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# HEADWAY

## IN WAR-TIME

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### EDITORIAL

## DAYS OF PROMISE AND OPPORTUNITY

Members and Branches are by this time aware that, in consequence of significant and long-expected developments in the war situation, it was not possible after all for the League of Nations Union to hold its General Council Meeting at the end of June. In respecting the Government's wish that travel should be cut down to a minimum, the Union was in step with other national organisations that decided to cancel or postpone conferences scheduled for about this time. How long it will be before the Council can meet must for a little while remain uncertain. But the work of the Union will not and must not stand still.

Provisional arrangements have been made for the Executive to carry on such business of the Union as would normally be the province of the General Council. Nevertheless, there is greater need than ever for increased activity in the Branch field. Here the reasons which impelled a postponement of the Council do not apply. On the contrary, the hope that the European offensives may bring the war to a victorious end, within a matter of months perhaps, makes this a vital period for our Union. We must be strong, and ready to play an active part in ensuring that the promised "general international organisation" is formed on the right lines and that it has, from the beginning, full and whole-hearted public support.

So far, official moves by Allied Govern-

ments, notably those of Great Britain and the United States, have been the best possible incentive to greater effort by Union members everywhere. There are grounds for believing that our own proposals, foreshadowing so much that is to be found in the plans announced by British and American statesmen, have received careful attention in high quarters. President Roosevelt, in his statement of June 16, emphasised that his plan for a world security organisation owed much to suggestions received from groups, organisations and individuals. But, passing on to the future, he stressed that "the hope of a peaceful and advancing world will rest upon the willingness and ability of the peace-loving nations . . . to work together for the maintenance of peace and security."

*Willingness and ability.* As far as this country is concerned, it is the Union's job to ensure that these two prime necessities shall not be lacking. Their existence after the war will depend, in no small degree upon the knowledge, and understanding, and faith, which Union Branches all over Britain can spread with true crusading zeal. Let us, then, make the most of these days of promise and opportunity.

### **United Nations Day**

United Nations Day, June 14, was not entirely overshadowed by the immense events in Normandy and on other battle

fronts. In the circumstances, all the plans for its observance, made by the United Nations Day Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Lytton, could not be put into effect. But both here and in the United States, the occasion was used to emphasise that unity which, having brought final victory, must continue after the war to make lasting peace possible. The Prime Minister dwelt upon this theme in his special United Nations Day message. The Poet Laureate, Mr. John Masefield, wrote some lines for the occasion. Mrs. Roosevelt's broadcast, besides being heard throughout the U.S.A., was transmitted by the American Broadcasting Station in Europe. Since national standards were now part of the world pic-

ture, she said, nations great and small must join together to work for unity and freedom throughout the world.

In large numbers of British schools which observed United Nations Day, many thousands of copies of the special leaflet published by the Council for Education in World Citizenship were distributed. For meetings, very full and informative speakers' notes were prepared. This collection of factual material about the United Nations may be recommended for wider use than its original purpose. It will be found useful for lectures, discussion groups and study circles. Copies will gladly be supplied on application to Head Office, 11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

## THE NEW SOCIETY OF NATIONS

By DR. HUBERT RIPKA (Czechoslovak Minister of State)

I have felt for some time that I should like to tell the leaders of the British League of Nations Union how grateful the Czechoslovaks are for all the help they so enthusiastically and generously gave to the just cause of our country in our darkest hour. We know that we have always had sincere friends in your midst, and I am convinced that this mutual friendship will undergo no change in the future.

I should like to state clearly, and without any mental reservation, that we intend to give our full support to, and take an ample share in, the international organisation that is to be set up after this war. Our past record in international affairs shows how strong is the element of international solidarity in the Czechoslovak people, and how deeply we are interested in political, economic and cultural collaboration with the other peaceful and democratic nations. You know that we never abandoned the idea of collective security, and we are interested to-day in its better organisation in the future, on the basis of the knowledge acquired by experience. I might, too, perhaps remind you of the enthusiastic support given by our people all along to President Benes' policy of strengthening the League of Nations. I should like to emphasise that our policy will be directed along these lines after the war also. Ever since the time of George of Poděbrady, our great king of the 15th century, who

proposed the formation of a "League of Princes" for securing peace, it has been in the tradition of our policy to maintain an indivisible connection between our own national interests and the general interests of Europe. We fully realise that the security of any single nation, great or small, is conditioned by the security of the other nations, just as the freedom of one is unthinkable without the freedom of the others. You may rest assured that in the restored Czechoslovakia you will find equally enthusiastic adherents of the idea of an international organisation guaranteeing the peaceable development and freedom of all nations and their security, just as was the case with us in the past.

### Renew the League

A new international organisation will be needed, as otherwise we shall lapse into international chaos, and the world will be divided into spheres of interest subject to power-influences, in which not right, but the might of the strongest becomes the decisive factor. The League of Nations will be renewed in one form or another, and as regards this, I should like to quote Mr. Churchill's observation to the effect that it was not the League, but individual members of it, that failed.

The League must be a universal one, a genuinely world-wide organisation, comprising all the continents. The division of

world-security according to continents would lead merely to the organisation of competing power-blocs which would oppose each other.

### No Exclusive Groups

But here I am impelled to ask how continents can be defined? What is Europe? Does Great Britain form a part of it? Undoubtedly it does. But with Britain forming a part of it Europe at once extends all over the globe. Incidentally, the same applies to France and her colonial possessions. And is Russia a part of Europe? Undoubtedly it is, not only geographically, not only politically, but also culturally, for Russian civilisation, including the present Soviet order, is based upon the common European intellectual and social tradition. But with Russia forming a part of it, Europe extends into Asia. Then, too, without the participation of Great Britain and Russia, Europe will necessarily run the risk of succumbing sooner or later to the domination of Germany which, after Great Britain and Russia, is by far the strongest country in Europe. But would it be possible to organise the security and economic prosperity of Europe without the assistance and participation of the United States? These remarks will perhaps suffice to make it clear that it would not be desirable, but that on the contrary it would be dangerous if we endeavoured to base a world-wide organisation on a division according to continents.

The universality of the new international organisation is a fundamental condition for its success in any degree whatever. This does not mean that, within its scope, there will be no room for the creation of closer interest-groups, established in accordance with special requirements, sometimes for security reasons, at other times on an economic basis, in other cases again for cultural reasons and so forth. It is quite possible to imagine that, for example, some States in South America or Central Europe will become linked in a close degree of co-operation for furthering some or other of their special and concrete requirements. At the same time it is also possible to imagine that the same state can be a member also of several interest-groups.

Let me give a concrete instance: Czechoslovakia, within the framework of

the general international organisation, seeks to enhance its security in a special alliance with the Soviet Union, as well as by a permanent collaboration and friendship with Great Britain and France. But at the same time, and again within the scope of the general international organisation, it will aim at close economic co-operation with certain countries in Central Europe, and not only with them, but also with the Middle East, with China and a number of American countries. In economic matters particularly we hope that the friendship with Great Britain for which for the first time in history solid foundations were established in this war will enable us in a far greater measure than hitherto to develop our economic relations with the British Commonwealth. Exclusive regional groups of a politico-military character, not rooted in any international organisation, might well prove a menace to the international system of security. I fully agree with Mr. Eden's disapproval of exclusive regional groups. In my view states ought to link themselves in accordance with their concrete needs, whether political or economic. It must, of course, be added that only such groups as pursue not only their own aims, but also at the same time serve general interest, will enhance the full effective development of an international body. Unity is effective only if it also serves manifold needs of a community of nations.

Our aim is not and cannot be the centralisation of world-power, but the unification of all the resources and interests of the individual nations in accordance with the idea of the indivisibility of peace, the indivisibility of security, the indivisibility of economic prosperity and the indivisibility of social welfare. Steadfastness of aim is by no means detrimental to the choice of ways and means by which the aim can be achieved.

### The Great Powers

I should also like to point out that it is a matter of common sense to recognise that the chief concern of any world-wide organisation will be the policy assumed by the Great Powers. If by the very nature of things the Great Powers have a more considerable influence than the smaller countries it should be also recognised as a matter of course that they can successfully assert their greater influence, only if

(Continued on page 4.)

# THE LEAGUE AND THE HOLY ALLIANCE

By W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

In the House of Commons debate on foreign affairs, on May 24th, Major Petherick, M.P., in an attack on the League of Nations, likened the League to the Holy Alliance and alleged that these two had had the same fate. He repeated this statement in the public debate at Central Hall, Westminster, on June 9th. Readers of HEADWAY may like to have the facts before

them in case this astonishing contention is made again, and as an indication of the reckless ignorance of this critic's attack.

Here is what Major Petherick said in the House:—

"The conception of the League is no new one. It has been tried several times in the history of the world. The last example before the present League of Nations was at the time of the Holy Alliance in 1815,

(Continued from page 3.)

at the same time they are conscious of the greater responsibility which devolves upon them. While we recognise the leadership of the Great Powers (I mean Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States of America, France and China), we do so on the understanding that it is in accordance with their responsibility, and that it duly takes into account the principle of the equality of all nations, so that no suggestion of dictatorship arises. And again we think it is a matter of common sense to recognise that the world cannot be successfully organised without the active participation and willing co-operation of the small and smaller nations.

## "An Absolute Necessity"

Undoubtedly we shall still have to overcome many obstacles before we discover a new concrete form for the future international organisation. Perhaps the most advantageous course would be to proceed with great caution, stage by stage, as regards the reconstruction of the concrete mechanism of the new League of Nations. But I am convinced that its form and its working component parts will be duly discovered if all nations, small and great, are sincerely convinced that it is an absolute necessity, and in particular that it is a vital requirement for each individual nation.

Here I should like to remark that after our terrible experiences in this war all of us have undoubtedly come to take a far more sober view of things, and that we view all questions in a far more matter-of-fact way than was possible after the last

war. But I am convinced that if it was necessary that we should moderate our Utopian idealism, it is likewise the highest time, too, that we should moderate the admiration of so-called "Realpolitik" which is now very prevalent in certain circles among all nations. This policy which, in plain terms, is nothing else than the worship of power and nothing but power, led to consequences even more disastrous for mankind than the exaggerated hopes evoked by Utopian idealism regarding the perpetual security of peace.

Finally, I should like to emphasise that we shall never forget the share taken by Great Britain in the liberation of our country, both during the last war and the present one. I believe that the experiences of our common struggle during the present war have provided a solid foundation for our close collaboration after it. We who have received so much help and encouragement in this country will certainly do our utmost to promote solidarity and friendly co-operation in every sphere between our two people.

And, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should like to express my own personal pleasure at having with us the Executive of the British League of Nations Union. In particular I am delighted to see here Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton and Dr. Gilbert Murray, who have won world-wide recognition for their selfless and wholehearted devotion to the cause of peace.

(At a luncheon given by Dr. L. Feierabend, Czechoslovak Minister of Finance and Chairman of the Czechoslovak League of Nations Union.)

when the Conquering Powers set up a Grand Alliance which they signified by the term 'Holy' and which had precisely the same fate as the League of Nations."

## The Holy Alliance

Now look at that Holy Alliance. Its title reads thus:—

"In the name of the most Holy and Indivisible Trinity."

"Holy Alliance of the Sovereigns of Austria, Prussia and Russia."

Here is the first, and most substantial, of its two articles:—

"Art. I. Principles of the Christian Religion. Conformably to the words of the Holy Scripture which commands all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting Monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity; and, considering each other as fellow-countrymen, they will on all occasions and in all places lend each other aid and assistance; and, regarding themselves towards their Subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated, to protect Religion, Peace and Justice."

The second article is woollier even than that!

This pious poppycock was sent for endorsement to all the European rulers except two—the Sultan and the Pope. Castlereagh, who regarded it as "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense," saw to it that the Prince Regent did not sign the Treaty personally. Trevelyan's comment, in his "British History of the 19th Century," is that "at the time that Castlereagh first took objection to the Treaty, the 'Principles of the Christian religion' involved in the document meant nothing in particular. It was only later that they came to be interpreted by the signatories to mean despotism and obscurantism, as Alexander passed out of his liberal phase and fell under the influence of Metternich." The Alliance originated as an expression of the Czar's pietism and his belief in the divine right of Kings: it said that "the three allied Princes look on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern the three branches of one family, namely Austria, Prussia and Russia"; and it soon became an instrument for repression of every democratic stirring against the obscurantism and despotism of the absolute monarchies.

This is the enterprise which Major

Petherick has the effrontery to describe as having been based on the same conception as the League of Nations.

## The Covenant

Just look at the Covenant again.

1. It provides for *regular* conference, with a permanent Secretariat: the Holy Alliance made no such provision. As Sir Edward Grey realised bitterly in 1914, no regular machinery for bringing the Governments together regularly, as a matter of routine, existed before the League was created.

2. The Covenant prescribes certain elementary *rules of international behaviour*, such as the rules that "in no case" may a member resort to war until peaceful procedure has been fully tried, and that, in case of recognised aggression, no member may aid the aggressor or plead "Am I my brother's keeper?" There are no such rules in the Alliance.

3. The Covenant provides the foundation on which immensely valuable *services of peace* have been built up. The Alliance established none.

4. The Covenant made possible the establishment of the Permanent Court, and an immense advance in the *peaceful settlement of international disputes*. There is no trace of any such idea in the Alliance.

5. The Covenant recognised the need for all-round *regulation of armaments* as the complement of a system of general security.

6. The Covenant is an *open alliance* against the world's common enemy, lawless violence; the Alliance, on the contrary, developed as a closed compact between a few die-hard Monarchies for trampling out the embers of liberty.

Has Major Petherick never read anything of the stand made by Castlereagh and Canning against the Holy Alliance, for this reason?

Between the European conspiracy of reaction and the world League there is not a single feature of resemblance. I hope that members of the L.N.U. in Major Petherick's constituency, Penryn-Falmouth, will not fail to note that their Member has been talking this frivolous nonsense in Parliament. And I hope that if readers of HEADWAY see the Holy Alliance analogy being trotted out again, they will grab the wretched thing and wring its neck.

## DID THE LEAGUE FAIL?

### WESTMINSTER BRANCH DEBATE

Despite bad weather, Central Hall, Westminster, was crowded on Friday, June 9, for the debate sponsored by the Westminster Branch of the League of Nations Union, when the participants were Mr. Vernon Bartlett, M.P., Mr. Beverley Baxter, M.P., Mr. W. Arnold-Forster, and Major Petherick, M.P. The subject was one that in view of present events was of increasing importance—"Was the League a Failure?" The chairman of the meeting, the Rev. Dr. W. E. Sangster, M.A., told the audience that the meeting offered those present an opportunity to clear their minds.

The first speaker, Mr. Vernon Bartlett, believed that the League of Nations was a success. "I can't imagine," he said, "what arguments can be produced against this." The brains of all the Powers at present had been unable to produce anything better, and every proposal put forward during this war was very much like those put forward before. This in itself was proof of the League's success. One difference only stood between this war and the last. The people who most objected to force then now said the League had no teeth in it. People who argued against the League were convinced that future international relations should be controlled by the three or four Great Powers. They should remember the influence of the smaller Powers as buffer States. Alliances between Great Powers was a step back. Lack of courage by the people was directly responsible for the breakdown of the League, with the consequence that Germany was enabled to become strong.

Mr. Beverley Baxter, who spoke next, said the League promised to make the world safe, and it was now at war. It tried to make the nations disarm, but they armed. The League of Nations came to those who fought the last war as a great dream which was almost a justification for

the immense sacrifice. But at the first meeting there was an empty chair—the chair of America. From the day that she walked out war was inevitable. According to Vernon Bartlett, went on Mr. Baxter, the people were to blame. But was not the League composed of the peoples who were in it? The League supplied the people with a delusion and created that dangerous phrase "Collective security." Some such dream as the League must come again, but this time as a reality.

Mr. Arnold-Forster gave an eloquent address in favour of the League. As an experiment, he said, it saw a measure of success. It settled 36 national disputes, some concerning this country, gave 32 judgments and 27 advisory opinions. He wondered whether Mr. Beverley Baxter had studied any of that record. It was true that the League did not prevent this world war, but it was up to the people to see that its construction was better next time. It was still possible to stop this lunatic armaments race if we stood against anarchy. We were fighting a second war to learn the lesson of the first, and we may have to fight a third for our neglect of the second unless we have a definite objective.

The fourth speaker, Major Petherick, said the League was started with motives of better international order, and tried to emulate the Holy Alliance of a bygone day. But, he claimed, any society of nations in order to succeed had to be universal. The League was not universal. America and other countries were out from the start. It failed because one large and many small nations did not believe in it.

The last part of the debate consisted of impromptu questions asked of each other by the speakers and chairman, and many spirited arguments ensued. When the audience finally left the hall, they had been given something to turn over in their minds, for they realised that time for united action to ensure permanent peace was drawing nearer.

MARTIN LAWRENCE.

## LORD DAVIES

*Lord Davies, who died on June 16, was one of the founders of the League of Free Nations Association, which in 1918 merged with the League of Nations Society to form the L.N.U. He was the Union's Trustee, and served from the beginning on its Executive.*

### APPRECIATIONS

By VISCOUNT CECIL

The death of Lord Davies is a loss to the world. He was one of those who stood for great ideals, for which he was ready to spend his health and his fortune. He had the imagination of a poet. He saw great visions. In particular he was a warm adherent of the League of Nations and a generous supporter of the League of Nations Union when it was in great need of help.

I remember in the early days of the League of Nations he was anxious that its seat should be at Constantinople. The conception that the capital of the Eastern Empire should have a second birth as the

centre of world peace fired his thought. Practical objections he swept aside and when they were too strong for him he submitted, but without any change of opinion. So it was with his plan of an international equity tribunal backed by an international police force—splendid visions which some day may come true.

His only defect as a reformer was that it was difficult for him to accept half a loaf. To his mind, it was all or nothing. His deep sincerity, his great generosity, and his burning faith made him one of those rare beings who overcome obstacles and change the course of history.

By GWILYM DAVIES (Vice-President of the Welsh National Council)

In the death of Lord Davies, Wales has lost a great-hearted son and the cause of international peace one of its foremost champions throughout the world.

Essentially a pioneer, he always marched breast-forward with ideas, plans, schemes, the creations of the unceasing activity of his mind. But if history will speak of him as a pioneer it will honour him as a prophet—in international affairs, one of the outstanding prophets of his generation.

A citizen of the world, an internationalist of European stature, he was no cosmopolitan that is like a cut flower in a vase with no roots. He had his roots and they were deep in his native soil. He was a Britisher, a patriot and a Welshman, through and through.

He gave unstinting service to the national institutions that are the pride of our people—the King Edward VII. Welsh National Memorial which, with his sisters, the Misses Davies, of Gregynog Hall, he created and equipped to fight tuberculosis on a nation-wide scale; the Welsh University and the University College at Aberystwyth, of which he was president and where he endowed the Wilson Chair of International Politics, and the Welsh

National Library over whose destinies he presided.

One of the latest acts of his princely generosity was the erection, at a cost of £70,000, of the Temple of Peace in Cardiff, a dignified, beautiful building which symbolises, as Lord Cecil put it, an act of faith—faith in the ultimate triumph of good over evil. "I want Wales," said Lord Davies, "to be the first country in the world to do it and it may be that other countries will follow our example."

Our little nation has had a genius for the throwing up of peace pioneers of the first order—Richard Price, Henry Richard and Robert Owen. These rank high amongst our national heroes and now the name of David, Baron Davies of Llandinam will, in our midst, be for ever linked with his great predecessors.

His loss is a grievous blow to the organisations of which, with his tireless energy and his immense public spirit, he was the driving force. We, of the Welsh National Council, mourn at once our founder, our leader and the hardest worker in our ranks.

The work that Lord Davies did cannot die. And that is the tribute he would have most desired.

## ITALY'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

By RICCARDO LUZZATTO (Vice-President of the Free Italy Movement)

The Allied communiqué of June 17th, 1944, after saying "The momentum of Allied advance in Italy has been maintained," continues: "In the Adriatic Sector our troops have gained contact with Partisan Forces, who were in possession of Teramo and had preserved the bridges from destruction."

It was the first time that the general Allied war communiqué spoke about the struggle of the partisans and about their co-operation with the Allies, and to many it might have come as a surprise.

But, although the general public was given very little information, the growing strength of the Italian Anti-Fascist Movement had already made itself strongly felt by Fascists and Nazis a long time before the open warfare started in the mountains of Northern and Central Italy.

### Beginning of Resistance

Resistance started in Italy immediately after the Fascists had established their dictatorship. Although the struggle seemed hopeless at a time when even many people in democratic countries were blinded by the bluffs of Fascist propaganda, it never ceased. The names of Matteotti, the Socialist leader murdered by order of Mussolini, of Amendola, the Liberal deputy, of Lauro de Bosis, the poet who made in 1931 the first leaflet raid over Rome, of Rosselli, murdered on French soil in the presence of his English wife, head a long list of martyrs of that fight for freedom, in which many thousands sacrificed their lives, tens of thousands languished in prisons and in the island camps. When the Spanish War started Italian anti-Fascists sent the greatest contingent of all nations to assist the Republican Loyalists and to fight Mussolini's and Hitler's hirelings. It was the Italian anti-Fascist Garibaldi Brigade which, under the leadership of Col. Randolpho Pacciardi, helped to turn into a crushing defeat the advance of the Fascist blackshirts at Guadalajara.

Right at the outbreak of war Italian anti-Fascists of all political tendencies, who had their headquarters in France, offered to form six divisions of volunteers,

but their formation was prevented at first by the hesitations of the French Government and afterwards by rapid breakdown of military resistance in the West.

The united forces of Italian anti-Fascism, however, organised the Action Committees which soon spread all over Italy and did brilliant work, particularly among the workers and in the army, whose units in France and in the Balkans often fraternised with the local population. On the fronts the soldiers and also many officers avoided fighting as much as possible, not out of cowardice (they have proved in the past and they are proving now how they can fight for the right cause) but because they hated Nazis and Fascists and strongly sympathised with the Allies and particularly with Britain.

### Fascism's Power

People in Britain and other countries with long uninterrupted traditions of liberty might be unable to understand how the freedom-loving Italians, only fifty years after they won unity and independence in the marvellous campaigns of Garibaldi, could endure dictatorship for 20 years and then let themselves be dragged into a war against their will. Whoever has lived, if only for a couple of years, under a totalitarian Government will easily understand it. Modern arms confer increasing power on a Government controlling the executive. Since 1848 no dictatorship has fallen without blows from outside. Since then not only arms, but all means of communications and the influence of the State on the whole economic life of a nation have so enormously improved, that a modern Government waxes immeasurably more powers than any despot had before, even if it is supported only by a tiny minority.

### Effective Action

In 1941 and 1942 resistance became active everywhere in Italy. In March, 1943, the Action Committees organised the mass strikes in Turin and Milan which broke the neck of Fascism, and eventually they forced the circles round the King to take action, in order to bring about the

downfall of Mussolini. Allied authorities were informed months before that event that it would take place. It was carefully timed to coincide with the Allied advance in Sicily. The Underground Movement delayed their action and took it jointly with Army leaders, merely because they hoped that in such manner the Nazi forces could be trapped or at least could be driven out of Italy straight away.

Although this hope was deceived, and regular army resistance became impossible, a huge partisan force sprang up in no time after the armistice, and since then all over Nazi-occupied Italy heavy fighting has been going on, costing tens of thousands of lives on both sides. Contacts with the Allies were soon established and messengers crossed the battle lines as if it were child's play. Code messages have been sent in all Italian Radio transmissions to the partisans since autumn, 1943.

### Praise from Alexander

But only since General Alexander took command have the almost unbelievable feats of the patriots received full recognition and assistance.

On May 22nd General Alexander surprised the public by his disclosure that the Italian patriots were diverting six Nazi divisions who otherwise would fight the Allies, and since then the communiqués of Resistance Headquarters have been published jointly by General Alexander and the Italian Supreme Command. But so far, unfortunately, they hardly reach the Press. Alexander, who already in the African campaign had proved to be not only one of the most capable Allied military leaders, but also gifted with wide political understanding, proved to be a real leader in the widest sense of the word.

The astounding successes obtained by the Italian partisans, supported by the entire population, were stressed in a message which General Alexander sent them on June 11th. After praising "the excellent results obtained" by them and in other actions by workers, he "congratulates and thanks all those who have taken part in operations," adding that they have been of direct assistance to the Allied advance, and that "one day the world will know the full story of your sacrifices and your heroism."

In other fields, too, the Free Italy Move-

ment has obtained striking successes which are of the utmost importance not only for Italy but for the whole of Europe. Without the squabbles usual among people who have been kept out of political life for a long period, a Government representing all anti-Fascist forces was formed in Rome. In the newly liberated areas the quickly expurgated local administration under new leaders did excellent work so as to rouse the admiration of the Allied Commander, who resigned after a few days, leaving the administration entirely to the Free Italians. A completely united Confederation of Labour was formed within a few days and Italy will be the first country where the Catholic workers are united with those of other tendencies.

### Co-operation with Other Patriots

The most remarkable fact is, however, the close connection between Italian patriots and those of other oppressed countries. The ties with the French movement are of long standing. Now, thousands of Italians fight in the French Maquis, and French detachments, hardly pressed, have crossed over to Piedmont, heartily welcomed by their Italian comrades. The St. Bernhard Pass, freed from Nazis, is under joint control of French and Italian partisans. With Marshal Tito's forces in Yugoslavia, an exchange of military delegations has taken place, as well as many combined operations. Many thousands of Italians are fighting in Tito's army and their bravery has been repeatedly stressed by the Marshal in orders of the day.

This friendship and intimacy which has been forged among most peoples of Europe, rouses indeed the greatest hopes that a new world is really going to rise out of the ruins of devastated Europe.

## ROYAL GIFT

H.M. the Queen recently sent a donation of £100 to Lord Davies, Chairman of the Council established to promote the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital now being erected in Addis Ababa in memory of the young Ethiopian Princess. A ward in the hospital is to be endowed in the name of Major-General Wingate, who did so much to liberate Ethiopia.

## UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

"Some Lessons From the Old League" was Lord Perth's subject at the Annual Meeting of the OXFORD BRANCH, held recently in Balliol College Hall. We hope in our next issue to publish the substance of his most stimulating address. With a membership round about the 700 mark, the Branch is maintaining its position and is doing useful spadework for the future.

At the Annual General Meeting of the BOURNVILLE WORKS BRANCH the Secretary, Mr. W. H. Monk, was able to report a very satisfactory year from the point of view of useful activity and friendly co-operation. At the series of eight discussion meetings, led by Mr. A. Shenfield, of the Birmingham University Staff, there was a large sale of booklets. On several occasions the Branch has taken up with the newspapers concerned misleading and slighting references to the L.N.U.

NELSON BRANCH, whose membership is at present round the 400 mark, has boldly fixed 1,000 as its target. A display window on the work of the I.L.O. has just been held, with books supplied by the London Office of the I.L.O. and cartoons which the Secretary (Mr. H. Eaves) had retained from pre-war days.

Miss E. Palmer (U.S.A.), Secretary of the Y.W.C.A., spoke at the Annual General Meeting of the WITHINGTON BRANCH on "The Peacemakers." Mr. L. F. Behrens presided with his usual informative good humour.

CHURCH STRETTON BRANCH heard Mr. Frank Harrod, Director of Education for Coventry, speak on "The Children's Charter." The Urban District Council and the School Managers were well represented in the audience.

The LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION completed its third year of Buffet Luncheon Talks when in June Professor Arthur Newell, Director of the Institute for British-American Understanding, gave a characteristically brilliant address on "Britain and America: Partners in a World Task." These years of war had brought the two countries into a partnership that made it possible to work as one team. The need to continue that spirit of unity had been emphasised by Governor

Dewey when he said: "We must stay together in waging and winning the war in order that we may wage and win the peace." The idea which some held of an exclusive alliance between Britain and America would mean a State of super-isolationism which would be disastrous to world peace. Better understanding of each other's history and national idiosyncrasies were essential to cement Anglo-American relations.

The establishment of an International Police Force was strongly advocated by Mrs. Corbett Ashby in addressing our STREATHAM BRANCH on "The Future International Authority." Unless a strict law was laid down and agreed to by all members, the International Authority would fail in its endeavours, as did, in some respects, the old League.

A large and enthusiastic audience listened to Dr. Gilbert Murray at a meeting to revive the STANMORE and HARROW WEALD BRANCHES. At HAMPSTEAD Sir Ralph Wedgwood spoke on "The Future International Authority."

A ST. ALBANS meeting, held in the garden of the Lord Bishop, heard Mr. H. H. Walker on the subject "It's no good winning the war unless it remains won." In the Guildhall, KINGSTON, Mr. Walker spoke on "The Inevitable League."

A bilingual Brains Trust on current affairs was held at the BALFOUR SERVICES CLUB, London, which is open to serving men and women of all the United Nations. To cater for British, American, French and Polish members of the audience, the proceedings were conducted in English and French. The members of the Brains Trust were Miss Hebe Spaul, Mr. J. T. Catterall and Mr. Leslie Aldous, with Mr. Rau as question-master.

By holding meetings, distributing *News Sheets* to all members and displaying posters the HUNTINGTON AND NEW EARSWICK BRANCH has been able slightly to improve its membership. A small Branch Library of books and pamphlets on international affairs is an interesting innovation.

CASTLETON AND SUDDEN BRANCH has given novel consolation prizes in an Essay

(Continued on page 11.)

## THE INEVITABLE LEAGUE

By COMMANDER STEPHEN KING-HALL, M.P.

A great deal of uninformed, stupid and sometimes vicious criticism has been launched at the League of Nations and the League of Nations Union. It was amusing and rather shocking to notice, a few weeks ago, how the Prime Minister disconcerted some members of the Conservative Party when he stated bluntly in the House that the League of Nations would have worked perfectly well if the nations had meant it to work.

The Moscow declaration of November, 1943, stated that a resolute effort will be made to establish "a general international organisation for the maintenance of international peace and security." The League of Nations Union has produced a draft of a pact showing how the Moscow declaration could be put into effect. In the pact (copies can be obtained for 2d. from the L.N.U.) it is assumed that if any collective system is to work the nations must accept

four indispensable limitations of sovereignty. These are:

(1) Obligation to refrain from aggression; (2) obligation to resist aggression collectively; (3) obligation to accept impartial judgment for the settlement of disputes; (4) obligation to accept regulation of national armaments.

These are plain common sense. It is an interesting fact that when the Anglo-American experts sat down to draft the constitution of UNRRA, they said: "Let's forget all about that League of Nations business." When they had completed their work they found that they had repeated the League organization as it was designed in Paris in 1919 by the Great Powers, a design which had to be modified to meet the needs of the small Powers.

(Reprinted, by kind permission of the Editor, from S. K.-H.'s "Running Commentary" in *National News Letter Supplement* 411.)

(Continued from page 10.)

Competition—eight free memberships for one year, the idea being to get HEADWAY into the homes of the people.

In giving an order for a consignment of the new *Economy Labels* issued by Head Office the Secretary of the STREATHAM BRANCH writes: "You may be interested to know that, besides getting these used by our Treasurers and Membership Secretaries, we are proposing to give them away fairly liberally to our members for their

use, as we feel that this is a cheap form of publicity on behalf of the Union." (*The price of these economy labels is 1s. 6d. per 100, or 12s. 6d. per 1,000.*)

HANDSWORTH'S first concerted effort for the Freshwater Memorial Fund took the form of a gramophone recital by Mr. Reg. Vincent, which was a great success. The Summer Meeting this year will be in aid of Branch funds, the Freshwater Memorial Fund and the corporate war effort for the Save the Children Fund.

### LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION

BUFFET LUNCHEON

SIR WALTER LAYTON

on

"PEACE TERMS"

Tuesday, July 11, at Y.W.C.A. Lounge,  
Gt. Russell Street, W.C.1.

Refreshments at 1 p.m. 2s.

### SIR HENRY COWARD

HEADWAY joins in regretting the death of *Sir Henry Coward*, a Freeman of Sheffield and England's premier Chorus Master, at the age of 94. Sir Henry had been a member of the League of Nations Union almost from its inception, and remained a good friend to the Union up to the time of his death. He was often present at mass meetings held in Sheffield, and on one occasion conducted community singing for a huge audience.

## WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN RATTENBURY

Not often does it happen that the half-hour after business set aside for motions on the adjournment is used for the discussion of foreign affairs. Miss Irene Ward, however, introduced a most interesting discussion in this way on June 9, when she raised the question of the publication of Foreign Office documents, with special reference to the projected publication of the Foreign Office papers from 1919 to 1939. How far, she asked, would information be disclosed, and would relative papers from other Departments be published to complete the picture?

### Giving the Facts

The country after the war, she said, would ask the pertinent question whether it was due to lack of information from our Secret Service representatives abroad, or through the wrong political interpretation by Foreign Secretaries, Cabinet or Prime Ministers, that we got into war. It was no use initiating a new foreign policy, setting up a new League machine, having international relationships, if our machine did not give the right facts to the country. From such investigations as she had been able to make, she believed that the Foreign Office had the right information supplied by the Secret Service. Her contacts in foreign countries before the war had enabled her to discuss the kind of information sent, and she had frequently been told by responsible people that they were utterly depressed by the reception given to this information. For instance, Lord Vansittart had said more than once that he had given the Cabinet, through the usual channels, more notice of this war than Sir Eyre Crowe had given of the last. Mr. Churchill, too, had tried to educate the country for years as to the growth of German armaments, but Lord Baldwin had contradicted his statements though his departments must have been in possession of facts and figures supplied by the Secret Service. Diplomats of high standing had complained of the scant attention received by their reports. Such happenings bewildered the public, who wondered if the Foreign Secretary had put a wrong inter-

pretation on the information in his possession.

Would these papers, when published, tell the whole story? Would unofficial as well as official papers be given to Professor Woodward when he prepared the documents for publication? Or would he be restricted? Did it suit Ministers and Government Departments to have a House of Commons not too well informed? What she wanted to know was how we got into the war, and was the question going to be answered fairly and squarely.

### Giving Truth a Start

Mr. Richard Law, in his reply, agreed that it was desirable that the documents relating to our foreign policy in the period preceding the war should be published and made available as soon as possible. Memories were short, and the evidence should be placed on record for all the world to see. It was important that the world should know the general line of our foreign policy between the wars. It was easy to imagine another megalomaniac arising in Germany, who would try to pervert history and prove that Germany was the innocent victim of aggression. Truth must have a long start.

But, though the purpose of these documents when published would be to show to the world and to the historians of the future what our foreign policy had been, it was not the intention to explain how our foreign policy had been arrived at nor how it might have been improved.

The publication had been entrusted to a skilled and impartial historian, who should be trusted to take an entirely objective view of what had happened. It would not be his business to try to allocate blame as between one individual and another, one Government office or another, or one Minister and another. Dr. Woodward's task would be the same as that of Dr. Gooch and Dr. Temperley after the last war. But there would be no post mortem or witch hunt. It would just be a clear-cut, honest, objective view of our foreign policy.

### Considering Other Countries

One short comment on such publica-

## FRESHWATER MEMORIAL FUND

We publish below a *Fifth List* of donations to the Freshwater Memorial Fund, received at Head Office up to June 23, 1944. As in previous lists, they are arranged according to Branches—the names of individuals are not published.

We regret that Dundee's substantial donation was not printed in an earlier list.

£ s. d.			£ s. d.		
Aberdeen ...	0	5	0	King's Heath	0 10 6
Barnet .....	1	11	0	Kingston ....	2 2 0
Bath .....	1	5	0	Knebworth ..	0 10 6
Bishop				Langdon	
Auckland	1	10	0	Hills W.I.	0 15 10
Bishop Fox's				Leicester ....	0 10 6
School				Letchworth .	2 0 0
J.B. ....	2	2	0	Leytonstone	1 1 0
Brentwood ..	1	0	0	Llangollen .	1 1 0
Buckhurst				Middleton ..	0 17 6
Hill .....	1	1	0	Middlewich .	0 4 0
Cape Town .	0	10	0	Montague	
Chalfont St.				Burton ...	60 0 0
Peter .....	1	1	0	Newcastle	
Cockfosters .	1	16	0	(Staffs) ...	5 15 0
Cowes .....	0	5	0	Northampton	0 5 0
Crieff .....	1	1	0	Northants	
Crouch End	6	1	9	F.C. ....	1 1 0
Ditchling ...	1	1	0	Northwich	0 1 6
Dundee .....	20	0	0	N.E. Region	0 10 6
Durban ....	0	2	6	Ottery St.	
Earlsdon ...	7	7	0	Mary .....	1 0 6
Eastbourne ..	1	0	0	Oxford .....	1 1 0
Edinburgh ..	1	10	0	Paddington .	1 12 6
Falmouth ...	1	4	0	Plumstead	
Fording-				Central	
bridge .....	0	13	0	Hall .....	0 5 0
Framling-				Reepham ...	0 3 9
ham .....	1	1	0	Riddings ...	2 2 0
Godalming	13	1	9	Romford ...	3 1 6
Godstone ...	5	0	0	Roydon	
Greater				(Esséx) ...	1 0 0
Doncaster ..	3	16	0	Rugby .....	0 2 0
Hallam ....	0	10	0	Scalby .....	0 10 0
Hampstead ..	2	10	0	Small Heath	0 2 6
Handsworth	4	15	6	Solihull .....	10 0 0
Harrow .....	14	14	0	Stirling .....	0 10 0
Hartford ...	1	14	6	Stockport ...	2 0 0
Headington .	2	2	0	Streatham ...	1 6 0
Hornchurch .	0	2	6	Taunton ...	1 4 8
Huddersfield	1	0	0	Walthamstow	0 15 0
Hull .....	1	0	0	West Kirby	
Huntington				Youth	
and New				Group ...	1 1 0
Earswick .	1	10	0	West Wick-	
Kempsey ...	1	0	0	ham .....	1 1 0
Keswick ....	5	3	6	Woking .....	0 2 6
				Unattached ..	2 6 0

Stop Press: Grand Total (June 26),  
£1309 0s. 5d.

tions of foreign office documents may perhaps here be excused, as it was implicit in the discussion in Parliament. There are always other parties to be considered. It will be recalled that, after the last war, the revolutionary Russian Government published secret treaties of their predecessors. As exposing what were considered to be things done without the knowledge of the people of Russia, this was quite legitimate for the Russians to do so far as their part in the matter was concerned. But the anger with which their action was received in other countries—our own among them—will not easily be forgotten. Possibly it had something to do with our Foreign Office's marked coldness to Russia, that nearly led to the disaster of our losing this tremendous ally. At all events, I imagine that possible reactions abroad if we were to publish documents without reference to other countries involved in them must be taken into account in the projected publication.

### Post-War Claims

Other Foreign Office questions that came up during the month must be covered very briefly. Lord Winterton asked a question about a company calling itself "European Claims, Ltd.," which offers to assist claimants in respect of all types of spoliation by the Nazis in Europe, on a commission basis. Such a thing is illegal with regard to claims before municipal courts in this country. The Foreign Office will refuse to accept claims put forward by such agents. Claimants who need professional and legal assistance in the presentation of their claims should have recourse to qualified professional and legal practitioners, who will receive remuneration in accordance with the well-established rules of their professions.

Mr. Eden took opportunity, in reply to another question, to thank the Swiss Government for their action as a protecting Power, and also for giving asylum to and ministering to the needs of large numbers of refugees and escaped prisoners of war of many nationalities within their territory.

On the question of France, General de Gaulle and the United Nations, the Prime Minister has asked for suspension of discussion. It will cramp his style if too much is said while delicate negotiations are proceeding

**BOOKS OF THE MONTH**

**INFORMATION NOTES.** (Royal Institute of International Affairs, St. James's Square, London, S.W.1. 6d. each number.)

Most welcome are two new pamphlets from Chatham House, on **THE FAR EAST and SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC ISLANDS** respectively—Nos. 5 and 6 in the series of Information Notes which are heartily to be recommended for study circles and discussion groups. Although intended primarily for use in connection with lectures on current affairs to H.M. Forces and the Civil Defence Services, they deserve a much wider public, such as L.N.U. Branches can provide.

No. 5 covers China, Japan and the Soviet Far East, and includes the salient facts about the geography, history, national characteristics, resources, trade and foreign relations of these countries in a most compact but readable form. This objective survey brings out incidentally the inherent strength of China which has enabled her to withstand aggression, and also that Japan's chief weaknesses are her lack of man power and shipping. Although the Soviet Far East is still sparsely populated, the present war has seen a remarkable increase in the number of colonists from European Russia—one feature of a deliberate policy of defence and security.

Indo-China, Siam, Burma, British Malaya and other territories stretching to the islands of the South Pacific, some of which could be included under the heading of the Far East, are as a matter of convenience dealt with separately in No. 6. Thumbnail sketches provide an invaluable background both to the present war in the Far East and to future social, economic and political developments.

Readers may like to know the scope of the earlier Information Notes in this Chatham House series. No. 1 was on the **MIDDLE EAST** (Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan and Egypt); No. 2 on **NORTH AFRICA**; No. 3 on the **U.S.S.R.**; and No. 4 on the **U.S.A.** Features of each number are sketch maps of the regions concerned and lists of books for further reading.

**PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION.** An Outline for Study Circles. By R. J. P. Mortishead. (W.E.A., 38a, St. George's Drive, London, S.W.1. 4d. each or 3s. 6d. per dozen.)

This new W.E.A. Study Outline is extremely timely. The Dominion Prime Ministers' Conference, Mr. Churchill's statement in Parliament and moves in the U.S.A. have put a "general international organisation" on the post-war map. It is most important that ordinary people shall understand the issues that are at stake. The aim of this little 32-page pamphlet is not to serve up ready-made opinions but to stimulate that informed discussion which will produce a reasoned judgment.

Throughout the reader will find plenty of facts, but also plenty of questions that he and his fellow students will have to argue out for themselves. He will get a rapid view of 25 years' experience of the actual working of three great international institutions—the League, the I.L.O. and the Permanent Court. But what about the functional organisations that are springing up to serve specific needs? Can each functional body be allowed to go its own way without regard to where the others are going? Is not some correlating agency essential? There is an interesting analysis of the I.L.O.'s system which combines political and functional representation. On methods of work, we get the contrast between the League and I.L.O. systems well brought out. Such questions as Universality, Regionalism and Sovereignty are put up for discussion. One problem that the reader will have to thrash out is what kind of international organisation will be not only desirable but practicable.

The author anticipates the complaint that he dwells too much on machinery. Though the bad workman may complain of his tools, the good workman will always insist upon having the best possible tools, without which he will not be able to get the results that he wants. Nevertheless it is true that the power must come from outside the machine. "It is the will power, faith and vision of ordinary men and women."

**FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG****The Draft Pact**

SIR,—We all want a future International Authority clothed with ample powers, but to secure unity wide proposals have to be whittled down. As Lord Cecil so clearly explains, we hope to have the Covenant of the League revised and strengthened with force behind it.

It is essential of course not to press for powers and closer unity without general consent, but we must be earnestly desirous of growth as the nations realise the need.

May I suggest, therefore, the addition of two Articles to the Draft Pact.

1. Providing opportunities, say, at 10 years-intervals, for any one or more of the United Nations, on due notice, to bring forward proposals of extension or variation of the Authority in various spheres of international co-operation.

2. Providing that all the United Nations shall agree that the principles and methods of world co-operation shall be a matter of constant study in all schools, colleges and universities, and a constant exchange of views between nations be encouraged as to its working and extension so that the world public shall be properly informed.

It is imperative not to have a rigid authority incapable of change, but one that can evolve as slow increasing changes in our habits of thought make possible an increasing common life. As we learn to work together, our civilisation should begin to flower.

London, S.W.16. E. C. ELSMORE.

**New League's Name**

SIR,—In HEADWAY for June the Rev. Edward Charles, of St. Luke's Vicarage, Birmingham, advocates that the title of the "League of Nations Union" be changed to the "United Nations Union."

While sympathising to some extent with his arguments, it must not be forgotten that the "United Nations" has been used to denote merely Great Britain and her Allies, and we are hoping that the new "League" will include also the present enemy Powers and also the neutrals, so that in our view it will not be advisable to rename the League the "United Nations," and the Union which exists to support the League should naturally be named after it.

May we suggest that any change of title which might be thought desirable be left in abeyance until we see whether the name of the revived League of Nations is altered?

Personally, we should prefer that the title of the new League be the more literal trans-

lation of the German title "Völkerbund" namely "League of Peoples".

Longsight, ALFRED F. MAYCOCK.  
Manchester, 12.

**Union Posters**

SIR,—Could you make an appeal in HEADWAY that, when Branches are holding One Day Schools, Conferences, Meetings or any such activities in connection with the Union, they should display the posters of the Union?

I recently went to a very successful conference in a nearby town and was disappointed that—probably by an oversight—not one poster could be seen in the Assembly Room, where a strong gathering of Youth had come together. Conferences are a glorious opportunity for displaying our posters.

Castleton. L. ANDERTON.

**Munich**

SIR,—The "Munichers" fairly take one's breath away, and W. A. Payne in this month's HEADWAY is no exception. He says that Russia and America showed no inclination towards collective action to warn potential aggressors. This is true enough of the U.S.A., steeped in isolation. But to say that of the U.S.S.R. is staggering. Did news of the urgent urgings of a man called Litvinov at Geneva, calling for collective action against aggression, never reach Kettering? If not, let me advise W. A. Payne to read the said Litvinov's book "Against Aggression", and then think again?

London, W.1. A. HENRY.

SIR,—I have been reading with interest the Earl of Lytton's reply to Lord Maugham in the April number of HEADWAY which, owing to some delay, only reached me last Saturday. In his reply he says if Mr. Chamberlain had said an attack on Czechoslovakia would involve, not the fear but the certainty of a war with Great Britain, Hitler might have hesitated. If Hitler was not afraid to attack Poland when it involved the certainty of a war with Britain and France, is it likely he would have been deterred by a threat by Britain alone, probably even without the backing of the Dominions? Again, supposing Mr. Chamberlain had made the threat and Hitler had invaded, what help could we have given Czechoslovakia? We could not have landed an Army in Europe—even if we had one—unless we violated some neutral country. We could have done nothing with the Fleet except blockade Germany, which has not been very effective in the present war; besides, what would have happened to this country if Hitler



had commenced an all-out aerial attack on England? We just managed to survive in August and September, 1940, and we know how our cities were devastated during late 1940 and early 1941. We would have been in a terrible position in 1938. If Mr. Chamberlain had done what the Earl of Lytton thinks he should have done, I am afraid to-day we would be in the position of the occupied countries—all slaves for Germany.

I, for one, am thankful Chamberlain was not such a fool.

Belfast.                      SUBSCRIBER TO THE L.N.U.

### The Education Debate in the Lords

(From the Earl of Lytton.)

Sir,—In the discussion during the Committee stage of the Education Bill in the House of Lords on June 21, a number of subjects were raised which it did not seem appropriate to pursue on that occasion, and statements were made which on a different occasion would have evoked more reply. Lord Mottistone, in an eloquent speech advocating the education of children in the duty of defending their country, referred to the resolution passed in the Oxford Union refusing to fight for King and country. This resolution, he declared, on the authority of Mr. Churchill, had convinced Mussolini that Britain was finished and decided him to throw in his lot with Hitler.

Lord Keyes expressed the opinion that another contributing cause of the belief abroad in British decadence was the fact that eleven million people had voted for the "Peace Ballot."

I do not possess the knowledge claimed by these noble and gallant Lords of the workings

of Mussolini's mind, but I would put the two factors mentioned by them in their true perspective by recalling others which belong to the same period.

While the members of the Oxford Union were telling each other that they would not fight for their own country, the Government was busy telling the world that they would not fight for any other country.

The Government which so emphatically declared that the armed forces of the Crown would only be used for the defence of British interests, was at the time among the signatories of one international treaty (the Kellogg Pact) by which they undertook not to use war as an instrument of national policy, and of another treaty (the Covenant of the League of Nations) by which they undertook jointly to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of every other State-Member of the League.

After the eleven million people referred to by Lord Keyes had voted in the "Peace Ballot," not for peace at any price, as is often erroneously alleged, but for the support of the Covenant of the League of Nations, by military sanctions if necessary, against an aggressor, the Government began a small measure of re-armament and asked for a mandate from the country to show Mussolini that aggression did not pay. This mandate they received in the General Election of 1935 and did not use.

It would be difficult for anyone to assess accurately the relative influence of each of these factors in undermining British prestige abroad, but their cumulative effect must have been considerable.

London, S.W.1.

LYTTON.

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