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# HEADWAY

## IN WAR-TIME

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## LONG LIVE THE LITTLE PEOPLES

By GORDON DROMORE

I strongly suspect that Judas suffered from a meticulously tidy mind. More than likely the monumental oneness of the Roman régime mesmerised him as much as the thirty pieces of silver; so that he became the father of all treachery, until Hitler and the Nazis took over the business.

### Playing Into Nazi Hands

But the point which I wish to make is that there are many around us to-day suffering from the same sin and they show every sign of being led along the same path. Tidy-mindedness is their fetish: the tidy big plan, the clear-cut solution; morality doesn't matter. They just love to make things more simple and similar than they were ever intended to be. They look out on Europe and say, oracularly: "Can't put things back as they were, you know." Now these tidy-minded folk, whether they be politicians or soldiers or stunted morons with a grudge against Democracy, like Colonel Lindbergh, or the sort of economist who believes in the myth of "the economic man," or just unconscious carriers of the large ill-digested slogans of others—are one

and all playing into the hands of Nazi propaganda. For it is they who can be relied on to throw an air of respectability and honest realism, a covering of apparent economic horse sense over the so-called German New Order in Europe. Their voices can be heard saying: "After all, the Germans have brought unity to Europe. You can't go on with that everlasting chaos caused by jealous little States, some of them quite uncivilised. They made it impossible to bring the vast benefits of a paternal science to bear where they were needed. No, the day of the little peoples is dead. The little States must go. Hats off to a Europe which has been made a single economic unit, even if it be a bit of a Nazi mess to begin with." To Nazis this is the music of the present and well worth 30 pieces of silver, especially at the Nazi rate of exchange.

Now let it be said once and for all. This talk about the end of little States is not only nonsense, but dangerous nonsense. It rests on the precise opposite of the facts. It runs counter to human psychology. It betrays the principles of democracy for which we

fight and which are enshrined in the great Atlantic Charter.

This wonderful "unity" turns out to be the tidy unity that goes with the slave State, the tidiness of death. *Lebensraum* means unlimited living room for Germany, with everyone else shut up in the basement.

### A Few Facts

The facts about these little States are these. Many of them—the Scandinavians, Holland, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia—had, until Germany upset the applecart, a higher standard of living than that of any European Great Power. Their civilisation was broader based; their social policies, often, an example to the world. Their scientific skill, organising capacity, were second to none. They were making a success of their life and a big contribution to the world at large. Other little States, mostly created since the war, were slower to learn to co-operate, to sail in convoy. But there were clear signs, if they had been given help or even left alone, that they were set in the right direction. In recent years outside help dried up. Simultaneously, Nazi Germany set out on her path to conquest, libelling the little peoples as a "menace to peace and mere economic liabilities" and using what Jan Masaryk calls her "dirty method of finding bones of contention between countries."

What rubbish it is to claim there are only two alternatives—a dominant Germany or a jamboree of jealous little peoples! The future lies with better and more co-operation: but it will be the combining of free men into larger units and not the blind unity of rubber stamps and yes-men. Poland and Czechoslovakia have already given a lead.

The record of these small nations is far greater than their numbers would imply. They have given the world more great men, ideals and thoughts, more variety of character, more of the spice of life. This is so because, in a small State, the individual's life often has to be more highly developed than elsewhere: there is so much to do. Personality counts among little States, it is encouraged and protected.

This war is a war for democracy. Very well. Equality and fair play are not only meant for the relations between Big Powers. Victory must bring freedom and independence to the small nations. We have sworn it in the Atlantic Charter.

## INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

HEADWAY goes to press too early to include, this month, an account of the International Labour Conference, which opened in New York on October 27—a Conference which (in the words of the *News Chronicle*) "may well rank as the earliest of the great world assemblies which must be called to clear up the mess Hitler has made." The addition of Mr. Attlee to the already strong and fully representative British delegation is sufficient indication of the importance which Great Britain attaches to this Conference. Among representatives who have been sent by our Allies may be mentioned M. Jan Masaryk, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, and M. Spaak, Belgian Foreign Minister and Minister of Labour.

We heartily endorse the verdict of *The Times'* leading article (25/10/41) that "The I.L.O. remains a living symbol of a world hope that refuses to be dismayed," and that it is to-day "a rallying point for the great democracies and for the Governments of the nations overrun by destructive force."

## THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

By PETER MATTHEWS

The immediate importance of the Moscow Three-Power Conference, which completed its deliberations with such commendable promptitude, clearly derived from its influence on the course of the war. The Conference met, not, as many newspapers might lead one to think, for the purpose of providing "aid for Russia"—a phrase which suggests acts of altruistic magnanimity—but to ensure that the resources of the three great opponents of Hitler might be applied in the manner best calculated to bring about his defeat. Great Britain, by sending Russia some of "the tools to finish the job," is ensuring that the products of her factories shall, in so far as shipping space permits, be sent with the greatest possible speed to the part of the 8,000-mile long front where they can best be used.

### Applying the Technique

The significance of the Moscow Conference is not, however, limited to its part in the winning of the war. It represents a first attempt to apply to a single objective the resources of the three greatest communities of the World—the British Empire, the United States and the Soviet Union. From this aspect one may profitably ask how far the present technique of collaboration, and the habit of joint effort formed during the coming phase of the struggle, can be applied, when peace comes, to the vast problem of European and world reconstruction. The tasks which will face the three participants in the Conference, and also the European lands now dominated by Germany, will be no less great than those which the

Moscow Conference attempted to tackle. Can the lesson of the Conference be used for the purposes of peace when the original need, which it was convoked to meet, has been replaced by another?

The lesson of the last war affords both a parallel and a warning. During that struggle, also, an immense organisation was evolved for harnessing the resources of the Allied and Associated Powers to the task of winning the war. Shipping was pooled, and controlled, by the Allied Shipping Control. Food and raw materials were similarly handled by a multiplicity of elaborate and effective bodies. In fact there emerged, under the stress of war, a highly effective organisation which, whilst it made the winning of the war possible, could have been used with equal prospects of success when peace came.

### A Wasted Opportunity

Unhappily, for reasons which Sir Alfred Zimmern has discussed in his study of "The League of Nations and the Rule of Law," this "war-time league" was scrapped when peace came, and a great deal of the experience, together with the habit of collaboration formed among the personnel of the war-time controls, was thereby dissipated.

During the first eight months of the present war, it seemed as though we were going to be given a chance of avoiding the errors committed in 1919. For the Anglo-French alliance, with its unified High Command and its elaborate and effective mechanism for economic collaboration, seemed to pro-

vide the nucleus of a future world order to which other countries could, as occasion permitted, accede. The proposal, unhappily delayed until too late, for an Anglo-French "Union" represented the formal expression of this development. It seemed to provide a real and organic alternative, born of necessity and the need for close and thorough collaboration, to the various paper projects of federalism which were, at that time, being hawked about by zealous constitution-mongers. A first reaction to the invasion of Holland and Belgium was the hope that these two countries, with their considerable overseas possessions, might be grafted on to the *de facto* Anglo-French association already in existence. And the new relationship of very intimate collaboration forged between the exiled representatives of Poland and Czechoslovakia seemed to hold out a promise that a similar nucleus might develop in Central Europe as well.

### Temporary Eclipse

The military disasters which successively overwhelmed Holland, Belgium and France, and the swing-over in French policy under the evil ægis of Laval, meant the eclipse, at least for the time being, of these hopes. But something, at any rate, remained. In Great Britain there grew up, under British supreme command, an embryonic international army, with contingents, military, aerial, and in some cases naval also, from France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Belgium and Holland, to which have since been added, in Great Britain and the Middle East, Yugoslav and Greek formations. And the presence on British soil of political representatives of all the occupied Allied countries gave invaluable

opportunities for common study of the problems which will arise at the peace.

### A Joint Enterprise

With this promising nucleus in being, the Atlantic meeting and the Moscow Conference have carried the organic development of a new international order forward, the one from the political and the other from the economic angle. If the Atlantic Charter has the greater symbolic significance, by associating the United States formally in the struggle for a world in which mankind will be freed from fear and want, the Moscow Conference has the greater practical importance. Nearly two hundred million citizens of the Soviet Union are associated with perhaps twice the number of inhabitants of the British Commonwealth and with 135,000,000 Americans in a joint enterprise. They have the increasingly active support of many further millions in the occupied territories, formally associated in the struggle by the presence of their representatives and of their fighting men in Great Britain. And, in London, the representatives of the Allied Governments are already concerting plans for the relief of the want which is developing in Europe thanks to the systematic German policy of loot.

Thus we already have in existence the nucleus of a future international collaboration, and it is all the time developing the habit and the technique of common endeavour. In the post-war world, much will depend upon our ability to develop this organic growth and apply it to the purposes of planned reconstruction and sustained collective effort.

## ALIVE AND AT WORK

That the League of Nations is not only still alive but at work was shown by Mr. Law, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons on September 30, 1941. In response to a question concerning the present position with regard to the functioning of the League and the I.L.O. and the extent to which work with regard to post-war reconstruction is being carried out at the request of the British and other Governments, the Under-Secretary replied:

"As regards the first part of the Question, the institutions of the League of Nations are being maintained in existence and are carrying on all those activities which the circumstances of the war and the financial situation of the League permit. The Acting Secretary-General, with a reduced staff, is at Geneva, where a number of services are functioning, and he continues to control the activities of the services which are working outside Switzerland.

"A strong delegation from the Economic and Financial Section is at Princeton in the United States of America. Offices of the Permanent Central Opium Board and Supervisory Body have been opened at Washington. The health activities are being carried on from Geneva and Singapore. The Treasury of the League has its office in London.

"The International Labour Office is established at Montreal, though a small staff remains at Geneva. A conference of the International Labour Organisation will be held at New York in October of this year. The Permanent Court of International Justice remains in being. A meeting of the Supervisory Commission of the League was held in July last and in virtue

of the emergency powers conferred on it by resolution of the Assembly, approved the budget for 1942.

"As regards the second part of the Question, the delegation of the Economic and Financial Section at Princeton is, I understand, concerning itself with post-war, as well as current economic and financial problems. It works, of course, under the authority of the Acting Secretary-General."

### PUBLIC MEETINGS

The number of public meetings organised by local branches is growing steadily. Among the many meetings arranged for November are the following:—

- Nov. 1.—Birmingham. Miss K. D. COURTNEY. (Conference on Collective Security.)
- " 7.—Oxford. Mr. W. ARNOLD-FORSTER.
- " 8.—Winscombe (Som.). Mr. W. ARNOLD-FORSTER.
- " 9.—Nelson, Lancs. Sir ARTHUR HAWORTH, Bt.
- " 11.—Bath. Mr. W. ARNOLD-FORSTER.
- " 11.—Bedford. VISCOUNT CECIL.
- " 20.—Oxford. Mr. P. J. NOEL BAKER, M.P.
- " 20.—Bishop's Stortford. Dr. MAXWELL GARNETT.
- " 22.—Limpsfield. VISCOUNT CECIL.
- " 23.—Chiswick Town Hall. HON. HAROLD NICOLSON, M.P.
- " 25.—Nelson. Mrs. CORBETT ASHBY.
- " 26.—Halifax. Mrs. CORBETT ASHBY.
- " 27.—Huddersfield. Mrs. CORBETT ASHBY.
- " 29.—Streatham. Dr. GILBERT MURRAY, O.M.

## AMERICAN EXPERTS POOL IDEAS

Under the heading "American Spadework," HEADWAY in June gave a brief notice of a remarkable conference of more than a hundred American experts which had taken place at Princeton University. Those present were mainly leading technicians and specialists who during twenty years had crossed the Atlantic to add their competence and skill to the various activities of the League of Nations, the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice. But never, until the three educational and scientific institutions at Princeton invited them, had they had occasion to meet as a group or exchange views among themselves.

The full report on the conference, which has now reached us from the United States, is so significant for the future that no apology is needed for again referring to the meeting, at greater length than was possible in June. After their discussions, the experts recorded their belief that "*whatever the precise future of international relations, these technical and non-political activities must be continued as an integral part of world organisation.*" There was also general agreement that "this be considered but the first such meeting and that others follow."

### Points from the Speeches

PRESIDENT HAROLD W. DODDS (*Princeton University*):

"In this reunion the old adage 'In time of peace prepare for war' is being reversed. . . . No plans for the future of the world or even of America can afford to neglect or ignore the experience lodged in the minds and memories of those here present. Had that experience and wisdom been

available in 1918, we might not now be facing the situation we are facing.

"We Americans are perhaps more familiar with the work of the section now in Princeton" (the Economic, Financial and Transit Department) "than with other League work. We know its intelligence and reporting services and appreciate how thorough and helpful they have been. We have come to realise that, like disease and drugs, business cycles do not respect pre-established political boundaries. This section has helped educate many of us in something of which certain Americans knew little before, namely that even in the economic life of the nation and the individual, boundary lines between States are in the long run of small importance."

MR. CARL J. HAMBRO (*President of the Norwegian Storting and also of the League Assembly*):

"Few people understand the League's position to-day. Forty-eight nations are members at this moment; that they are supporting it amid all this crisis and that its organisations have been able to survive is proof of strong vitality. The League is paying its way as it always has. . . . Last year all Member States at war paid all or part of their contributions. Every member in the British Empire paid in full, as did the Netherlands; Belgium and France paid one quarter; Norway paid a third, and some invaded States made good-will token payments. . . . There was a deficit in the budget last year but it was possible to meet it out of reserves wisely accumulated in better years. Next year will be a difficult one, but we are entitled to a certain amount of optimism as to the outcome.

"I entertain great hopes for future international co-operation. For the up-building of the post-war world, the work that can be done by the various sections of the League with the generous help being given on this side of the ocean will be fundamental. In the present hour of darkness, it is essential to build in confi-

dence for the future. . . . No true settlement can ever be effected without an immense amount of just such work as this; it constitutes the vital groundwork for to-morrow."

MR. A. LOVEDAY (*Director of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League*):

"We are trying to follow the economic developments and tendencies in the world to-day, both because of their importance to us now and because the world which will be when peace breaks out will be the world which results from all these changes and not the world which we knew when the war started.

"I think that the industrial worker, whether man or woman, is going to say after this war, if we could all work to destroy, why can we not all work to produce? . . . . The only solution is a joint international and constructive anti-depression policy pursued by those powers which desire to stand for freedom and which have a dominant enough position in the markets of the world really to determine the degree of activity in the world."

DR. FRANK G. BOUDREAU (*Health Section*):

"A system of epidemiological intelligence was set up in Geneva to do for epidemics what a fire-alarm system does for fire prevention. Later, a rapid alarm-system was set up in Singapore, the Eastern crossroads of disease. That Bureau, though obviously handicapped by the war, is still receiving daily and weekly epidemic news from nearly all the ports in the Far East and is broadcasting it over a dozen stations to port health officers, ships at sea and planes in the air. The Bureau's work is so keenly appreciated that it has been supported not only by the League but by special contributions from Eastern countries. . . .

"The League's work was not centred wholly or even mainly in Geneva. It was to be found in the different countries: in Greece, China and Yugoslavia, in Chile, Brazil and Spain. National committees on

housing for instance, were established at League instigation in several countries. National nutrition committees were also set up by more than a score of Governments. It is our task to save all we can of this work so that the techniques and experience, as well as some of the personnel, may be available for the future reconstruction of the world. The problems of health facing the world after this war will be grave beyond precedent; they will require the utmost strength available to meet them. The League's experience in all continents and in the most varied fields of interest offers one of our most valuable resources in facing these formidable problems."

JUDGE MANLEY O. HUDSON:

"What have been the contributions made by the Permanent Court of International Justice in these twenty years? It has handled over sixty international disputes. It has handed down thirty judgments, twenty-seven advisory opinions and a large number of orders, and two cases are now pending before it. In all of this activity there has been no flouting of the Court's authority.

"These cases do not represent the Court's greatest contribution, however. Courts are important not merely because of the cases with which they deal, but because also of their influence on cases which never come before them. I am sure that many disputes have been settled out of court, merely because the World Court existed. . . .

"The future of a great institution of this kind may come down to a question of a very small sum of money. Yet all of us will say that we cannot allow to perish an institution which represents the fruition of so many years of effort, which is now imbedded in 560 international treaties and conventions, and which in twenty years has made such a big contribution to international life."

## WAR-LORDS

By FRED A WHITE

Our minds and our affairs are largely conditioned by two centuries' growth of knowledge and wealth. Knowledge, by its application to agriculture, industry and transport, has created the astonishing riches of our world. The process caused the optimism of the nineteenth century, with its sense of power, and discovery; and the pessimism of the twentieth, with its convictions that power exists only to be abused, that science is dedicated to destruction, and men doomed to be broken on the wheel of their own invention. We may not agree with Otto Strasser that Hitler is merely the embodiment of North German heavy industry; nor with Hitler himself that that concentration of mechanical power will turn Europe into Germany's home farm. But we are all tempted to adhere to the despairing religion of materialism. We lie in the darkness, listening to the bombers overhead, and think, "Things are in the saddle and ride mankind."

### Science and Its Uses

Knowledge and wealth, it is true, have gone clean out of control. We can understand the divorce between science and social conscience; the old quarrel with the religious authorities and the discipline of an undivided concentration upon truth alike threw the scientific pioneers into a moral isolation. Yet their own system of thought condemns their frequent defence; "Our work is to discover and verify facts; the use made of our findings is no concern of

ours." For science cannot be separated from its uses, and the disregard of consequences is an unscientific attitude. The scientists have behaved as doctors might have done, if they had determined "We shall learn the secrets of health and sickness, and we will offer for sale remedies and poisons, whichever men demand." The researchers have forged the keys of life and death, and have given them both to the rulers of men. This is the *trahison des clercs*, the betrayal of the learned. Without their dreadful intelligence governments would lack the guns and tanks and submarines, the propellants and explosives and poison gases which have turned national war into world massacre. Nobel, who made the detonator—and founded the Peace Prizes—said that his invention would render war so destructive that men would stop waging it. That was a clever man, trying to silence his own conscience. Many have sold their brains to death with no misgiving whatever.

It is, however, a hopeful sign that the long Thebaid of the scientists is ending. First in singletons, and latterly by companies, they are returning from their intellectual hermitages. The League Committee on Intellectual Co-operation gathered in a common service not only Gilbert Murray the humanist, but Marie Curie the chemist and Einstein the mathematician. The last meeting of the British Association witnessed scientists regarding the war as a necessary evil, but eager to devote their knowledge to

building a world at peace. These men are realising that they are the lords of the earth; too often, the War-Lords. We cannot control their thinking; that is a thing they can only do for themselves. They must evolve their own code of morality, which I suggest should be based upon the principle that science should serve life always, and death never. With that change of heart they could develop from a crowd of individualist barons into an aristocracy.

### Arms and Raw Materials

The lesser though more blatant War-Lords who live by trade in arms are well within our control, if we choose to exercise it. What has prevented us has been the service offered by the state to wealth, an attitude summarised by that astonishing phrase "The sacred right of property." I remember hearing a man who had held high government office say, "The publication of export and import figures of armaments is the utmost limit of control. Anything more would be an unwarrantable interference with legitimate trade." That attitude still prevails. Who so sleekly self-righteous as the arms-manufacturers who appeared before the Senate enquiry in Washington, and the Royal Commission in London? They were engaged in a patriotic industry; and if that involved advertising tanks in the German army journal, bribing officials in minor states, arranging that the agents of an American firm should arm Bolivia, its British counterpart Paraguay, and the agents of both egg the two countries on to a decimating war—why, that was necessary to the prosperity of their trade. Nor are munitions the whole, or perhaps the main story. Trade in raw materials of war has probably done more harm.

Japan offers the classic case of a state in flagrant aggression ever since 1931. We embargoed the export of munitions to her—for a fortnight—in isolation. But we never attempted an international embargo of rubber, tin, iron scrap, ships. Australia sold her wool for uniforms. Canada actually leased her whole nickel-mines. America continued to sell her oil after her conquests had spread from China to the French Empire. All this when the withholding of raw materials from Japan, at any stage, would have faced her with eventual exhaustion of her stocks and incapacity to make war on China, or any other country. If she attacks us now, it will be with arms with which we have lavishly supplied her; our motive being a fine confusion of diplomatic fright and private interest. Another case is that of Mexican oil. The European oil combines, assisted by their governments, boycotted Mexican oil as a reprisal for the expropriation of foreign concessions. Mexico was driven to accept German barter-goods which she would never have taken if her oil could have reached normal markets. For two years before the war Hitler stocked up with this petrol. His conquests owe much to the trade-vendettas of our private companies.

### Ending the Folly

This wicked folly has got to end. The peoples who allow it are as much to blame as the traffickers in materials of war. The Atlantic Charter certainly involves control of their distribution. It will, of course, mean powerful international machinery. That will not alarm those who have thought the matter out. Those who have not must learn that we have sacrificed the nations to the money War-Lords long enough.

## UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

The INTERNATIONAL UNITED SERVICE at St. Martin-in-the-Fields was attended by so many "overseas" representatives that it could truly be described as an Assembly of Nations. Five countries were included in the taking of the Service—America (Rev. Marcus A. Spencer), Greece (Archbishop Germanos), Holland (Rev. J. van Dorp), Norway (Pastor Ursin), and Great Britain (the Dean of Chichester). Everyone present was invited to join in repeating the Lord's Prayer in the language of his own country. Preaching on the subject "But who is my Neighbour?", the Dean reminded the congregation that loving one's neighbour did not mean taking no action when he is persecuted, beaten up and victimised. The Covenant had provided a system of international law and order. Force was a necessary corollary to law and order, and it must be shown that the decision of Reason would be upheld by Force. The Covenant had incorporated the Christian injunction "Love thy Neighbour." When the democracies came to work out a fresh system of international law and order, they would inevitably find themselves returning to the principles underlying the Covenant.

"The League has been vindicated by every great event since 1931," said Mr. P. J. Noel Baker, M.P., addressing the L.R.F. COUNCIL and friends at the Swedenborg Hall. Nevertheless everything about the League could have been better and stronger. The new League after this war, he foreshadowed, would be a stronger institution in every way. The League was right in principle and only needed greater power. The people would be willing to give it greater power.

STREATHAM'S Annual United Service, which for the tenth time in succession was held on October 4, continues to be one of the year's most popular events. Six local Ministers and Clergy were present and the congregation was equally representative of the local churches. Preaching from

the text "Fight the Good Fight," the Rev. Dorothy F. Wilson (formerly of the City Temple) linked this theme to the responsibility which every individual bears towards planning and carrying out the peace of the future.

*The public thirst for information about the U.S.A. is as great as ever. The Union is heavily indebted to members of the American Outpost in Britain, without whose unsparing help and readiness to address meetings in all parts of the country it would be virtually impossible to keep pace with the demand for American speakers.*

The series of meetings on "The Ideas and Ideals of the Great Powers," organised by the PADDINGTON and ST. JOHN'S WOOD BRANCHES, was continued in October when the Rev. Marcus A. Spencer spoke from the American point of view. On Saturday, November 8, at 3 p.m., in the Presbyterian Church Hall, Marlborough Place, Dr. Wolfram Gottlieb will deal with "Russia."

LEAMINGTON is running a series of meetings on "Planning for the Future." A good start was made in October when Miss Barbara Barclay Carter gave a talk on "America's Part in the Post-War Settlement," and at the next meeting Mr. John T. Catterall spoke on "Social Responsibilities after the War."

WEYBRIDGE also had a visit from Miss Barclay Carter, and Mrs. A. C. F. Jackson spoke on "America" at BOURNEMOUTH.

Dr. Vaclav Benes had a crowded and enthusiastic meeting when he spoke on "Czechoslovakia" at BISHOP'S STORTFORD. This Branch also arranged a joint meeting with the Hockerill Training College, at which Mrs. Beatrice King gave an address on "Russia." Forthcoming events include a dance on November 14 and a visit from Dr. Maxwell Garnett on November 20.

HARROW BRANCH was greatly pleased with their meeting addressed, by Dr. V. Benes—the attendance of about 200 was a record.

At the invitation of the WALLINGTON BRANCH of the L.N.U., representatives of various local organisations met for an interchange of views on six points summarising the Union's proposals on World Settlement after the War. Spokesmen from the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Parties, the Women Citizens' Association, Federal Union, the Peace Pledge Union and the Fraternal of Clergy and Ministers took part in the discussion, and we learn that the coincidence of views of different societies was amazing. Such conferences, one or two of which have already been held in provincial centres, are heartily to be welcomed.

In the midst of glorious National Trust scenery, SHEFFIELD DISTRICT held a weekend conference at Longshaw Lodge Holiday Fellowship Guest House. Miss K. D. Courtney and Mr. Leonard Behrens opened a discussion on "Collective Security." Further, Dr. F. Lincoln Ralphs (W.E.A.) spoke on Propaganda for the L.N.U., and Professor S. Brodetsky on the Atlantic Charter.

Dame Elizabeth Cadbury presided at a recent meeting of the BOURNVILLE WORKS BRANCH when Mr. Geoffrey Mander, M.P., spoke on World Settlement after the War. A series of discussion meetings, speakers for which have been secured up to next April, will cover the following subjects: "Collective Defence," "Pacific Remedies," "Colonial Settlement," "Minorities," "Social and Economic Reconstruction," "Education and World Order," and "Future Policy."

When Mr. George Green (Skipton) addressed the HARROGATE BRANCH on the Atlantic Charter, an influential audience included the Mayor Elect, Mr. W. L. Smith (former chairman of the Southend-on-Sea Branch) and Mrs. W. H. Thompson, J.P. In a circular letter advertising the meeting, members were urged to pay their 1941 subscriptions. In addition to

many who did so at the meeting, twenty people called at the secretary's office to pay up.

CHICHESTER BRANCH is engaged on a big winter drive to focus the attention both of its members and of the general public on the fact that the L.N.U. is still in the forefront of the struggle for world order. An interesting programme of fortnightly lectures and discussions has been arranged, the speakers up to Christmas including the Dean of Chichester, Mr. Evan T. Davies, M.A., Mr. A. Fawcett, B.Sc., Dr. D. Cook and Dr. Rozitis of Latvia.

At the annual meeting of the CLYDEBANK BRANCH, Mr. John Peacock, M.A., the President, gave an address on the eight points for peace in the Atlantic Charter. A resolution welcoming the statement of principles and the outline of war aims contained in the Atlantic Charter, moved by Mr. A. Walker (chairman of the Glasgow Branch), was endorsed by the meeting. Excellent publicity was obtained in the local Press, to which the Branch Secretary's father has also contributed three articles on "World Settlement: Conditions of a Lasting Peace."

Count Balinski (Poland) has been engaged on a speaking tour for the Union in the EAST OF SCOTLAND. He has addressed meetings at Comrie, Aberdeen, Crieff, North Berwick, Edinburgh, Dundee, Elie, St. Andrews and Blairgowrie

Addressing the ROMFORD BRANCH on "International Responsibility for International Order," Mr. T. C. Archer said that it would take so long to induce all nations to observe moral and religious restraints in their dealings with others that it was essential, as a short term policy, to give the League power to enforce the Law when necessary.

The BLOOMSBURY TECHNICAL SCHOOL, now at Letchworth, had a talk from Mrs. Corbett Fisher, and Mr. T. C. Archer

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## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

## LET THE PEOPLE KNOW

In Hitler's New Order there are no truth-telling books. "Knowledge!" Hitler cries, "It is ruin to my young men." Our view is defiantly different. Only books can destroy ignorance: only in them will answers to our urgent questions be found. There can be no more potent slogan for Britain than "Books for Victory."

Among books warmly recommended this month are two dealing with India. In *INDIA AND DEMOCRACY*, by Sir George Schuster and Guy Wint (Macmillan, 12s. 6d.), readers will find the best book written on this subject for a very long time. The first half by Mr. Wint is an historical introduction, especially for British readers. Old India, the changes, in traditional social and economic pattern brought about by the British Raj, the bearing of Indian thought on Western political ideas—all pass in vivid review. And we reach to-day—with the Government's loss of prestige, signs of a Nazi-like lust for power among the younger Indian politicians, the distortions begotten of propaganda, radical movements among the peasants. In the second half Sir George Schuster deals with the key issue of agriculture—how to secure the peasants' rights to the land and free them from debt. Here surely is a call nobler than any careerist rush for power to which educated young Indians could widely respond. On the Minority problem which, as a result of Congress claims to monopolise nationalism, threatens to Balkanise India, Sir George has interesting suggestions. Instead of the Parliamentary "majority" system, maybe unsuitable for India, he suggests an All-India Government serving as an inter-Provincial organ, with minimum federal powers. It would consist of a small Coalition Ministry, on a fixed statutory basis, and with increased arbitral power for the Crown. But, of course, it is realised that now Indians must frame their own Government. This war will not end the fight between Liberty and

Despotism. India cannot stand alone. Political independence without economic and industrial strength means nil. The British Commonwealth after the war will have much to offer other nations, in the same convoy. Will India rise to the occasion and to new greatness, as a bridge, an interpreter, between the West and the East?

*INDIA: THE ROAD TO SELF-GOVERNMENT*, by John Coatman (Allen and Unwin, 5s.), traces in a concise and readable form the actual steps which India has taken along the road to democracy since the closing years of the last century. An excellent book on the facts.

*THE COLOUR BAR IN EAST AFRICA*, by Norman Leys (Hogarth, 3s. 6d.). An appeal, based on to-day's facts, which carries conviction in every line, for a more far-seeing, juster and more moral Colonial policy in the matter of civil and political disabilities of natives in some of our colonies, especially in East Africa. The point here is that most of these disabilities are statutory, and, as such, difficult to reconcile with the pillar principle of British Imperial policy, "no discrimination on grounds of race, religion or colour." Justifiable colonial policy depends, in the last resort, on the solution of this problem of equal rights and equality of social opportunity. To solve it there must be, in East Africa, nothing less than a change of official attitude and direction. Above all, there must be far more money, so that Education cannot be starved and with it the supply of Africans who should be employed in the public services.

*FEDERALISM AND FREEDOM*, by Sir George Young (Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.). This book shows a Shavian inability to resist the witty inversion of "divide or die" type: it is dogmatic and confused. Nevertheless, behind the barrage of words there are provocative ideas. Streit's "Union Now," and prospect of

calculable Anglo-American co-operation, are jettisoned. *Le premier pas qui coute* is European Federation. But a novel idea here is avoidance of the menace to Federation from large Power units, by their division into small units of not more than ten million people. Britain thus would have eight (back to the Heptarchy), Germany ten, France six, and so forth. In other words the key to peace lies in a kind of *Devolution*, and rebirth of dormant loyalties. Another idea—for which Sir George goes back to mediaeval history—is that of linking together, on a sort of neutral federal ground, diverse political systems, for limited co-operation. Western capitalism and the Soviet system working side by side—"If both are willing to work the European Union," he says, "it will work." Yet, surely, this "if" exposes a flaw in the whole argument. For this "if" equally governed and governs the success of the League's machinery. It is curious that, like many diplomatists, Sir George seems never quite to have understood the League. Much of what he demands—the restoration of respect for Law, the application of international control for what is international (*e.g.*, communications, health, drug traffic and so forth)—is purloined straight out of the League's cupboard and given a new name. Once grant the "if Governments are willing," the odds in favour of the League, and a better and bolder League, are certainly higher than those in favour of a far more complicated step forward, Federalism via *Devolution*.

Though only brief reference can be made to the following, mind, they are meant to be read. *BERLIN DIARY*, by W. L. Shirer (Hamish Hamilton, 12s. 6d.). This and *AMBASSADOR DODD'S DIARIES* (Gollancz) give a first-class close-up of the German situation. Both are anti-Nazi on moral grounds. Both let many tiger-cats out of the bag. For both the cause of the present catastrophe lies deep in history, in the German lack of character which Prussian militarism has abused for devas-

tating ends. Germany, says Mr. Shirer, is inordinately strong, but for all that she is incapable of organising Europe.

Under the title *EUROPE UNDER THE NAZIS* a series of books is being published by Lindsay Drummond, 5s. each. The first, *I SAW POLAND*, by *A Polish Doctor*, is to be followed by volumes on Holland, Norway, Belgium and Denmark. Two more Oxford Pamphlets (4d. each), *NORWAY AND THE WAR*, by G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, and *AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY*, by D. W. Brogan—should not be missed. In *BELGIUM*, published by Evans Bros. (5s.) for the *Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, light is thrown on the deliberate weakening of the League's Collective Security by the British and French Governments in favour of old-fashioned but futile neutrality; belated justice is also done to King Leopold's conduct in 1940.

*SCIENCE IN CHAINS*, by Sir Richard Gregory (Macmillan War Pamphlet, 3d.), shows how "science commits suicide when it adopts a creed" (Nazism). A spontaneous reaction to this was the recent gathering of scientists from all over the world in London, when they issued their famous Charter of Freedom.

*BRITISH LIFE AND THOUGHT* (Longmans, 8s. 6d.) brings together in book form eleven pamphlets by different authors (Professor A. Berriedale Keith, for example, writes on the British Commonwealth). Collectively this survey of British ideas, ideals and institutions presents a picture far richer and more satisfying than anything which the Nazi New Order has to offer to the solution of the world's problems.

*U.S.S.R.: THE STRENGTH OF OUR ALLY* (Lawrence and Wishart, 1s. 6d.) is an impressive collection of photographs, diagrams and letterpress giving the facts about Russia's military and economic power. The sources drawn upon include League of Nations publications.

## SAVING GERMANY'S SOUL

EUROPE AND THE GERMAN QUESTION.  
By F. W. Foerster. (Allen and Unwin,  
Prometheus Library. 16s.)

Professor Foerster's historical survey of the stages by which the old German seriousness, kindness of heart and spirit of sacrifice have become dedicated to the mania of national power is one of the most impressive, penetrating and persuasive treatises from the pen of a German exile yet to be published. A lifetime of scholarly research is behind it, and it carries all the more weight because of the author's background. Nearly fifty years ago he suffered imprisonment for teaching that Germany, under the evil influence of Prussia, was being false to her true mission in Europe and the world.

This study of the whole history of Germany, from the days of the Teutonic Knights to the present, does suggest the existence of another Germany than that which has culminated in Hitler. Yet overwhelmingly the evidence shows that the Hitlerian frenzy is something deeper than the inexplicable aberration of a few years—it is not by accident that a policy of Prussian aggrandisement has been imposed on the German people. (*Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach! in meiner Brust,* wrote Goethe with his insight into this dual German character.)

How can modern Germany cease to be "a commercial traveller mimicking the gestures of Wotan," "the scarecrow of armed power"? That the German problem can be solved only on European lines is Professor Foerster's contention. German unity can be achieved only as part of the unity of Europe, not in opposition to it. The problem is absolutely insoluble on lines of national sovereignty. "It is astounding," he comments, "that not one of the great national organisers in Europe, from Richelieu to Bismarck, could foresee that a one-sided preoccupation with securing the rights of a single nation would be the surest way to destroy those rights and that, if the existence of the

nation were to be preserved, a system of mutual guarantees must be organised." And again, "There is in fact not a single European problem soluble in isolation and by mere force."

After the lies served up to poison the German soul for the past 60 years or more, Professor Foerster promises no easy cure or conversion at the end of this war. He also thinks it would be a mistake to "treat the diseased as though they were healthy, or incorrigible criminals as though they were honest men." There is no false optimism here. Yet "the day may be nearer than we imagine when the Germans, aroused from a hideous delusion, will open their ears and their consciences." And—may we add—when that day comes, Professor Foerster's book should be in their hands.  
L. R. A.

### AMERICAN OUTPOST

Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger, Secretary of the American League of Nations Association and National Director of the Committee to Defend America, addressed a luncheon arranged by the American Outpost in Great Britain on the eve of his return to the United States. Lord Lytton, Dr. Gilbert Murray, and other representatives of the League of Nations Union were among those who heard his forceful and encouraging account of the progress of Anglo-American relations, in course of which he spoke cordially of his associations with the L.N.U.

According to the Lisbon correspondent of *The Times* (20/10/41), the Pope has drawn an important distinction between the Nazi and the Communist systems: While Bolshevism is in some sense a corruption of the virtues of brotherly love and self-sacrifice, Nazism is a direct and untrammelled manifestation of hatred and greed.

## FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

### Our Clear Duty

SIR,—As a member of the L.N.U. I welcome Lord Cecil's call to our "clear duty." "We must accept thankfully the Atlantic Charter, and we must labour to have it perfected into a complete and workable scheme for an enduring peace, based on the supremacy of the moral law."

The moral law admits of no exceptions, and therefore point three of the Atlantic Charter—"The right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live"—should be applied to India and other countries of the British Empire as well as to the enslaved nations of Europe.

How else can we have "a complete and workable scheme for an enduring peace"?

Smethwick. EDWARD CHARLES (REV.)

### Religion and the League

SIR,—It is with great satisfaction that I have just read the article on "Religion and the League," by the Rev. Marcus Spencer in the October number of HEADWAY. It expresses with great clarity and understanding the true relation of Religion to the League, and of the League to Religion. There is, of course, no reason whatever why, when religion comes in at the door, commonsense should fly out at the window. There is such a thing—to use the words of an old schoolmaster of mine—as "sanctified commonsense," and it is well to cultivate it.

J. R. PHILLIPS.

Guildford.

## UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

(Continued from page 11.)

spoke at the SOUTHGATE COUNTY SCHOOL. Continuing his open-air meetings in HYDE PARK, Mr. Archer had crowds of up to 300 and, weather permitting, further meetings will be held on Saturday evenings and Sunday afternoons.

Councillor A. E. Lauder of our WOOD GREEN AND SOUTHGATE BRANCH, who is on the local Libraries Committee, has arranged for HEADWAY to be added to the reading rooms at the Palmer's Green and Southgate Public Libraries.

Mr. Stanley H. Barlow, the St. Marylebone Post Warden, who has been awarded the George Medal for rescuing seven people from two adjacent burning basements, was formerly our B.U.L.N.S. Secretary at Leeds.

*The International Labour Conference at New York—especially in view of the visit of Mr. Attlee—has put the I.L.O. on the map. Branches are reminded that an I.L.O. Lantern Lecture (with speaker) is available, and that the subject is now extremely topical.*

The ST. JOHN'S WOOD BRANCH is organising talks with lantern slides, on the non-political activities of the League, in St. Marylebone Borough air-raid shelters. Popular lectures on "Organising Health" and "Clearing Up the Débris," as well as a third on "People in the U.S.A.," have been accepted by the Shelter Committee. There are some 80 shelters in the Borough, and it is estimated that talks will be possible and welcome in at least 40 of them.

Branches are reminded, too, of the useful work which they can do by holding meetings and discussion groups in co-operation with their local Workers' Educational Association.

*In many Branches, under present conditions, changes of officers cannot be avoided. It is all the more important to maintain up-to-date membership records so that, in the event of a change of secretary taking place, complete information may be available for the successor.*

## TO ALL YOUTH GROUPERS EVERYWHERE

DEAR YOUTH GROUPS,

I am writing this letter just as the nine o'clock news is being announced. This time last year it would have been interrupted by the thunder of guns and the crump of bombs. Now it is our brave allies in Russia who are in the centre of the struggle, and they no less than we will stand firm. Many of you will have read the message to be sent to the Soviet Youth from the British Youth, through the Anglo-Soviet Youth Friendship Committee. I think most of you will be pleased to know that I have signed that message on your behalf. The London Youth Groups have also sent a reply to a message received by them from Ivan Papanin, the Soviet explorer. Against the terrible holocaust which has overtaken the Soviet Union these steps may seem negligible, but last year we were cheered by the sympathy of America, and may we not also help Russia in this way, especially as we know something of what they are experiencing? Will any Groups or individuals who can help in any way please contact the Anglo-Soviet Youth Friendship Committee, 104, Wigmore Street, London, W.1?

During the last few weeks we have been filled with admiration at the inspired sacrifice of the men and women of Russia. It ranks with that of the people of Spain, and you will remember that one reason for this was that the Spanish people understood what they were fighting for. The British people have shown that same quality of resistance and it is the job of all Youth Groupers not only to play their full part in the actual struggle, but to help people to understand the issues involved.

Since my last letter the London Youth Groups have begun to reorganise. Instead of the borough Groups we now have one for North London, one for West London and one for North-West London. We still

need help in East, South and Central areas. Will any members interested please let me know? Incidentally, the North London Group centres round Wood Green and Southgate Youth Group, which shows the value of this group's steady work in a difficult area throughout the war. Have any other blitzed towns plans for reorganisation?

I think you will be interested to know that the L.N.U. is to give talks in some of the London shelters this winter. We need more speakers, and Miss Hansell will be pleased to hear from anyone who can help. I suggest that Youth Groups enquire how they can help in shelter schemes in other areas.

Finally, I hope that you have been studying the statements and reports issued by the Union. The General Council will be held in December, and if you do not send in your comments and criticisms by then, it will be little use complaining afterwards that your point of view was overlooked. What about getting yourselves appointed as delegates to the Council?

To all Youth Groupers everywhere my best wishes for our future.

ETHEL A. WAITE.

"Let us think further ahead still, and make it our resolve to maintain this spirit and unity, not only throughout the war but thereafter.

"Think what a world we could make if we put into our peace endeavours the same self-sacrifice, the same energy and the same co-operation as we use in the wastefulness of war."

GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD WAVELL.