and expectancy. The League remained the depository of the great ideas, security, collaboration, peace. The nations to-day found themselves confronting the alternatives of domination or collaboration. The members of the League were united in the presence of any effort to bring about the triumph of methods of force, but the French Government regretted that the League had not proved fully successful, and that security, collaboration, and peace must be sought by other methods—hence the present series of negotiations. But it also considered that these negotiations were not in contradiction with the principles of the Covenant. The Council should be informed with regard to them when they had been concluded.

\* \* \*

THE L.N.U. may claim with full justification that it has counted for something in persuading the Government to show a revived interest in the League and to pursue more resolutely its declared purpose of a treaty with Russia. On May 18 the Earl of

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Lytton, chairman of the Executive Committee, communicated to the Foreign Secretary a resolution passed that morning. It was also published in the Press. In it the Executive Committee proposed that:—

(1) The Council of the League should be informed of the specific acts of aggression which have taken place since its last meeting.

(2) The Council should be informed of the agreements which have been made between certain countries in the hope of preventing further acts of aggression.

(3) The presence in Geneva on this occasion of representatives of Russia and the Western Powers should be utilised to secure, if it has not been secured previously, the adhesion of Russia to a reciprocal treaty of mutual support in resisting aggression in Eastern or Western Europe.

The Executive Committee also expressed the hope that the representatives of those countries which have entered into the recent agreements would make it clear that their sole object is the prevention of aggression, which is in fact the very purpose of the Covenant itself, and that they will welcome the co-operation of other States members of the League, especially the European members.

"The European situation" (the committee added) "cannot be dissociated from the war still raging in the Far East. They hope, therefore, that the Council of the League will at this forthcoming session take effective steps to help China and to withhold war supplies and purchasing powers from Japan."

\* \* \*

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A WEEK later the L.N.U. took up the question of Czechoslovakia. In a resolution adopted that day the Executive Committee—

Urges His Majesty's Government to make clear that it is not willing to accord *de jure* recognition to the German annexation of Bohemia and Moravia, and is therefore opposed to the acceptance of German claims to Czechoslovak property outside the borders of Czechoslovakia;

it calls on His Majesty's Government to take steps to prevent transfer directly or indirectly to Germany of moneys contributed for the relief of Czechoslovak refugees, etc., and

affirms its own determination to press for a fair deal for Czechoslovakia in any future general settlement.

\* \* \*

STRONG feeling has been raised not only in the House of Commons but in the City of London by the secretive and misleading way in which the Government has dealt with the release of Czech assets in London held under the name of the Bank For International Settlements. On May 19 the Prime Minister denounced as a "mare's nest,"

reports that Czech assets had been handed over to the B.I.S. for transfer to the Reichsbank. Three days later Captain Crookshank admitted in the House of Commons that £5,000,000 of Czech National Bank gold deposited in the name of the B.I.S. with the Bank of England did not fall under the recent Act blocking Czech assets in London and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had "no means of knowing" what had happened to them.

This statement has been interpreted in Parliament and the City as being an admission that the assets have in fact been transferred, seeing that Mr. Montagu Norman, chairman of the Bank of England, is in close contact with the Treasury and that Sir Otto Niemeyer, a director of the Bank, is also chairman of the B.I.S.

The B.I.S. in turn has been subjected to strong pressure from the Nazi Government, now controller of the Czech National Bank, through German representatives who occupy a strong position in the management of the B.I.S. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the B.I.S. has formally recognised the conquest of Czecho-Slovakia, in spite of the Nazi sabotage of every other international institution. More significant is the fear that the British Government's acquiescence in the release of Czech assets, however indirectly, to Germany may be part of an attempt to revive "appeasement."

\* \* \*

### CITY AND THE SOVIET

IT is one of the most curious paradoxes in the history of the City that the Stock Exchange has come to look upon the prospect of an alliance with Soviet Russia as the main hope for an improvement in business conditions in the immediate future.

This is the result not of any affection for the Russians.

On the contrary, the Soviet Government has fewer friends in the City than could be found anywhere else in the democratic countries. The plain fact is that the Stock Exchange's criterion of foreign affairs is based upon the prospects of peace, for it is only when the uncertainty of aggression is removed that the business of dealing in stocks and shares can flourish.

The torpor that came over the Stock Exchange after Munich was not due to any antipathy to Mr. Chamberlain. Rather was the City's feeling the reverse.

The torpor was merely a reflection of the chances at which financiers had rated the prospects of peace through appeasement.

Now they have reacted favourably to the approaches to Russia, because it is realised that an Anglo-French-Russian

alliance offers the only practical method of putting a brake on the Rome-Berlin axis. It is significant of the strong conviction held by the Stock Exchange on this point that the recent bloodshed in Danzig, which would normally have caused a sharp decline in stocks and shares, was completely offset by the reports of favourable prospects in the Anglo-Russian talks at Geneva. Each step towards agreement has produced an advance in Stock Exchange quotations.

\* \* \*

THE few British opponents of an Anglo-Russian understanding excuse their attitude by arguing that such an arrangement would alienate Italy. Without it, they allege, we might still hope to detach the Italians from the Axis.

Until the Abyssinian War relations between Italy and Russia, in spite of the difference in political and economic systems, were most cordial. Italy granted Russia credits, and there was close economic collaboration between the two States. No Russian newspaper was allowed to criticise Mussolini, nor have the Italian newspapers criticised the Russian leaders. Italy even lent the famous airman General Nobile to Russia to assist her in establishing a dirigible industry. During the Abyssinian War General Nobile was recalled to help in the campaign, but at the end of the war he returned to Moscow. On the boat on the journey from London to Leningrad in July, 1936, he had long talks with a correspondent of HEADWAY. In them he fully confirmed the impression gathered from other conversations with leading Italian Fascists. There is no animosity in Italy towards the Soviet Union, nor is there any real fear of Communist propaganda or Communism in Italy. The signing by Italy of the anti-Comintern Pact had as its object not the crushing of Communism in Russia or anywhere else, but the roping in of such "strongholds of Communism" as Albania, the Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia, Tunisia, Nice, and Monaco.

Do the democracies wish Italy to behave again as she has done in the past, and in an emergency to abandon her present partner? She is more likely to be induced to do so by an alliance of Britain, France, and Russia than by indecision and vacillation.

\* \* \*

### BARTER WITH U.S.

THERE is much to be said for the Anglo-American barter plan. It is a welcome move to provide Britain with a substantial part of its war reserves of two essential commodities without in-

volving any further drain on the country's gold stocks. The exchange of American wheat and cotton for British tin and rubber will help to remove the large surpluses, particularly of cotton and wheat, which have depressed the commodity markets for a long time past. Tin and rubber are under restriction schemes, and the surplus here is less obvious because their production is regulated very strictly.

Tin and rubber producers are working at present well below capacity. There are fears in the City that the handing over of so much rubber and tin will enable the United States to wrest control of the market in these commodities from the British producers. It should, however, be possible to allay these fears by suitable regulations regarding the release of supplies in America. And in any case much goodwill will be earned in the United States, if by the barter, Great Britain shows that it is not sitting tight upon tin and rubber solely for its own advantage.

**T**HE Government's latest trade agreement with Rumania, providing that country with a £5 million credit and a market for 200,000 tons of wheat, is one of the first fruits of the new policy of collective security in Eastern Europe. Hitherto, it had been impossible for Britain to take any active measures in the defence of her trade interests in the Balkans, because the threat of Nazi domination checked any attempt by the smaller countries to move out of the German economic orbit.

Now that the British Government has guaranteed the independence of Rumania, it has become possible to open a road for the further participation of British capital and enterprise in the development of that country's economic resources and trade. Sir Frederick Leith Ross's mission to Greece follows the same political line and should the Greek Government offer satisfactory terms for the settlement of British debt arrears, export credits are likely to be granted for the invigoration of Greek trade and industry.

#### POLAND UNITED

**B**Y its firm stand on Danzig the Polish Government has united the Polish people as they have not been since the establishment of an independent Polish State more than twenty years ago.

However great the political divisions among them, Poles do not question the authority of the army. It is the instrument of national independence. With the danger from Germany becoming greater, the acceptance of the political leadership of the army is general.

Even the national minorities, who have had reasons for complaint, are now supporting the Government solidly.

The million Germans, in a population of about 31,000,000, nowhere form a majority. It would be impossible for them to pursue the technique employed with such success in the Sudetenland before the break-up of Czechoslovakia.

Another national minority, the Ukrainian, which in the past has given considerable trouble to the Poles, has taken alarm from recent events.

The extermination as soon as their services were no longer required of the local Nazi agents among the Ukrainians of Carpatho-Ruthenia had taught a salutary lesson to Hitler's willing tools among the national minorities of many countries, including Poland.

At a time when established states are being deprived of their independence, even the most innocent of the Ukrainians find it hard to believe that they can secure self-government by collaboration with the aggressor.

#### AFTER MEMEL

**L**ITHUANIA is recovering from the shock of the loss of Memel, her only port, and recovering rather more rapidly than was thought could be the case. Lithuanians had, of course, been prepared for the blow for some time. But the essential fact that has emerged is that Memel has not proved vital to Lithuania; in fact, the economic structure of the country may be said hardly to have suffered at all.

The refugee difficulty has certainly proved serious. Over 12,000 refugees, Jews and Lithuanians, poured over the border during the first few days. For a small country with a population of barely 2,000,000 inhabitants this has proved a grave problem. Now, however, they have been distributed over the small centres, and the position has eased.

Reports from the Memel territory make unpleasant hearing. During the first few days Storm Troopers and other Nazis arrested hundreds of Lithuanians and others; every conceivable kind of personal grudge was paid off and the prisons and newly-opened concentration camp were filled to overflowing. Soon most of the Lithuanians were released, but those who could not claim Lithuanian nationality and had been in any way active in the Lithuanian cause remained in custody. The situation is confused in and around Memel. In some of the villages in the south of the former territory there have been signs of serious disaffection. The peasants do not like the harsh autocracy of the new

régime, and have not hesitated to express their disappointment.

**M**EANWHILE Lithuania is proceeding with the construction of a new port in the tiny strip of a dozen miles of coast line that is left to her. The only town in that somewhat desolate area was Palanga, a famous seaside resort and summer residence of the President. Now efforts are being made to develop the little village of Sventojaus Uostas as a harbour, a plan that had already been under consideration for some little time. Eventually this may to some extent make up for the loss of Memel, where so much Lithuanian capital had been invested. Negotiations have just been concluded with the Reich for a free zone for Lithuania in Memel.

Reports in British and French newspapers to the effect that Germany is seeking to interfere in Lithuania's internal affairs since the Memel coup are not true. There has so far been no sign of any desire on the part of Germany to exert undue pressure upon Lithuania or to start an agitation among the handful of Germans left in old Lithuania, who number barely 1 per cent. of the total population.

Relations with Poland are slowly but surely improving, though the harsh treatment meted out to the Lithuanian minority in Poland remains a stumbling block. But the visit of General Rash-tikis to Warsaw is a sign of altered times, as no Lithuanian leader has paid a visit to Warsaw since the fall of Vilna in 1922.

Fr. Mironas, the former Premier, has now been replaced by General Cernius as Prime Minister, and the pacification of former feuds is clearly demonstrated by the presence of Dr. Bistras, the leader of the Catholic Democrats, in the Cabinet. This party was formerly the largest Lithuanian party and was in opposition for years.

#### THE DUKE'S APPEAL

**O**N MAY 8 the Duke of Windsor broadcast an address from Verdun to the United States. What he said was relayed to the peoples of several European countries. The B.B.C. was not able to find room in either of its alternative programmes for his five minutes. That was a pity, for his message merited the widest publicity. The central passage ran:—

It is in a larger spirit than that of personal or purely national interests that peace should be pursued. The statesmen who set themselves to restore international security and confidence must act as good citizens of the world, and not only as good Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, Americans or Britons.

The benefit to their own nations must be sought through the benefit of the wider community of which we are all members.

In the name of those who fell in the last war I urge all political leaders to be resolute in the discharge of this mission. I appeal to them in the name of the living, whose existence and happiness are in their hands. And I appeal to them especially in the name of the youth of the present day with all its incalculable potentialities of future service to the human race.

The world has not yet recovered from the effects of the last carnage, which in each and every country decimated my generation. The greatest success that any Government could achieve for its own national policy would be nothing in comparison with the triumph of having contributed to save humanity from the terrible fate which threatens it to-day.

#### NOT ENCIRCLED

**T**HE INTEREST excited by President Roosevelt's note to Hitler and Mussolini on April 14 prevented the British people paying the attention it deserved to the address he had delivered to the Pan-American Union only the day before. Even at this late date one passage is well worth underlining. Mr. Roosevelt said:—

Only a few days ago the head of a great nation referred to his country as a prisoner in the Mediterranean. A little later another Chief of State, on learning that a neighbour country had agreed to defend the independence of another neighbour, characterised that agreement as a threat, as an encirclement. Yet there is no such thing as encirclement, or threatening, or imprisoning any peaceful nation by other peaceful nations.

#### WHEN WAR?

**H**ERE is a timely quotation from Thomas Hobbes. Three hundred years has not put it out of date:—

War consisteth not in battle only or the art of fighting, but in a tract of time in which the will to contend in battle is sufficiently known.

#### SIX POINTS OF PEACE

**T**HE International Peace Campaign has recently launched an enterprise which should be of interest to all League of Nations Union branches. They have prepared a questionnaire of six points for immediate submission to all sitting members of Parliament and prospective Parliamentary candidates. The I.P.C. is sending this to the constituencies, and is arranging, through its affiliated organisations and others, for the questionnaire to be presented with such responsible all-party backing that members and candidates may have the strongest possible inducement to return a careful answer.

The Union makes a practice, of course, of submitting a questionnaire of this kind to all Parliamentary candidates at by-elections. But what the I.P.C. is doing is not confined to by-elections or to a general election. The new questionnaire is being presented at a time when there is no immediate prospect of a general election, but when the nation as a whole is making up its mind about a momentous re-direction of foreign policy: it is another effort to "make democracy work," like the Peace Ballot, though manifestly this is a much less formidable task.

**I**N reply to enquiries from branches, L.N.U. headquarters have indicated that they look with favour on the enterprise, seeing that its purpose is to increase public support for the League. Everywhere help from L.N.U. members is desirable if the questionnaire is to have the representative and non-partisan sponsorship which will best commend it to members of Parliament. In many districts the L.N.U. branch would be much the most suitable convener, just because it stands outside party politics and is concerned only with the League's cause.

The Union's rule about the co-operation of its branches in any such effort

the sponsors are all drawn from one political party as an excuse for not replying.

**T**HE campaign has begun well. Already (in mid-May) the questionnaire has been actively launched in over seventy constituencies. In Yorkshire a local conference has been called in Leeds to organise the campaign over the whole country. In Cardiganshire a public meeting on the questionnaire was held in the Aberystwyth Town Hall under the Mayor's chairmanship. In Birmingham and Warwickshire the L.N.U. office has made itself responsible for the campaign, acting with the support of other local organisations. In Wellingborough the campaign is being run under the joint auspices of the Wellingborough Trades Council and the L.N.U., the latter collecting the signatures of local organisations and prominent citizens, the former organising a large public meeting and inviting the member of Parliament and prospective candidate to address it. These are examples of the activity which is rapidly developing in many parts of the country. A few replies have already been received. It is hoped to get in the rest not later than the end of June.



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## PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE

By RONALD CARTLAND, M.P.

*Great Britain is being organised for war. Her resources, both men and materials, are earmarked for purposes of defence and much of her industrial equipment is busy producing arms. Are her plans prepared for the change over to peace uses which must come some day? Mr. J. M. Keynes has broadcast proposals which would, in his judgment, avert a disastrous slackening of production when arms are no longer being manufactured. Sir Herbert Morgan, who is directing the Government's publicity campaign for national service, recently declared that he did not believe the British people would remain content to spend vast sums on munitions unless similar amounts were made available for the betterment of their living conditions. "Headway's" Parliamentary correspondent in the article printed below insists that the need for a constructive peace policy is urgent*

THERE can seldom, if ever, have been a time when the Parliamentary agenda was so congested. The Ministry of Supply Bill has not yet—I write just before Whitsun—seen the light of day. The Civil Defence Bill is still under discussion. Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, the Minister of Agriculture, has announced a number of schemes, all of which will involve legislation. There are, too, various measures of a domestic nature, though the new Special Areas Bill which we were promised has, I fear, been forgotten. If it is remembered, I see little chance of our dealing with it this session.

We are just about to start on the Finance Bill, the debates on which are bound to be prolonged. Nor will the House forgo, and rightly, their opportunities for debate on Ministers' Departments; while the foreign situation will inevitably make further demands on our time. No one is to blame for such a state of things, if we exclude the argument that the Defence Bills should have been presented some years ago. The Conscription Bill, with its super-numerary which enables the forces to be called up without proclamation, is, of course, mainly responsible. But one is prompted to ask whether the machinery of Parliament

is designed to work efficiently under such pressure, and how the ordinary citizen—or the ordinary M.P. for that matter—can hope to grasp even the outlines of the structure which the Government is erecting. For, let us make no mistake about it, the modern State is being constructed now in this country, sometimes, I believe, without any conscious design, and our people should have a knowledge of it. It is their due.

### If Peace Were to Break Out?

What would happen if peace were to break out? It is a sober, if not a terrifying, thought. Mr. Chamberlain himself has said that we are no longer living in peace time. Most sensible people would agree with him. In my opinion, we have not been at peace for the last three years, though some deluded themselves, and attempted to delude others, that we were. We may be quite sure that the new peace will be very different from the old. I do not envisage war; if war comes, then who can predict the future? But if it does not come, we ought, and we can at least attempt, to foresee the results of peace.

Before the end of the Great War of 1914-1918 (it is really necessary to append those dates to make it plain one is writing of the past) Mr. Lloyd George set up a Ministry of Reconstruction. We should have such a Ministry now. And we need, at the very least, a committee comparable to that presided over by Lord Haldane to survey the whole field of Government administration and Parliamentary machinery. If adjustments have to be made, including a gradual re-transference of the bulk of our industrial and financial activities on to a peace-time basis, a reform of existing executive and legislative methods is the first step. Members are alive to this, though the same conclusion is reached by many and circuitous routes. The growing demand for a Ministry of Information, an essential defence weapon nowadays and an essential instrument for progress in the future, is one of many symptoms.

### M.P.s Tell The Government

We had a remarkable debate on foreign affairs the week before Whitsun. In the procedure of the House of Commons the choice of debate on certain days rests with the Opposition parties. In this instance it was the Liberal Party who gave the House the opportunity, before going away for the holiday, of hearing from the Government how the Anglo-Soviet negotiations were proceeding and, what is very much more important, of informing the Government of their intense desire for such an agreement at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. Lloyd George has lost none of his mastery in debate, and, although some people thought that he sought to paint the international scheme in too sombre colours, no one could deny the potency of his speech, which lasted for sixty minutes. Mr. Attlee makes good speeches and bad. Lately the good have predominated, and on this occasion he, too, was at the top of his form. He was quieter than Mr. Lloyd George, both in gesture and in expression; but for that reason, perhaps, the two of them made a fine team

which, completed by Mr. Churchill, Mr. Eden, and Sir Archibald Sinclair, must surely, when they all bat on the same wicket, prove invincible.

Mr. Chamberlain looked tired, and made, I must confess it, a tired speech. He has his own way, of course, of influencing the House, and he certainly has the sympathy of everyone in the gigantic burden which his shoulders bear so remarkably for his age. He did not deny the need for a Russian agreement, but did not manage to convince the House that there were any insurmountable reasons for not effecting it immediately. Mr. Churchill, I thought, was more vigorous than I have ever heard him. As everyone knows, his speeches are most carefully prepared, and in delivery he seldom strays from the written word. This time he gave the impression that he was inspired, and the words came to him without momentary hesitation.

### England Expects . . . .

There is a small minority in the House who would prefer to have nothing to do with Russia whatsoever, or who would simply employ her now as a safeguard against German aggression because they cannot do otherwise. These had their say in the debate, but the opinion of the majority of members was quite obvious. The news which comes as these words are penned is a hopeful indication that the Government, carried forward by the tide of events and the wishes of their supporters, and what I believe to be the passionate expectation of the country, will be able very shortly to announce a firm, far-reaching alliance between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain.

Two further comments on the same debate seem called for. It was hardly fair to Mr. Butler or just to the House that an Under-Secretary, even one so talented and able as Mr. Butler, should be put up at the end to reply for the Government. After all, great questions of policy were being discussed, and, in reply to two leaders of the Opposition and three other Privy Councillors, the answer of an Under-Secretary is hardly adequate. As for the extraordinary situation of not one single member of the Cabinet being present when Mr. Eden made his speech, which, incidentally, is acknowledged to have been one of his most successful, it is just this kind of thing that gives the Government a bad name. A little forethought, a little tact, and the whole sorry business could have been avoided. As it is, many people feel that the Front Bench treat the House cavalierly, and those who want ammunition point to such incidents as evidence of the Government's distaste for the decencies of democracy. Actually I understand that a Cabinet Committee on Foreign Affairs was being held at that time, but as later Mr. Elliot was able to take his place on the Front Bench, there is reason to suppose that he or one of his colleagues could have done so before.

### Trust The People

One would hesitate to say that the Government is out of touch with opinion in the country; but they do seem to suffer either from underestimating the courage and virility of our people, or from a habit of creating bogies which are nothing but bogies, and which are inclined to frighten them. Ministers are still insistent that they must not alarm our people by revealing to them in full the dangers of the international situation. The Prime Minister's father made one of his more famous speeches on the theme of "Trust the People," and nothing is so alarming as to discover for oneself that one has been kept deliberately in ignorance.

But what we lack above all is inspiration and a measured design to which the whole nation can bend its efforts, so that our democracy may not merely be safe but better.

## ★ BOUND for the RIO GRANDE



EVEN in this sophisticated age there is romance in the launching of ships. Visions of voyages beyond far horizons. So it is with movements, particularly such a one as the co-operative movement. If the application of the principle of co-operation by consumers was not something unique in human society it was certainly unique in commercial life. And adventurous too, as the Rochdale Pioneers, founders of the modern co-operative movement, discovered. Difficulties abounded. Difficulties of supply—both quality and quantity. But by tackling the problem of supply at its source, and founding their own Co-operative Wholesale Society, the co-operative societies solved those difficulties. From 1862 to to-day the letters C.W.S. have meant reliable goods for Britain's Co-operators. You too can get the best at your stores by asking for

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BOOKS

## SOWING JUSTICE

THE ROMANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

BY

STEPHEN LAWFORD  
AUTHOR OF "YOUTH UNCHARTED"

The author of this book has for many years been associated with the International Labour Office in Geneva. The greater part of SOWING JUSTICE is devoted to showing the growth and organisation of the I.L.O. and its historical development from the tentative hopes that grew out of the misery of the industrial revolution. For although the I.L.O., in its external form, is a comparatively recently-formed organisation, its development became possible only because of a widespread determination in most countries that the appalling lot of the worker must be alleviated.

The story is a fascinating one, for it breathes that very spirit of idealism, liberty and sacrifice which certain forces of peace are trying so hard to achieve at this time. Mr. Lawford writes for the ordinary reader, it is true, but in spite of his non-technical language, his book will appeal to all who are concerned with social progress, be they employers or employees.

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## DESPATCHES FROM THE CAPITALS

### HEADWAY'S SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

#### DANZIG IS A EUROPEAN PROBLEM

BERLIN, May 24.

THIS despatch is being written in Danzig, the centre of European interest at the moment, because it is generally feared that something may happen here which will set this whole continent in conflagration. Yet this city itself is as calm as it could be on the surface, and the Baltic, not far away, is indeed as "quiet as a nun," with little traffic to disturb its equilibrium.

The situation here is one of the most difficult which could be settled amicably between two neighbour States; in fact, mutual good will is lacking. That Danzig is German none would deny. Looking from my hotel windows, I see swastika flags flying. Everywhere German is spoken, and it would be very difficult indeed to find any appreciable number of Poles anywhere, except officials of the railway or some other services which are under Polish control. Here is no minority problem, unless it be the treatment of the few Poles, to whom the local authorities even refused the right to commemorate the anniversary of the death of their hero, Pilsudski, some days ago. As for the Germans, they act and behave as if they were already a part of the Third Reich. In the streets the "Heil! Hitler" salute is given. S.A. and S.S. men march about in uniform, and the whole administration is directed from Berlin. Not a thing is done without first consulting the Nazi party officials there; and if ever there was a misnomer it is to continue to call this the "Free" City of Danzig; for it is almost as tied to Berlin as any city of the Third Reich.

#### Majority Not Nazi

A chat with the average Danziger would suggest that the issue between Germany and Poland turns on the question as to whether his city is to remain German. "Danzig bleibt deutsch" (Danzig remains German) is a toast which is often drunk here. There is no evidence that anybody wishes to make it anything else, but when it is suggested that in this issue there may also be a Polish point of view one finds no response. Yet it is clear to anyone who is willing to see the matter in all its bearings. For

the problem of Danzig cannot be separated from that of the Polish corridor, Upper Silesia, and ultimately of Baltic supremacy.

No time need be wasted on considering the Danziger's attitude towards this issue. Most of them are not Nazi—their cold indifference to a recent parade of S.S. before Herr Greiser, President of the Senate, was evidence of this—but they are resigned to waiting on Berlin advice. Here is an issue between Germany and Poland the settlement of which will be decisive for Europe's future. The present writer does not believe that any war will finally settle this matter satisfactorily; but, at the same time, the British people should realise clearly that to say they will not fight for Danzig, as if it meant merely a matter of a city of 200,000 inhabitants, is to dodge the issue. Danzig is the key to Germany's Baltic and East European policy. If the British people mean that they are not interested in German expansion to the east, all well and good. It is both naïve and dangerous, however, to ignore the underlying purpose of the Nazis.

#### Poland Needs a Port

A glance at the map shows that Danzig and the Polish Corridor separate East Prussia from the rest of the Reich. Undoubtedly, an anomalous situation. But if Germany were allowed to link up the two Prussias, what would happen to Poland? That country would be cut off from all contact with the Baltic Sea, except for some free harbours which Germany would graciously condescend to apportion her in Danzig or elsewhere along that coast. Once the Reich got Danzig under its absolute control it would proceed to fortify it, as it did Memel. From that point to the reduction of the Polish port of Gdynia to a mere "duck pond" (which the Germans sarcastically and wrongly call it to-day) would be a small matter. Then would follow control of the Polish Corridor (which to-day is really Polish) and the economic strangulation of Upper Silesia. With Danzig and Memel fortified and with Königsberg and other parts of East Prussia also in good defensive preparedness, the con-

trol of the Baltic by the Reich is evident. How could the smaller States—Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia—resist Nazi pressure under such conditions? Even now they only do it with great difficulty.

The far-reaching consequences of the Danzig issue are not mere imaginary or Polish propaganda scares. Anybody who knows the sentiment among the Nazis in Berlin knows that these are the lines along which they intend to develop if they can. They consider the Baltic to be their *Lebensraum* (vital space), and it is immaterial whether other peoples are crushed in the process or not.

The problem of Danzig is a European problem, and can only be ended through a European solution. That is the conclusion which any impartial observer must reach here on the spot. And it is also the conclusion to which many Germans and Poles subscribe.

The reader will probably be wondering whether the Danzig question is going to flare up immediately. Nobody can say. It depends upon Hitler, whether he thinks the occasion opportune. At the moment he does not. This is indicated by the fact that the incidents which have occurred recently have been played down in Berlin. But incidents can always be created, and when they begin to loom large in the German Press and "German honour" is invoked, we know what to expect.

#### THE MIRACLE OF FRANCE

By JOHN ELLIOTT

PARIS, May 26.

CONFRONTED with the menace of Hitler and Mussolini, France, as has happened so often in her past, has recovered her unity and her morale just when she appeared hopelessly divided and discouraged. The miracle of 1792 and 1914 is being repeated. It is difficult to recognise this France as the same country which six months ago, on the morrow of Munich, seemed to be resigning itself to becoming a second-class Power.

The outstanding weakness of the Third Republic has been its inability to provide adequate leadership. This defect has now been remedied. Premier Edouard Daladier is living up to his reputation of being a strong man, and

for the first time since the days of Poincaré this country is being ruled with a firm hand.

Daladier is virtually a dictator. He governs by decree powers. Parliament is in abeyance. It has abdicated all its essential prerogatives to the Government until November, and is spending its time debating the academic question of proportional representation. There is talk of its legislative life being prolonged by another two years to avert the necessity of holding the general election which is scheduled to take place next year. And it is symptomatic of the decay of Parliamentary institutions in this country that nobody gets excited about this prospect, which to a foreign observer seems to open the door to a Fascist dictatorship.

#### Man of The Hour

The Prime Minister is undoubtedly the man of the hour. He enjoys the confidence of the army and of the rural regions, which, after all, are still the heart of France.

Apparently Il Duce took seriously those Frenchmen who last autumn were saying that France was through as a first-class Power. The proclamation of the General Strike must have seemed to the Fascist dictator as the signal for the dissolution of the Third Republic. Immediately the Roman rabble was let loose on its noisy manifestations for Nice, Corsica, Tunis, and Jibuti.

But Daladier showed that he was capable of organising resistance to aggression abroad as well as at home. Taking the direction of French foreign policy in his own hands, he boldly declared that France would "yield neither an inch of her territory nor a single one of her rights either to force or ruse." The quiet, firm tones of his radio speeches contrasted favourably with the loud ranting of the dictators. His triumphal progress through Tunis in January revealed the strength of the French military power in her North African colonies.

#### Helped by Hitler

When Hitler tore up the Munich accord by seizing Czechoslovakia Daladier promptly demanded plenary powers of Parliament, and got them. He has since used them to put the country in a state of preparedness to meet any of the much-advertised "lightning-like blows" of the Axis.

Furthermore, Daladier has taken the lead in building up the "peace coalition" to halt Hitler. When French defeatists, repeating their tactics of last September, opened a campaign against the Polish guaranty with the

slogan "Die for Danzig?" the Premier crushed them with his explanation that Danzig was but an aspect of the fundamental issue, which was whether domination or co-operation was to be the order of the day in Europe.

Similarly, Daladier spiked the guns of powerful Paris newspapers, like *Le Matin* and *Le Jour*, which were fighting the alliance with Soviet Russia tooth and nail. The Premier told the Chamber of Deputies that the participation of Soviet Russia in the "peace front" was "essentially desirable," and he asked for it on a basis of "equality and reciprocity." He not only convinced the French Parliament, but he also converted Lord Halifax to this point of view when the British Foreign Secretary stepped off in Paris on his way to the League Council meeting at Geneva.

The Socialists and Communists voted against Daladier, thus preventing him from getting a unanimous vote of confidence in the Chamber. But Leon Blum, leader of the Socialists, made it clear that it was against the Reynaud decree laws and not against the foreign policy of the Government that they were opposing.

Yet Finance Minister Paul Reynaud next to Daladier is the outstanding member of the French Cabinet. He has accomplished the "miracle" of saving the franc, as Poincaré did more than a decade ago. But whereas the Lorrainer worked in a period of peace and prosperity, Reynaud has had to do his job in a time of depression and international tension.

A year ago the franc was skidding, affrighted capital was leaving the country, and people were saying that only a desperate expedient like exchange control could ward off inflation. But since November, when Reynaud became Finance Minister, gold to the value of more than £130,000,000 has returned to France, which, in his own words, has become "the third financial

power of the world." French financial recovery has been marked by the successful conclusion of a domestic loan which has brought more than ten billion francs to the Treasury and by the conversion of all the country's foreign short-term debt into a medium-term debt with the aid of a Dutch-Swiss banking syndicate.

The new spirit that is sweeping France nowadays is well illustrated by the attitude of French Labour. The day of the stay-in strike has gone. The French worker who resisted so fiercely any attempt to alter the sacrosanct forty-hour week a year ago is now cheerfully toiling sixty and even seventy hours a week. Daladier was able to tell the Chamber that at the present time there is only one strike in France, involving a total of just thirteen employees! Now that he is convinced that the Government is in earnest in its intention to halt the dictators, the French worker is gladly doing overtime to turn out aeroplanes and guns, with the result that production is rising, and for the first time in history the French re-armament programme is ahead of schedule. And to those who thought they knew their France that is the greatest miracle of all.

Never say  
Brown Bread  
when  
you mean  
**HOVIS**

Best Bakers Bake it.

THERE'S ALL THE DIFFERENCE!

## OUR EDITORIAL DISCUSSION—No. 1

WITH RUSSIA, PEACE: WITHOUT  
RUSSIA, WAR

SIR NORMAN ANGELL, *having been asked to indicate what, in his view, is the chief problem with which the British people should concern themselves this month, wrote the following letter and sent it to MR. WICKHAM STEED for his comment:—*

May 16.

DEAR WICKHAM STEED,

At this moment of time, in the second half of May, there is, of course, one subject that overshadows everything else in the international field, and that is the nature of our arrangement with Russia. It is a terrifically dangerous situation, which can be stated with tragic brevity: if we get a real Treaty of Mutual Assistance with Russia, the parties to which obviously mean business, there will be peace; if we do not, there will be war; and, what is more, a war which we may lose, or win only after torment which we dare not think about.

## Above All, Prevent War

And because we *dare* not, we *do* not think about it with the stark realism it demands, and so are failing to put first things first—the first of all things being prevention of war. We are mixing up with that supreme purpose such irrelevancies as the relative objectionableness of the Russian and German internal regimes. By such hesitations and reservations we are successfully creating in the minds of the Nazi chiefs real doubts as to whether we ever would come to the aid of Russia, as we have promised to come to the aid of Poland and Turkey. And the existence of such doubts, *even though they ultimately prove to be unfounded doubts*, means war.

The Nazis are pretty certain to argue:

There are evidently still considerable sections in Britain who detest the whole idea of association with Russia, and would not be sorry to see the plan break down. (The disparaging references to Russia by a Cabinet Minister in the midst of the September crisis, and even by the Prime Minister in his remark about the changing personnel of the Russian Government, only the other day, are straws in the wind.) The Russians can hardly like it. If we can stiffen our assurances to them that they will not be attacked by us, that we have given up the idea of the Ukraine Colony, that we may find ample "Lebensraum" in the border states restored to orderliness by Nazi protection, Russia can be persuaded to return into isolation. After all, for no country in the world is isolationism so possible as for Russia. Just as great sections of the bourgeoisie in every country in Western Europe dislike the idea of defending a Bolshevik state, so influential groups in Russia dislike the idea of defending Capitalist states. On the basis of those mutual dislikes we can, if we play our cards properly, bring about such distrust as to be able to drive a wedge and to push Russia into isolation. The border states are then at our mercy, guarantee or no guarantee.

## When the Bombs Fall

What, of course, the Nazis do not foresee—any more than many of us foresee—is that the moment bombs

began to fall on London, and France began to crack, we should completely forget our anti-Russian prejudices, and offer for Russian aid a price very much higher than that at which we could secure it now. But Russian aid would then be too late to prevent war. In other words, our present bogging over the Russian business can only serve to create in the minds of the Nazis the same sort of doubt which existed in the minds of the German rulers in 1914, and which, it is now commonly agreed, was the real reason why the war came, in any case, at that particular time. The Germans did not believe then that they would have a world-wide combination against them. If they *had* believed it, they would not have urged Austria to "clean up" Serbia, and the tragedy might have been avoided.

Or put it, if you like, that had we been ready to form in peace time, for the purpose of *preventing* war, the alliance we (and this includes America) actually did form when war was upon us, no war would have come.

The attitude of the conservatively-minded in Britain towards Russia is very similar to the attitude of the conservatively-minded (the isolationists) in America, towards Europe. Until war actually takes place the American isolationist is immovable. But if France and Britain were in danger of being overcome by Germany, nothing would keep America out. But again, that would not *prevent* the satanic horrors; and there would be no need for America to come in if she would do before war what everyone (except Germany), knows she will do after war.

How can this imagination, pre-vision, consciousness of what we should do in circumstances that have not arisen, be aroused in our people?

## Obstacles in Way

It is, of course, easier to see the obstacles that stand in the way. Vast irrelevancies deflect our vision from the one supreme purpose, the purpose of preventing war. Already *The Times* is beginning to be filled with detailed discussions of the merits of the dispute between Poland and Germany, just as it became so concerned last summer with the merits of the dispute between Germany and Czechoslovakia—and hardly at all with the problem of ensuring that the dispute, whatever its merits, should not be settled by the violence, or threat of violence, of one of the parties.

There is now appearing letter after letter, entering into details as to the relative importance of Danzig on the one hand to Germany and on the other to Poland; questions as to whether Poland really has carried out the Conservancy Works in the Vistula Delta; elaborate figures as to the proportion of Poles to Germans in the Corridor now and in 1914; questions as to whether those living in the Northern part are Cassubians or Poles. . . . Just the kind of confusion that preceded the discussion of the Czechoslovak crisis. And I see that the London letter man in my local paper, who gets his inspiration, I

expect, from some Governmental source, remarks that it would be fatal to make a hard and fast military alliance with Russia, since that would be regarded by Germany as encirclement. One is reminded of the weighty editorial comment of a few weeks ago to the effect that a military alliance with Russia would tend to alienate Portugal, Yugoslavia and Spain!

Confusions of this kind in the presence of an issue of such gravity make one's blood run cold.

It is amazing the way in which a relatively simple problem becomes confused for the public by this kind of irrelevancy. After all, the Russian position has from the outset been perfectly simple and straightforward; and the public seems to have missed the point.

## What Russia Asks

We have given a guarantee to Poland, undertaken to support her against a German attack. Neither we nor the French can in the direct sense furnish any immediate aid to Poland, or Rumania, or Greece, or Turkey, aid, that is, in repelling the invader. The only State that can give such aid is Russia, and the Russian undertaking to give it would be the one thing that would deter Germany. But Russia raises a perfectly simple point. She says in effect:

You ask us to give a guarantee to these border states in return for your support if, *as the result of our guarantee*, Germany makes war upon us. But if guarantees are given to the border states Germany will, of course, carefully avoid attacking *them*, and will attempt, if she can, to attack *us* direct, either through Carpatho Ukraine or Hungary, synchronising such attack possibly with attack via Japan in the Far East. In any case, we very greatly increase danger from German aggression by giving these guarantees. If, as the result, *we are* attacked direct, what are you, Britain, going to do? Do you help us, even though war does not directly arise from action against the border states?

Britain cannot, in fairness, evade that question. The simple, straightforward, honest, direct method is a plain mutual guarantee of the kind envisaged in the Covenant. We did not guarantee Poland from sheer love of the Poles, but because we believed the guarantee indispensable to our own security. If Russia is good enough, then, to aid us in strengthening our security, she is good enough to be helped by us in strengthening hers.

The fundamental difficulty arises, of course, from the fact that the public as a whole do not know what collective security means; how it works, what its purpose is. An instructed minority are informed, but to the immense mass it seems absolutely idiotic to take risks for the defence of Manchus, Chinese, Abyssinians, Spaniards, Austrians, Czechoslovakians, and now, of all people in the world, Bolsheviks.

## The Voter Must Understand

Our job now is what it always has been: to enable the average voter to understand why it is that if we supinely acquiesce in violence, even against those strange folk, we ourselves shall become its victims; that we should help in resistance to violence, not because we love Bolsheviks, but because we hate war.

How can the Union, with its 3,000 branches, best help even at this late hour to bring home this truth?—Yours,  
NORMAN ANGELL.

To this letter MR. WICKHAM STEED replied:—

DEAR NORMAN ANGELL,

May 18.

I agree with you that our treatment of Russia is now the big question. It may not be the biggest question of all, but it is big enough to demand our urgent thought and attention at the moment. So I will tell you what I think.

## "Not Quite a Nice Person"

If I were Stalin, or Molotoff, or any other Soviet Russian who has to decide whether or not his country shall make common cause with us against aggression and war, I should be inclined to answer our Ministers in the same way as I should answer a hypothetical great lady who might wish me to help her in dealing with dissatisfied tenants and retainers on her estate and in shielding her from their attacks. She might say to me: "You are a clever fellow, with a biting tongue, and good fists. Will you kindly help me to keep these rascals in order and reduce them to silence? But you must understand that I do not think you quite a nice person or wish you to mix with my highly-well-born guests in my drawing-room. I will give you quite a comfortable bedroom in one of my attics, and my butler will arrange for you to have your meals in the basement, though, of course, not with my domestic staff. You can learn all the wicked things that are being said and done against me, and can stop them. I shall be grateful to you and you will feel that you have served the cause of peace and justice. So please come to stay with me in the country."

I should answer that great lady by telling her to go to a warm place, and should leave her to manage her rebellious tenants and retainers as best she might.

I happen to know that a noble peer who is certainly not less well-informed about Russia than are His Majesty's Ministers was consulted not long ago by an important Minister upon the best way to deal with Russia. He said, in effect: "Do you consider the help of Russia indispensable? If you feel you cannot do without it, don't go on pulling wry faces, but meet the Russians fairly. If you feel you can do without them and would rather have nothing to do with them, stop handling them with the tongs. They can no doubt make their own terms with Germany."

Our tactics in dealing with Russia are, to my mind, as ludicrous as they are short-sighted. When Hitler had trampled upon his Munich "Agreement" with the Prime Minister so vigorously as to arouse (after a few days' delay) Mr. Chamberlain's righteous indignation, we ought at once to have accepted the Russian proposals of March 18 for a conference, and to have agreed upon joint principles of defence against aggression. At the same time we could have given our pledge to Poland; and we might have made it a condition of any arrangement with Russia that she, like us, would guarantee the independence of Poland, Roumania and other States bordering on Russia in the event of attack upon them. There would have been little difficulty about Polish or Roumanian dislike of having Russian armies on their soil.

## Something Behind All This

As regards Poland, at any rate, the Russians dislike the prospect of sending troops there quite as much as the Poles dislike the prospect of having Russian troops on their territory. What the Poles want are tanks and aero-

planes. They have enough men to deal with any probable emergency. But the one thing the Russians will not stand is the idea that they should be treated as second-class defenders of the peace of Europe, who may be called in to help but not be admitted to the drawing-room. There is something behind all this that we do not understand. It has been said—with what degree of truth I know not, though I fancy not entirely without truth—that secret influences from Portugal, Franco's Spain and elsewhere have been brought to bear upon our Government so as to make them feel that close association between Great Britain and Soviet Russia would be unwelcome to those champions of freedom and democracy. I can well imagine that German and Italian diplomacy will have tried to mobilise such influences so as to restrain the halting steps of our Ministers whom Hitler "rattled" into giving a pledge which puts Poland in a position to decide whether we fight or not. I have never believed in the wisdom of frightened diplomacy. I have always thought that the chief business of a Government is to foresee events, so as not to be taken by surprise, and to provide against them by sound policy.

#### Appeasers Hard at Work

As you suggest, the "appeasers" are hard at work again. Sir Charles Petrie, a Conservative Member of Parliament who is "close" to the Prime Minister, wrote to *The Times* of May 18 to ask "What Is Peace?" and to suggest that the German and Italian acts of aggression in Czechoslovakia and Albania "will have to be condoned, though possibly in return for concessions in other fields." I have been expecting something like this for weeks past. But another Conservative Member of Parliament, Mr. Mark Patrick, wrote the same day something that seems to me shrewder. He said that few of us know or care very much about the racial proportions in Danzig and the Corridor; but that public opinion to-day has grasped with sure instinct the essentials of the present position. It knows that we are face to face with a Continental system which, if it felt strong enough to do so, would try to oust us by force from our world position. He added:—

Last September some people warned us against "fighting for Czechoslovakia"; and to-day they tell us to beware of "dying for Danzig." With precisely equal logic they might have reproached the Duke of Wellington for fighting for the indifferent agricultural land round Waterloo, or have blamed Sir John French for losing tens of thousands of men in defence of a second-rate market town like Ypres.

#### Wiser and Firmer

It is because the general public are wiser and firmer than the Government that there may be some hope of getting out of the present mess without war, and of building up, with Russia, a strong front against aggression. Without Russia we cannot build it up; and this is why the aggressive Powers are doing all they can to keep us from clinching matters with Russia. But, as you say, the problem of real collective security lies behind the whole issue, and our people do not yet know what collective security means. The L.N.U. ought to tell them what it means. I feel sure that if we are ever to get it we shall have to go far beyond our present makeshift tactics and pool our national sovereignty with that of other peace-loving countries in a permanent union against the method of violence in international affairs.

For the moment, however, it is the question of Russia that counts most. And if our Government do not settle it in the right way, without further waste of time, the "Inner Cabinet" will deserve something worse than impeachment.—Yours,  
WICKHAM STEED.

SIR NORMAN ANGELL sent copies of both letters to the EARL OF LYTTON, who replied:—

May 22.

DEAR SIR NORMAN,

I have read the letter you have written to Wickham Steed on the subject of an agreement with Russia and his reply to you. They interested me greatly, and I agree with you both that the inclusion of Russia in a collective system of resistance to aggression is the most urgent need of the moment. But if this is to be accomplished without a further division of opinion in our ranks, it is essential that our own people should understand the nature of and the reasons for this co-operation, and I should like to add one or two arguments to those which you and Steed have used so effectively.

It is necessary that our members should be constantly reminded of the principles which the League of Nations Union exists to advocate, and the Russian agreement must be considered in the light of these. Our first object is to secure peace between nations and to prevent disputes being settled by force or threats of force. We are not, therefore, concerned with the merits of any dispute, whether between Japan and China, between Italy and France or between Germany and Poland. We are only concerned that they shall not be settled by force.

#### As Many States as Possible

Our second object is to secure the first by means of collective action between as many States as possible, since we know that it cannot be secured by one State alone. We, therefore, support the League of Nations because by the terms of the Covenant its States' members are pledged to secure peace by this means. We are not concerned with the form of government of any State, provided that it accepts the Covenant and the obligation not merely to refrain from aggression itself, but also to assist other members in resisting aggression wherever it may be threatened or attempted. As you have so well pointed out on many occasions, alliances have been used in the past to secure victory in war, but, except in the case of the League of Nations, no alliance has been attempted to maintain peace. Such an alliance as that contemplated by the Covenant is not directed against any nation and cannot be used to injure any nation: it exists only to protect its members from injury. Any nation that accepts this obligation is welcome as a member of the League.

In the days when Russia refused to join the League of Nations and at the same time pursued a propaganda outside its own borders which threatened the interests of other countries, those of us who did not share her ideology came to regard her as a dangerous enemy; and so ingrained did this belief become that it could not be shaken off immediately after Russia had changed her policy. There are those who even now regard any co-operation with Russia as in the nature of an unholy alliance. Yet the entrance of Russia into the League of Nations is now welcomed by most of our members, and her co-operation in any more precise plan for the collective resistance to aggression should be equally welcomed.

#### When Russia Could Have Helped

The refusal of Russia to co-operate with the League's Commission of Enquiry in the Far East was a great handicap to the work of that Commission, and had her attitude then been what it is to-day, our work for peace in that part of the world might have been more successful. No one who realises that can doubt that the same is true in Europe. If Germany and Italy were to change their attitude and consent to co-operate with us for the maintenance of peace, their co-operation would be equally welcomed, even though their forms of government remained unchanged.

I hope that the arguments you have used will help to convince those of our members who still have any doubts that our cause will be materially assisted by the inclusion of Russia in any concerted action for the maintenance of the principles of the Covenant.—Yours,  
LYTTON.

## MAY IN ENGLAND

By H. MAX BOWDEN

THREE little girls sang very nicely outside my door one fine May morning not realising that I was in the garden almost by their side.

Their singing rose up in the still, sweet air like a thanksgiving for the lovely weather.

Standing in front of the warm Cotswold stone house with the sun filtering through the tall elms and dappling the lawn with a dancing golden patchwork, they seemed to have stepped out of an old-fashioned picture book in their spotless white Sunday frocks. The smallest carried a wreath of white may on the end of a hazel wand, and the other two had large bouquets of wild flowers.

The song finished, they knocked timidly at the door and I walked over and thanked them for their singing, but my appearance from an unexpected quarter confounded them and they could only stare at me and giggle self-consciously. However, the eldest did recover sufficiently to hold out the little embroidered bag into which I dropped a sixpence: I asked them in for a slice of cake.

On closer inspection they proved to be three little girls from the village that I knew quite well—we were the best of friends whenever we met on work-a-day occasions, but, alas, they had put on an impenetrable reserve with their Sunday clothes.

I had been building a dry stone wall when the "Mayers" appeared, and when they had gone I went back to my unfinished work, selected a large flat comfortable-looking stone, sat down and lit my pipe.

A butterfly flipped happily across the lawn and flies buzzed about hysterically alive. Through the trees I could see lambs on the hillside pasture curvetting madly like animated woolly toys. The merry month of May—there is something about May that gets into the blood—I always want to dance and sing on a fine May morning in the country. As I sat there smoking on the sun-warmed stone, basking in the sunshine and colour of spring, it was easy to imagine the May-day revels of old—the gaudily decorated maypole on the village green surrounded by the villagers in their gayest clothes. The carefree laughter and dancing, the rough jests with good malt liquor and honest cider to wash them down. There was an earthy exuberance about the old country festivals that is hard to find these days—they have lost their abandoned sincerity and become self-conscious. The village is no longer a complete social structure—it has become a disjointed skeleton of what it was, dependent on

A postscript from SIR NORMAN ANGELL:—

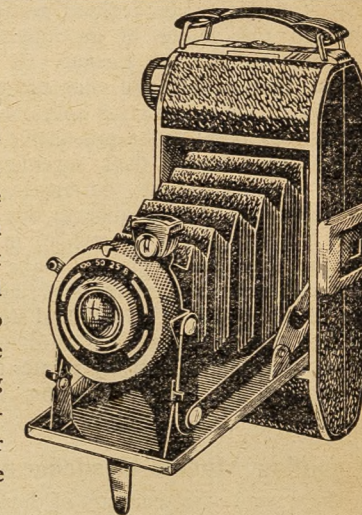
Since my letter to Mr. Wickham Steed, the chances of concluding an Alliance with Russia seem to have improved. But we should do well not to take it for granted that everything in these alliances will run smoothly. There is at the moment of writing no signed agreement with Turkey, and Poland's relations with Germany become daily more precarious. The next step will be to see that our Allies observe a code of conduct which does not give justification for attack; show a readiness to submit to arbitration; to facilitate peaceful discussion of differences; to offer to Germany the rights they—and we—claim. When that has been done we shall have turned the Alliance into a nucleus League; have begun rebuilding the League, which is the only hope of securing peace.

I see that even *The Times* hints that the way to deprive an alliance with the Eastern States of danger is to give it the character of the League. N. A.

a bus service and the nearest town for its amusements. These thoughts made me feel gloomy—it seemed that we had lost something very worth-while, and had only got a few very doubtful amenities in exchange.

As I sat pondering on these things the three childish voices piped up again outside the farmhouse on the other side of the sunken lane. A farm lad jogged past on a cart horse whistling merrily. He wore a sprig of may in his weather-stained hat, the horse brasses glinted in the sun and ribbons streamed from neatly plaited tail and mane—a lark catapulted into the blue trailing a liquid stream of song. It was impossible to go on feeling gloomy, the old spirit still seemed to be alive after all. I got up and went about my wall building.

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# THE SPIRIT GIVETH LIFE

By WICKHAM STEED

*Who, writing on Clarence Streit's "Union Now," in which a plan is set out for a World Peace Federation, addresses some urgent questions to the L.N.U.*

There was a meeting in London the other night to discuss Clarence Streit's book, "Union Now." The discussion was confidential in so far as the names of those who took part in it are concerned, and the place at which it was held. But we were allowed to make use of the ideas that were put forward.

One idea was that Streit's proposal offers the best and the most practicable way of getting what some people call "the democracies" and what I call the "free nations" of the world to unite their forces and their efforts, not merely for the prevention of war but for the creation of helpful, constructive peace.

## States or Peoples?

Another idea was that Streit's criticism of the League principle and his contention that the League was doomed to failure because it is a League of sovereign States, not a union of peoples, are a direct attack upon the League itself, and should be resisted by all who support the League Covenant and the League of Nations Union.

A third idea was that Streit's proposal runs alongside of the League ideal, and that it can only be realised gradually through the action of an inter-State organisation like the League. It was argued that nations still cling too tenaciously to their respective sovereignties for any proposal to be practicable that they should merge their sovereignties over armaments, trade, currencies, and so forth. They may come to this one day, but not yet. Meanwhile, in the League they had begun to make important sacrifices of sovereignty; and if the League could be vivified and strengthened, these surrenders of sovereignty might become progressively greater until something like positive union were attained.

## Appalling Muddle-Headedness

There were other currents of thought, though these were the principal. There was also—to my mind—an appalling revelation of muddle-headedness on the part of quite a number of people whom I should have expected to have thought things out with some approach to clearness.

I am not sure whether any member of the L.N.U. Executive was present. But it struck me as I listened to the debate that its subject was precisely one of those matters on which the L.N.U. Executive ought to make up its mind. What is it driving at? Is it merely repeating what so

many people, unfortunately, think the vain and almost obsolete shibboleths of the League Covenant? Is it merely exclaiming, "Back to the League! Back to the League!" when a growing number of folk in many countries think the League a dead horse that will not respond to whipping? Or is it ready to welcome any proposal, no matter how critical it may seem to be of the League and its Covenant, that may help to bring the nations together in a determined attempt to resist violence and to give the world a chance of tackling the immense and hazardous problem of creating peace?

Of course, I am a heretic. Any sort of orthodoxy repels me. I have always admired a phrase once written by a philosophical American friend of mine, the late Henry B. Brewster, that "The sub-title of the history of mankind might be: 'Annals of the Discomfiture of the Orthodox.'" And, like Voltaire, who wrote that in England a man was free to go to heaven by any road he might choose, I do not care a rap for the road men take to the heaven of peace, provided they get there.

## Nations Unfit for Peace

One thing has struck me increasingly during these past twenty years. It is the unfitness of nations, and, for that matter, of individuals, for peace. I was present on February 14, 1919, when President Wilson read the draft Covenant of the League to the Paris Peace Conference. That night I wrote that in the Conference Hall one felt that the affairs of the world had been lifted, if only for a moment, on to a higher plane, that the old dimensions of national individualism, secret policies, competition in armaments, and arbitrary annexations to satisfy the selfishness of unlimited State sovereignties had given place to nobler dimensions in which the organised moral consciences of peoples might be supreme. How long will this feeling last, I asked. All that could be said was that a sense that something new, something irrevocable was being done pervaded the Conference. The speeches were those of men who, if not exactly afraid of their handiwork, were conscious of their boldness in trying to frame a new charter for civilised and uncivilised mankind.

It may have been a moment of ecstasy. But these are moments when one feels what life might be. Why

have we fallen so far from that "state of grace"? Why are we now trembling on the brink of another great war?

## Chances Thrown Away

In appearance, far more than in reality, the victors in the Great War held the future of humanity in their hands. We may say that both then and afterwards they threw away the chance which destiny had given them. Anyhow, we are bound to ask: Why? My answer is that very few of the delegates to the Peace Conference, and none of the nations they represented, were then fit for the task of peace or had the faintest notion that peace could be anything more than the prevention of war. It was only four and a-half years since their nations had gone into war for reasons with which the ideal even of a league to prevent war had nothing to do. And four and a-half years are a very short time in which to prepare men's minds for the overthrow of so deeply rooted and universally recognised an institution as war.

So here we are, back again in the summer of 1914, with the League discredited, armaments more ruinous than ever, the nations bewildered, and statesmen turning somersaults so swiftly that we hardly know which are their heads and which their feet and whether they are thinking with either. The members of the L.N.U. are uncertain whether the League itself has a future, and, if not, what the L.N.U. stands for. Should war come they would feel it to be the end of most if not all of their hopes. On this point I think they are thoroughly wrong.

## War Habit as Old as Man

The war habit must be as old as mankind. To the waging of war the best brains and the most resolute characters have been devoted from time immemorial. Was it likely that this institution could be overthrown in four and a-half years, or that nations, of whom many had fought hard to be independent, would be ready all at once to give up enough of their independence to make the League work smoothly? I think not. I hope that the belated efforts of the Prime Minister and his colleagues to create some kind of "collective security" against German and Italian aggression will succeed in stav-

ing off another immense conflict. But I am not sure. And should war come, in the name of what ideal, of what principle, of what belief are we to face it? What faith will inspire us to fight and die and to bid young fellows to fight and to die, so that the survivors may enter a better world?

## Suppose We Lose?

This I ask on the supposition that we should win the war. Suppose we should lose it? What if England were half-smashed by German aircraft, her cities made uninhabitable by gas, her food supplies partly or wholly cut off, her trade routes so infested by submarines that her merchant shipping were sunk or paralysed? What if she had no choice but to submit? Professor Banse—who spoke for the Hitlerite school of German geo-political thought—foreshadowed this prospect six years ago. He wrote: "We confess that it is charming to imagine and to portray the downfall of this proud and secure (English) people at some future time, a people which will have to obey foreign laws in a country unconquered since 1066, or will have to renounce its lucrative colonial empire. Every Englishman and Englishwoman would regard these sentences as a monstrosity, indeed, a blasphemy, if they ever came to know of them."

To me this "charming" prospect has long been familiar. It lay behind pan-German thought before the War, and it has always inspired the school of political prophets from whom Hitler drew his doctrine. The only question in their minds was whether England should come first or last; whether Germany should wheedle England into being a passive accomplice of the subjugation of Europe, only to be smashed and subjugated in her turn when Germany should be mistress of Europe. It is quite useless to say that "the German people do not want war." The German people have no say in the matter.

## Two League Defects

Yet should war come, and should we and our friends win it, the problem of the German people would still be there. And this brings me back to Clarence Streit's book and to his proposal for "Union Now." To my mind the League had two fatal defects from the moment the United States refused to enter it. The first was that a main purpose of the Covenant—to abolish neutrality, that is to say, the sovereign right of States to stand aside in the event of aggression—was defeated by the prospect that America would be neutral towards or

even against the League. If Great Britain had faced this prospect, had declared she would never be neutral, and had been ready to run risks for collective security, all might have been well. The United States would probably have joined the League in 1926 at latest. But successive British Governments thought it more prudent to "hedge." The Labour Government in 1924 rejected Lord Cecil's "Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance," and the Conservative Government rejected the Geneva Protocol in 1925. So foolish were they that they could not see that the safety of Great Britain was bound up, as it still is, with the organisation of collective security against war.

## Danzig a Symbol

Now even the Chamberlain Government sees this. It is linking up not only with Poland and Roumania but with Russia, Turkey, and Greece. It is even ready to "fight for Danzig" if the Poles say that Danzig must be fought for. But it has done little to help our people understand that "Danzig" may be a symbol for the security and existence of Great Britain and the whole British Commonwealth, to say nothing of democratic freedom and human right in the world.

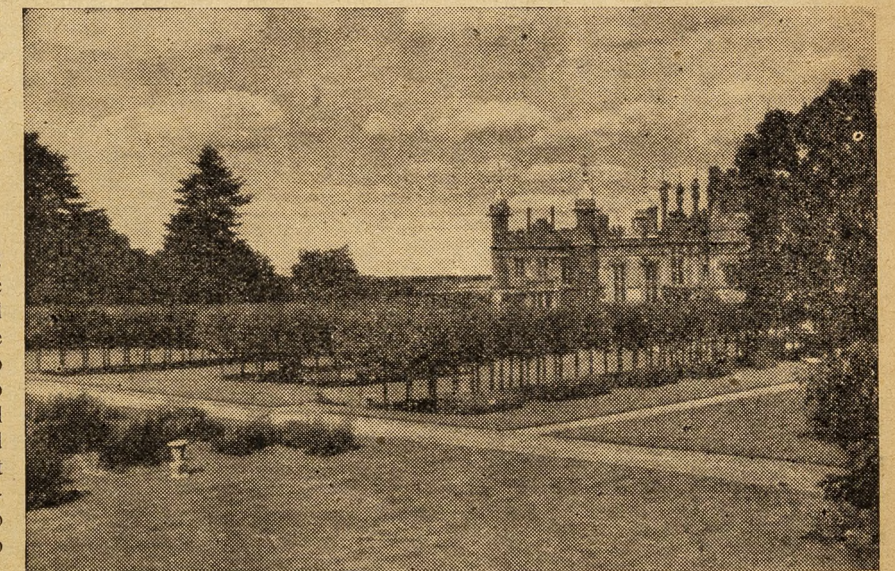
I do not suggest that the L.N.U. should undertake this work of enlightenment. But I do suggest that the L.N.U. Executive should do some pretty hard thinking. If war comes it will be all hands to the pumps. If war does not come, will this somewhat ramshackle front against aggression which we are trying to form be a substitute even for the present League of Nations? Ought we not rather, here and now, to make up our minds that

instead of merely handing over our "sovereignty" to Poland in such a way as to leave to her the decision whether we fight or not, we should deliberately propose a pooling of national sovereignties over armaments, and eventually over trade, in a union of the free peoples, who would act as one in all matters of common concern?

## Not All Under One Hat

This is, in substance, Streit's conception. It is shared in this country by the members of a little group (which may become a big group) who call themselves "Federal Union." It does not exclude nor is it hostile to the League. But the idea of union has the great advantage of avoiding the other fatal defect of our present League, which is its hankering after universality. We cannot yet bring all the nations of the world under one hat. But we might get together those nations that hate war and believe in freedom. To-day these nations control at least two-thirds of the world's resources. Standing together as a union they would be unassailable. The peoples of Germany and Italy would soon feel that exclusion from this union would be fatal to them. They would want to qualify for admission to it; and they should only be admitted when they had got rid of the dictators and had proved in practice that for them, as for us, the State is the instrument of man, not man the tool of the State.

I feel sure that something like this is needed to give a new impulse to the ideal which the League was meant to serve, and perhaps to put the League on its feet again with a new spirit. And I am all for the spirit that giveth life as against the letter that killeth.



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## A BOOK THAT EVERYONE MUST READ

Reviewed by ROGER FORTUNE

**SECURITY: CAN WE RETRIEVE IT?** By Sir Arthur Salter, M.P. (Macmillan. 8s. 6d.)

This is the right book, published at the right time, written by the right man. It stands a rock amid the floods of hasty, improvised narrative and criticism which have been let loose at each successive shock to European peace. When they have drained away, it will remain to show where the British people escaped from delusions which had been leading them to disaster.

The book's message is not novel. The L.N.U., of whose executive committee the author is a member, has argued the same case month by month, year by year, ever since 1918. To use once more Mr. H. G. Wells's unanswerable dictum, "There is no way out of war, except organised peace." By a common effort of intelligence and will an end must be put to international anarchy. Nations must no longer be sole judges in their own case; there must be acknowledgment that rights are something other than interests and ambitions whose satisfaction nations are ready and able to extort by war. Arms must be restricted to their proper use, the protection of the community from violence. Collective security, peaceful change, settlement by friendly process of all international disputes, disarmament, social justice are the essential elements of a world order. They have been exhibited and explained and emphasised by the L.N.U. throughout its career with what its critics have protested is "a more damnable gift of reiteration than any man's in Christendom." But until now governments and nations

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have not been truly convinced. They have assented; they have not acted.

Here is what gives Sir Arthur Salter's book supreme importance. Now, at long last, nations completely and governments very nearly have been convinced. They have seen at work the alternative to such a system as the League of Nations and they are terrified. Since 1931 appeasement has been tried over and over again with the meekest persistence. The paws of the beasts of prey have been shaken cordially many times; a delicate tact has ignored their stains. In Manchuria Japan was allowed to commit herself step by step to a full policy of conquest. In Abyssinia Signor Mussolini drove ahead knowing that he was safe from effective sanctions or other measures that would have defeated him. In Spain non-intervention was made to mean: "Don't notice while Italy and Germany intervene with all the men and munitions they choose." For Austria and Albania and Memel no word was said. Czechoslovakia was protected, in the sense that British and French pressure thrust her into a position in which she could no longer defend herself. The democratic, peaceful nations gave appeasement a prolonged and expensive trial. They could not have persisted further and survived. To-day the accumulating lessons of experience are too insistent to be ignored.

### Return To Collective Security

Coming to explain collective security, Sir Arthur Salter finds it suddenly and rather surprisingly the national policy. A wide public is in exactly that state of mind in which what he has to say is most interesting to it and most helpful. No book could be more timely nor could any author be better equipped for his task. Sir Arthur inspires confidence in the plain man by his gifts, his record, and his unostentatious fidelity to a good cause.

In the war years, in a key position, when a failure on his part might have brought defeat, Sir Arthur's management of the Allied Shipping Control won him a deserved reputation, which, unlike many others, has not faded with the passing of time. He demonstrated that intricate problems of international organisation can be solved by first rate administrative ability. At Geneva, during the League's most successful period to date, he drove home in peace on a more extensive stage the proof he had given in war. More recently, as Independent Member of Parliament for Oxford University, he has acquired a unique influence. He has shown himself possessed of a mind which perceives clearly and in detail what needs to be done, and is able to suggest practical methods by which it can be done. Throughout his career, and in his writing no less, Sir Arthur's peculiar characteristic has been an inspired common sense. The British people are always inclined to accept the advice of such a leader, when they can find him.

In "SECURITY" Sir Arthur tears away the veils of diplomatic pretence. He makes his readers face the facts. The dangers to peace, democracy, civilisation are formidable and immediate. They can be defeated if every effort is exerted now. But there is no time to spare and no surplus of resources which can safely be left unemployed. Great Britain must mobilise all her strength. She must also enlist in the common cause every possible friend. Even more is necessary. An ideal must be put before the nations. When the people are called upon for sacrifice it must be for an object that is worthy of their devotion. A world

order of peace and justice in the future is an essential factor in successful defence in the present. The League is both the inspiration and the bulwark of the British people, as it is of all their neighbours, who see life in terms not of war and conquest, but of constructive peace. Of that Sir Arthur has no doubt. He writes:—

When the last war ended, those who represented the best in Europe and in the world had an ideal before them. They meant to reconstruct from the ruins a better economic structure and a juster form of society. They meant to heal the wounds of the defeated peoples and bring them as free and equal citizens into a new world system. They meant to preserve and develop what was finest in the traditions of each of their own countries. And as the instrument and embodiment of these purposes they meant to establish a form of world government which would both secure peace by collective defence and ensure justice by equal negotiation and impartial judgment.

"It was a great effort for a worthy ideal. It failed—for a time—it just failed; not because it was mistaken, but because it was pursued with a divided purpose and at times by ill-chosen methods.

"It is, I would urge, to this ideal, in its main conception, that we must return while correcting our errors and improving our methods. And to maintain our purpose we must constantly, in all the distracting anxieties of these times, recall and repeat what we know in our hearts but too easily forget. We must steel our minds against those generalisations, bred so easily of hatred and fear, about the peoples to whom we may be opposed in war.

In the earlier chapters of the League's history Great Britain has hesitated to put all her strength behind the Covenant because she has failed to understand the disposition of world forces and her own actual position. She has, Sir Arthur tells his readers bluntly, looked upon the League as an instrument for the protection of other nations. Her support of the League has been in her eyes a contribution, not to British security, but to world peace. She has, therefore, been inclined always to limit her subscription to what she can afford; she has not seen that of all the League beneficiaries she is most in need of its help. Outside the League she can have no assured defence.

### Taught By the Aggressors

The aggressions of Japan, Italy, and Germany and their possible developments, which are only too clear to the least attentive observer, have awakened her from her dream. She has been brought to acknowledge that peace, which is indivisible, is the greatest, most permanent of British interests, and that commitments, definite and public, and entered into in good time, do not increase the risks of war, but remove them. In fact, sufficiently wide commitments for peace are the only guarantee against conflict. So much of Sir Arthur's case has been translated into action in Britain's pacts with Poland and Turkey and Russia and her pledges to Rumania and Greece while he was writing and since.

But there is more, much more, which still has to be understood and worked into the fabric of an ordered world if the world is to escape collapse. Perhaps the most valuable part of "SECURITY" is its outline of what the new Europe must be to deserve and command the acceptance of all its children. Sir Arthur would make no concessions to threats. The payment of tribute under threat of violence is only an encouragement to an aggressor. Sooner or later the potential law-breaker who receives it is tempted to take one fatal step too far, and the result is war. The law-abiding member of a community built on law, however, is entitled to the lawful satisfaction of her just claims. Her grievances must be heard, and if she is able to prove her case they must be remedied. With a peaceful Germany, who came for equity with clean hands, Sir Arthur would negotiate a comprehensive settlement. He would amend the Versailles Treaty, he would wipe out the war guilt clause, he would give equal access to raw materials, he would set up a fair colonial system, he would agree on a measure of all-round disarmament. Ger-



## THE LEAGUE EXPERIMENT

By E. E. REYNOLDS

Why and how has the League of Nations failed? The author examined the ideas that went to the making of the Covenant, and discusses reforms. He puts the case for and against the League's most contentious problems, Article 10, Sanctions, the Kellogg Pact, the Geneva Protocol, etc., and finally states his own conclusions.

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many would be invited into the peace circle not on sufferance nor in fear, but of right. She would neither levy blackmail on her neighbours nor be encircled by them. She would make freely to the welfare of the world that unique contribution which is promised by the splendid qualities of her people and her vast resources. But the essential condition is that, to free herself, she shall allow others their freedom.

Sir Arthur's last word is one of hope as well as warning. He believes that the Democracies if they show themselves strong in union may induce Nazi Germany to return to the path of international co-operation. Hitler may choose to be partner rather than enemy. Or perhaps the Nazi régime will disappear.

### THE CINDERELLAS OF THE EMPIRE

Long the Cinderellas of the British Colonial Empire, the West Indies are to-day the object of a very lively and anxious attention. Strikes are frequent; many of them are accompanied by serious disorders. Native labour, it is admitted, has not been well treated; wages are low, living and working conditions are bad. The public conscience is troubled. Many politicians and writers, disconcerted by the German, Italian, Japanese challenge to Great Britain ("What are you doing for your subjects to deserve your privileged position?") have made voyages of investigation across the Atlantic. Many of them have returned to announce a discovery of special interest to supporters of the League of Nations. They found the West Indian negroes still deeply resentful of Italy's attack on Abyssinia and of the League's failure to defeat it. They are confirmed in the belief that they live in a world of privileged whites and plundered blacks. The evil consequences of not working the League are countless.

The PENGUIN 6D.'S include an admirable book on the West Indies by Professor Macmillan.

# "THEIR PURPOSE IS TO BE JUST"

By BLANCHE E. C. DUGDALE

THESE words are quoted from the White Paper on Palestine. In them the Government invoked the test by which the British people will rightly wish to form their own opinion about the new policy. But the Government has refused to give either Parliament or the country any opportunity of hearing the considered verdict of any impartial tribunal on this latest interpretation of the Mandate, before the House of Commons was asked to approve it. Neither the Permanent Court of International Justice, nor the Council of the League, guided by the Mandates Commission, have yet pronounced upon whether the White Paper accords with the international obligations under which Britain was entrusted with responsibility for Palestine. The Government spokesmen declared themselves satisfied on this point, and the House of Commons was expected to be satisfied with this assurance. But the whole course of the debate showed the growing uneasiness, and the Government's majority sank to two figures, in spite of a three-line "whip" to its supporters. Small wonder.

Next month the Government must seek the approval of the Mandates Commission of the League, which is a body of experts, free of governmental control, which has several times shown itself highly critical of the way in which the Palestine Mandate is being carried out. But in the meantime the British public must either accept the Government's assertion that their new policy is "in strict accordance" with their Mandatory obligations, or must itself grapple with a highly complicated subject, overlaid now with bitter controversy, but in which the honour as well as the interests of this country are deeply involved.

The Government announces its intention of winding up the Mandate in ten years if possible, with a view to then establishing a Palestinian State. When five of these ten years have elapsed the Mandatory Power is to renounce its obligations to admit Jewish immigration. In the meantime the Government proposes to restrict it to a figure which is expected to prevent the number of Jews in Palestine rising above one-third of the total population of the country. Further immigration is to depend upon that consent.

This brief outline contains the most essential part of the White Paper. It is easier to state it than to square it with the hitherto accepted principle that neither of the two races whose rights in Palestine we are pledged to respect shall dominate, or be dominated by the other. The Jews are to be relegated to a position similar to that which the Sudeten Germans found intolerable in the democratic State of Czechoslovakia, although, unlike the Sudeten Germans, their objection to such a minority status has not gained the practical sympathy of the highest circles in the British Cabinet.

But, on the other hand, a number of ordinary British people, having noted the methods of the Arab terrorists in the last three years, can to some extent understand one at least of the reasons why the Jews refuse to accept the new interpretation of the pledges in which they trusted when they established their National Home in Palestine. The Arabs are helping to stimulate our imagination on this point by outbursts of fury at having to wait ten years before they can hope to have the Jewish population of Palestine at their mercy.

And indeed he is a rash man who to-day pins his hopes upon calculations of the state of affairs ten years ahead. There are forces at work inside and outside Palestine which make nonsense of the Government policy before they have even worked it out in detail. Many points in it are only cast so far into terms of the vaguest promises, as the Colonial Secretary admitted when he refused to satisfy the curiosity of Parliament about the form of "safeguards" for the Jewish minority. Ministers prattled of their hopes that Jews and Arabs would "get together." Mr. MacDonald seemed to think that a basis of agreement might be found in their respective objections to the British plan. The existence of these objections appeared to reassure him about the statesmanship of the framers of that plan. It is possible that both Jews and Arabs do already agree with the British critic who summed up the policy of the White Paper as "selling the Jews, and cheating the Arabs." Both peoples may have lost their faith in British word and honour. But agreement of that tragic kind is no foundation on which peace can be built in Palestine.

It is only two years since the present British Government accepted the proposal of the Royal Commission to divide the greater part of Palestine into two States, Arab and Jewish, each with power to decide who should come in, and who should stay outside its frontiers. To-day, more than ever, this principle of partition is seen to get at the root of the Palestinian problem. But the White Paper dismisses the scheme of the Royal Commission as "impracticable," without further explanation. Nevertheless the Colonial Secretary has hinted that some sort of Federal solution floats somewhere among the Government's visions of the future of Palestine.

It is a vision shared by many friends both of Arabs and Jews, and by many who perceive how vital British interests are bound up with peace in the Middle East. But it is hard to reconcile it with a policy which does all it can to crush Jewish enterprise, and stays the flow of Jewish capital which is making Palestine a centre of prosperity, which, if left unchecked, must spread far beyond the borders of the tiny enclave reserved for the Jewish National Home among the vast Arab territories beyond.

## Letters to the Editor

Sir,—Some time ago I ventured a suggestion that the most telling phrase in HEADWAY should be framed in larger print on some page.

You have gone farther and made a striking front page of Sir Norman Angell's "Peace Circle" in this month's issue.

It is fine. To leave the paper about is an invitation to open it.

May I make another suggestion? It is that the "telling" phrase should be printed on small gummed slips.

Half a dozen of these sent with each HEADWAY would, I am sure, be distributed by members, pasted on the backs or fronts of their letters. That would mean circulation to a million and a-half people, not counting those who handled them—i.e., postmen and servants—a multi million service—the miniature poster!—Yours faithfully,

A. STRATFORD COX.

12, Clare Road, Cotham, Bristol, 6.

### "Union Now"

Sir,—We the undersigned, consisting of teachers, clerical workers, artisans, and a parson are in positions which inform us of public opinion in

our town of 14,000 people. We find a considerable interest in, and a certain amount of approval of, a scheme of union on the lines indicated by Streit's book, "Union Now." If this be true of our town, typical in other ways of other industrial towns, it is possibly true of the whole country. In other words, we suggest that there is a large body of opinion waiting to be given articulation and ready to be organised to the end of securing world union. We invite you, Sir, to test the validity of this suggestion with respect to your readers, and, finding it true, to offer the leadership which your influence can provide.

ALFRED LYNCH, Vicar, St. Catherine's Church, Horwich; EDITH HOLROYD, Treasurer, L.N.U., Horwich Branch; MARJORIE G. R. WHITE, Teacher; JANE M. WILKIE, Teacher; ELIZABETH MCEVOY; RICHARD LANGTON, Artisan; G. D. REEDFORD, Draughtsman; A. H. WALLACE, B.A., F.L.A., Chairman of Horwich L.N.U.; A. E. BEERY, B.A., Teacher; G. MARGARET LLOYD, B.A., Teacher.

[NOTE.—An article by Dr. Gilbert Murray on "Union Now" is unavoidably held over until July HEADWAY.—Ed.]

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