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THE STATEMENT

By DR. GILBERT MURRAY, O.M.

[HEADWAY, during the next few months, will publish a series of articles of critical comment on "World Settlement After the War." In the present issue Dr. Murray introduces the series, and the Master of Balliol makes a challenging contribution to the discussion.]

The Statement on World Settlement, issued to the Council in December and published, with corrections, in the January HEADWAY, has received a certain amount of friendly criticism. The most pertinent perhaps was that of Mr. Stein, who thought it "a little like a plan put out by an architect without regard to the material which would be available to the builder." Of course that is just what it is, and what it was bound to be. Nobody in the world knows what material will be available to the builder. No one knows where America will stand, where Russia will stand, what the condition of France, China and Japan will be, or what sort of governments will succeed those of Hitler and Mussolini. All that the Union as a whole can do is to draw an outline of the sort of World Order we should like to build if circumstances permit. It is based on the hypothesis that we can do more or less what we want to do: that

is, that Great Britain wins the war, that the post-war chaos can be mastered, that militant nationalism is effectively discredited and the world once more, as it was in 1919, is generally desirous of peace and the rule of law.

"Realism"

This is said to be unrealistic. Perhaps so; but is it possible in present circumstances to be anything else? We may not be able to get what we want, but at least we ought to know what we do want. Of course, we shall be thwarted. We know that. Some things are sure to go wrong; but no one can possibly say what things or where or how. It would be useful and interesting if individuals would make "realistic" plans to suit the various situations they think likely to arise at the end of the war. Though the list of possibilities would be long and it is likely enough that the actual issue would be something no one

had expected. But the best the Executive, as representing the Union, can do is to state in principle the kind of settlement we are fighting for.

Inner and Outer Rings

The main changes in the Covenant which are proposed seem to me to be two. First, the Inner and Outer Rings, a distinction between the great mass of nations who are willing to live unaggressively as "good neighbours," and the few powerful nations who are willing to accept the responsibilities attaching to their strength for maintaining the peace of the world. It has long been felt that the obligations of Article XVI, just because they were laid equally upon all Members, had been left vague and easy to evade. The proposed change means that the one universal obligation incumbent on all Members of the League is to condemn aggression and do nothing to assist the aggressor; direct action to coerce the aggressor is incumbent only on members of the Inner Ring, but on them is precise and definite. The question whether all Members should not be bound to contribute towards the expenses of the coercion ought perhaps to be raised. How the various "Regions" will be defined, or whether to begin with there will only be one Inner Ring with large but limited regions to take care of, only time will show. In Europe itself I doubt if there will be any place for the limited obligation. All European Members, if they wish to be safe, must be Inner Circle.

League Services

The other amendment is merely quantitative. If the League is to arouse general loyalty it must deserve it. It must render services to the world which impress the imagination and affect the life of ordinary people. That is to say,

the work of both the I.L.O. and the non-political sections of the League must be "speeded up and expanded with a much-increased budget." All these services, the economic, hygienic, social, humanitarian and also the educational and intellectual, have been eminently successful as far as they were allowed to be so; but all of them, in Senor Madariaga's words, have been subjected to a system of "deliberate and hypocritical starvation." It has sometimes filled one with shame at the Assembly to see a British representative, no doubt under Treasury instructions, make no contribution to the discussion except to propose to save a few hundred pounds by crippling at the last moment some valuable service which he has never attempted to understand. For reasons of economy, as well as efficiency, these services must be collective. No nation could afford to do them alone; no nation alone could do them at all, any more than it could maintain an international postal service alone. And if they are to be done at all, they should be made at least as effective as the international postal service. It is calculated that about two-and-a-half times the present budget would suffice to start with. One incidental result of this development would be to make membership of the League a definite and considerable economic advantage, which no nation would lightly care to forfeit by resignation or expulsion. Disloyalty to the League would carry its Sanction with it.

The Chief Necessity

After all, the chief necessity is not any change in the Covenant; the world will have peace when Great Britain and the other free nations realise their responsibility for maintaining peace.

WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR

By DR. A. D. LINDSAY

(*Master of Balliol College, Oxford*)

Let me begin by saying emphatically that I think the last main section of the Statement, and especially paragraphs 20 to 23, are quite impossible. We are to have (§15) "an International Authority as nearly representative of the civilised world as possible." That authority (§17) is to entrust to a selected group of Powers "responsibility for the exercise of force in preventing aggression or suppressing war." The responsibility of these selected Powers is to be regional (§20). But there is (§23) to be "an International Air Force under the control of the International Authority and available for the defence of any State which the International Authority may recognise as the victim of aggression."

International Air Force

Now I don't believe the difficulties in the way of organising and maintaining an International Air Force have been thought out. If the nations of the world are after the war going to be in such a condition of mutual confidence that they are going to be prepared to give up their national air forces and entrust the most terrible power in the world to an International Authority, they are going to be prepared to set up a single world State. "He that hath command of the militia," said Hobbes, "is sovereign." Still more he that has command of the Air Force. Does anyone suppose that Russia is going after the war to be so trustful of the British Commonwealth and the U.S.A. that she will abandon her Air

Force? Whatever we think about Russia, if an International Air Force is going to be possible, why go on talking about a League of Nations? Let us all go over to Federal Union and make no bones about it. Leaving all these difficulties aside, I can't understand what is supposed to be the relation between the defence against aggression described in §§17, 20 and 21, the Outer and Inner Ring arrangement, and the defence against aggression described in the last sentence of §23, the sentence about an International Air Force, nor what is supposed to be the relation of either to "special measures to prevent Germany and Italy from renewing the war" so passingly referred to in the first sentence of §23.

Ambiguities

The more I consider these §§ 15, 17, 20, 21, 22 and 23 the more I am convinced that they just don't make sense. I think the reason for their ambiguities is largely that they don't make clear on what assumptions they are based. They are completely in the air.

It is no answer to these criticisms to say that we should consider what we think ought to happen and not concern ourselves with assumptions or conjectures as to what will be practicable. The Statement as a whole is based on an assumption of that kind, an assumption with which I agree. It assumes that at the end of the war totalitarianism will be defeated; that the nations of the world, or at least enough of them to en-

force their will on the world, are going to set up an organisation for world order, that they will be convinced of the necessity for such an organisation, but that they will not be prepared to merge their identities into a Federal Union. It was proper, therefore, to show, as §§6-10 of the Statement show, that the principles behind the League were sound and that it failed not because of any inherent defects in such an organisation, but because it was not properly worked. I could have wished that at the end of §10 another subsection (i) had been added:

"The League was slow to face the situation created by the rise of Fascism and Nazi-ism, in that it did not early enough insist that nations who openly repudiated the principles of the League could have no part in it." But that is a detail.

The League and Reconstruction

The Statement goes on to make in §11 another assumption about the situation after the war with which also I agree. I wish §11 would say more emphatically that this general rescue and reconstruction work which so many nations will need should be undertaken by the

League. That is no doubt implied, but it might be emphasised more.

"Special Measures"

But when the Statement comes to elaborate the changes in the machinery necessary to enforce peace, it ceases to have a background and therefore is necessarily ambiguous. Yet we all assume, as that first sentence of §23 seems to assume, that after the conclusion of peace the victorious allied Powers will have to continue to take "special measures to prevent Germany and Italy from renewing the war." It seems to me certain that these special measures will to some extent determine the shape of any future world organisation, and that we should in this part of the Statement concern ourselves with the principles to be observed in growing a satisfactory international authority out of the measures which will be necessary to underpin the peace. In this connection I should welcome an elaboration of the suggestive remark in §17 that "its two main functions of maintaining peace and improving the economic and social life of the world should be kept distinct with separate procedures."

FAMILIAR COMPANY

Mr. John G. Winant, the American Ambassador, must have felt completely at home at the luncheon given in his honour by the British Employers' Confederation and the Trades Union Congress. The presence of Mr. Churchill completed the tripartite representation with which Mr. Winant became so familiar during the years when he was

Director of the International Labour Office.

The guest of honour, indeed, referred in his speech to the Geneva organisation. He liked to think, he said, that the International Labour Office had not only influenced and made possible their joint collaboration in peace-time but had helped lay the foundation for sacrifice and co-operation in time of war.

AMERICAN AID TO BRITAIN

"I am going back to America to recommend that the United States should take part in the Battle of the Atlantic this spring. America is as much concerned in it as Britain. If we win that, we have won the war."

Mr. Evarts S. Scudder, liaison officer between the American "Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies" and its "Americans in Britain Outpost," made this statement at a Press conference in London on the eve of his return to the United States—and two days before President Roosevelt's great speech. Mr. Scudder said that, after investigation over here, he was convinced that his country's policy should be "all aid to Britain in the Battle of the Atlantic." Asked if and when war would be declared between the U.S.A. and Germany, he replied that that was a question of strategy. Probably America would leave the initiative in that respect to Germany. The important point was not an actual declaration of war, but the fact that America was committed by both parties to the defeat of the Axis Powers.

William Allen White

The American Committee has perhaps been better known as the William Allen White Committee—after the name of its founder, the Editor of the *Emporia Kansas Gazette* and a personal friend of President Roosevelt. Mr. Scudder revealed the truth about the recent crisis, when the isolationists alleged that White had severed all connection with the "Aid to Britain" movement because it was going too far and too fast. What actually happened was that, when he thought that the movement was growing too big, William

Allen White decided to make way for a younger and more active man. He was acutely distressed when his motives were distorted. Actually, while taking a less active part in the work, he is remaining as Honorary Chairman.

America's Belligerent Mood

However, the campaign of misrepresentation surrounding the Aid to Britain Committee had an interesting sequel, showing the temper of American public opinion. Until recently, public subscriptions amounting to about three hundred dollars a day used to provide the committee with the funds for carrying on its work. As soon as its enemies spread the rumour that the "belligerent" people were in the saddle, the subscriptions suddenly jumped up to three or four thousand dollars a day.

The Committee is determined to back Roosevelt's policy in the most belligerent way. It is out to win the war and win the peace, and explain it to both peoples. It will remain active as long as it can remain useful.

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

SOUTH AFRICA TO PAY

South Africa is to contribute £25,000 this year to the cost of the League of Nations. "It would be stupid in the present difficult time," General Smuts, the Prime Minister, told the House of Assembly, "if the only instrument for binding the peoples of the world together were left in the lurch by South Africa." Many people who thought deeply were convinced that the only hope for the salvation of the world lay along the road of the League and, in his opinion, there was a strong obligation on South Africa to maintain this instrument.

ADVICE FROM A GERMAN

By ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P.

OFFENSIVE AGAINST GERMANY. By Sebastian Haffner. Secker and Warburg. 2s.

This little book is so short, so brilliantly written, and so admirably printed, that it is "just the thing" to take to a shelter, or to one of those places where patriotic citizens spend weary hours awaiting calls to sundry duties. It can hardly be called an answer to Sir Robert Vansittart's "Black Record," for in their views of official Germany, past and present, the authors think much alike. But Haffner, himself an Aryan Prussian recent emigrant, shows the concave—the hidden part—of a Germany of which Vansittart only presents the convex.

Whether his estimate of the numerical strength of the Opposition is justified, who can say? But the main purpose and value of his book lies in its proposals as to how the opposition inside and outside Germany may best be encouraged to contribute to "a British victory, in which I saw, and see, the only hope for the rescue and regeneration of my own country!" The boldness, even rashness, with which these proposals are set out almost takes one's breath away. Some people will disapprove or even be shocked at some of them, and also at his idea of the kind of "New Order" which is to follow the victory—a United States of Europe, with its capital and Cabinet in London. All that, they will think, savours too much of taking leaves out of Hitler's book. Haffner, after all, is a Prussian, and to be a Prussian is to be a "tough guy." Perhaps; but in fact, Hitler has stolen and misused many good ideas and devices. That is no reason for allowing him to patent or monopolise them. And perhaps "tough guys" are needed both to win the war

and in the reconstruction of the post-war world.

The most immediate practicable proposals of the book relate to the better utilisation of the German anti-Nazi emigrés both in propaganda and in the fighting forces. As to propaganda, few will disagree with him, and it is significant that Haffner himself has been made political editor of the new German daily, *Die Zeitung*, destined, one hopes, for circulation not only here, but as opportunity offers within Germany. Haffner makes a point, obvious enough but seldom made, that we have far more to gain from spreading disaffection among Germans than among the nations of German-occupied countries because these have been disarmed, while among Germans we have the hope of disintegrating an Army, or that part of it which is at heart anti-Hitler, though temporarily dazzled by his successes.

As to the use of fighting Germans, Haffner proposes that instead of wasting them on Labour work in the A.M.P.C., a Free German Force should be established on the lines of De Gaulle's Force. The difficulty here seems to be that the majority of German emigrés are Jewish. They "have done with Germany for ever," and look to a future as British, American or Palestinian citizens. Those who have the fighting temperament would like to be absorbed in British combatant units or embodied in a Jewish Battalion. On the other hand, a German Force would make a greater appeal to the real Germans, by asserting the principle that for Germans this is a Civil War, and that to come over to us if and when they get the chance, would not be treachery but loyalty.

Agree or disagree with it as we may, here is a book demanding the attention of every intelligent British citizen, and of every emigrant German.

THE LEAGUE IN AMERICA

With the active support of the U.S.A. and Canada, the League of Nations is continuing the policy of transferring some of its most useful constructive activities to the New World. Mr. Arthur Loveday and a delegation from the Economic and Financial Section set the fashion last autumn when (as reported in HEADWAY) they left Geneva and settled down at Princeton, New Jersey, about the same time as Mr. John Winant took a substantial section of the International Labour Office to McGill University, Montreal. Both are doing valuable research work and collecting information in order that, when the time comes, they may play their part in post-war reconstruction. Now the Permanent Central Opium Board has opened a branch office in Washington. Although Geneva remains officially the headquarters of the League, the international staff work connected with fighting the dope traffic will in practice be carried on from this new centre. In war-time, when all the conditions favour the spread of drug addiction, it is doubly important that nothing should hamper the unremitting efforts to suppress the evil.

Another job essential to the continu-

ance of the League of Nations will also be done from the United States. That is the raising of the money necessary to finance its activities. Even in peacetime the cost of the League was a very small item in national budgets—in our own case no more than such items as the Army's postage bill or printing and stationery for the Admiralty. To-day, of course, when war costs are soaring to astronomical dimensions, the League budget represents only a minute fraction of a farthing for every pound spent on the prosecution of the war.

"There is no better way in which States can support the purpose for which the League stands," reported the League's Supervisory Commission towards the end of last year, "than by prompt and regular payment of their contributions." Many Governments, including the British, the Australian and the South African, are willing and able to pay their shares towards the League's modest budget, which they recognise as a good investment. The League Treasurer is now in America, and it is understood that he will devote himself to collecting subscriptions from those League members that are in a position to pay.

AUSTRALIA AND THE LEAGUE

The Australian Parliament, believing that the League of Nations is still performing useful work, has voted £34,000 as the country's 1941 contribution towards the League's budget.

Sir Francis Anderson, President of the N.S.W. Branch of the Australian League of Nations Union, recently broadcast to Australian listeners on the work of the Union. A sure sign that our cousins and partners in the war are ready to think about the peace! In describing the activities of the Australian L.N.U. since 1921,

Sir Francis stressed that an important feature was its educational work in the schools, colleges and universities. "The younger generation," he said, "understands better than most of us older people that the race of civilisation is between education and catastrophe. Our hope and trust are in the young."

Sir Francis concluded with a strong appeal to "all men and women of good will to come to our help, which is sorely needed in the midst of so much ignorance, indifference and prejudice."

ETHIOPIA AND JUSTICE

By SYLVIA PANKHURST

(Our contributor, who is Editor of "New Times and Ethiopia News," has been allowed complete liberty of expression. Her views must not be taken as necessarily agreeing in all respects with those of the L.N.U.)

The liberation of Ethiopia from the invasion of the Italian Fascist Government, for five years regarded by many as a lost cause, is near at hand.

Her people have bravely earned their independence by a hard, continuous fight against the invaders, the result of which was that when Mussolini declared war on Britain the patriotic armies were better armed and organised and had a more efficient intelligence service than when the knell of war sounded for them in 1935. They had equipped themselves with rifles, machine guns and other war material from the resources of the enemy as British forces have done subsequently.

Ethiopian Unity

The unity of the country for the cause of independence is daily being demonstrated. It is interesting to recall that on June 22, 1936, in the fateful days before the raising of Sanctions, Mr. Eden, as Foreign Secretary, replied to a question by Mr. Mander that although Italy occupied less than half of Abyssinia, Western Abyssinia, which included the one remaining channel of communication, was "in the hands of the Galla population, who were hostile to the Emperor's government." He added that he had informed the Ethiopian Minister in London that His Majesty's Government could not allow arms to go through Sudan into Western Abyssinia so long as there was any probability that they would serve to promote civil war.

Thus the Ethiopian patriots had only

enemy sources from which to arm themselves by hard fighting, for France was equally determined not to supply them.

It should be noted that it is precisely in Western Ethiopia, which Mr. Eden believed to be hostile to the Emperor's government, that the Emperor Haile Selassie has received such a whole-hearted welcome on his return, and that the patriot forces have achieved such magnificent successes. And so it will prove all over the country as the campaign to dislodge the Italian sweeps eastward.

Care should be taken not to rely upon statements respecting Ethiopia emanating from Fascist sources which have maintained an unrelenting propaganda against Ethiopian independence for many years.

Four Demands

Ethiopia and her friends demand for her:

- (1) The complete restoration of her independence, both political and economic.
- (2) The restoration of all the territory she possessed before the Italian invasion.
- (3) An outlet to the sea.
- (4) That Ethiopia be recognised as an ally of Britain and her full independence be guaranteed as one of our fundamental war aims.

Mr. Eden's statement on February 4, 1941, is the most authoritative we have had from the Government on the question of Ethiopia. He stated that his

Government would "welcome the re-appearance of an independent Ethiopia, and recognise the claim of Haile Selassie to the throne." He added:

"The Emperor has intimated to the Government that he would need outside assistance and guidance. The British Government agree with this view and consider that any such assistance and guidance in economic matters should be the subject of international arrangement."

These phrases are decidedly unhappy. It must be made clear that neither the Emperor nor his people will be willing to receive advice by compulsion, or to accept any sort of protectorate or suzerainty. On the eve of quitting the Sudan to return to his country the Emperor made this statement, which has been published by the world's Press in the following words:

"First, the complete independence of Abyssinia is for him the only possible end of the struggle against Italy;

"Second he makes no distinction of creed or race among his people."

He added:

"It is my chief desire not to retard by a moment the development of Abyssinia, so I hope that the great allied nation which is contributing to the restoration of Abyssinia's territorial integrity will contribute also in its post-war peaceful development. It is in the economic and intellectual spheres that I look forward to this assistance."

What Sort of Aid?

This statement of the Emperor does not accord at all fully with Mr. Eden's proposed "international arrangement." The Emperor did not ask for international collaboration, but for British collaboration. He did not ask for an imposed "arrangement," but for free collaboration. During the five years

since he came to the throne he had freely availed himself of British and European aid. An Englishman, Mr. C. S. Collier, managed the Ethiopian national bank; an Englishman, Colonel Sandford, acted as anti-slavery adviser; an American, Mr. Colson, acted as financial adviser to the treasurer; a Swiss lawyer, M. Auberson, was legal adviser; General Virgin, a Swede, was political adviser; there were Belgian and Swedish missions to train the army and police. British and European and American staffs were appointed for the modern schools and hospitals, religious missions were welcomed and subsidised. Young people were sent to Britain, Europe and America for study and experience.

But all this was done in freedom. The experts were engaged and paid by Ethiopia, and one and all were enthusiastic admirers of the hard-working Emperor, an able enthusiast for social reform and education, the betterment of his people, the development of the natural resources of their ancient land. Great progress was made in that brief five years.

No Foreign Control

There must be no resurrection of the schemes to place Ethiopia under foreign control which it was attempted to impose on her under duress whilst the Ethiopian war was pending.

Suggestions are being made to put Ethiopia under the joint control of Egypt, Italy and South Africa; under Egypt, South Africa and one or more European countries. Nothing of the sort can be accepted. Ethiopia would not assent, there would be the strongest possible passive resistance leading to war, if not immediate open warfare.

(Continued on page 14.)

THE BRANCH FRONT

March was notable for the increased demand for speakers. During the month Head Office supplied speakers for meetings at Brighton, Northampton, Reading, Pickering, West Wickham, Leamington, Barnet, Wallington, Worcester, Newcastle (Staffs), Lingfield, Lincoln, Wellingborough, Kensington, Holborn, Dundee, Colchester, Ilkley, Beckenham, Letchworth, Wilmslow, Erith, Guildford, Leeds, Streatham, Chester, and other places.

These speakers included Dr. Gilbert Murray, Count Balinski, Dr. George Adamkiewicz (former Polish General in Ottawa), Sir Charles Grant Robertson, the Provost of Portsmouth, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K. D. Courtney, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Corbett Fisher, Mr. D. L. Lipson, M.P., Mr. H. H. Elvin, Mr. H. Hauck (Labour Adviser to the Free French Forces), Professor S. Brodetsky, Dr. Vaclav Benes, Mr. James Macdonald, Mrs. Charles Russell, Mr. H. G. Tanner, Mr. Joseph Silkin and Mr. R. A. White.

The Northamptonshire Federal Council's annual report effectively answers the question, "What on earth do you find to do these days?" Among the many meetings organised, the classes run in conjunction with the W.E.A. deserve special mention. In Northampton, following last winter's series of 24 lectures on "Politicians and Policies, 1914-1941," a further course is now being run on "Fashioning a New World." Similar courses of lectures have been completed at Pottersbury and Raunds. A good deal of activity has been done on behalf of refugees. One interesting reason helps to account for the Federal Council's good credit balance: At the outbreak of war many subscribers under deed felt that the need for the Union had ceased. But they have now realised the vital importance of the work of the Union in war-time, and, rallying anew to the Union's support, are paying not only their current subscriptions, but also their arrears.

In the Aberystwyth area one person in every twelve is a member of the L.N.U. This year, by March 15, the Branch had collected more subscriptions than by the same date in either 1939 or 1940. The Secretary's recipe for the collection of subscriptions is briefly: *Do a good year's work in Union activities, and get plenty of publicity for it.* Personal calls on all members, especially immediately after the annual meeting, when a good impression is in everybody's minds, keep up the membership every year.

"Our New World in the Making" is the title of a series of meetings now being run in Birmingham, from the American, Polish and Czech points of view as well as the British. At the first meeting an audience of 130 well satisfied the organisers; 220 people were present at the second.

A cheering report came before the annual meeting of the Darlington Branch on March 25. The membership of the Branch is now 600, subscriptions have come in very well indeed, and there have been few resignations. Meetings of different kinds have been tried in the past year, and the fact that members turn out in the largest numbers to illustrated lectures is being borne in mind in making future arrangements.

St. Austell and District Branch, which reports a slight rise of membership, is determined to hold its annual public meeting, although A.R.P. duties and fire-watching will keep many away. This meeting, says the Secretary, does encourage the members, even those who cannot manage to attend. Moreover, its influence spreads far beyond the actual audience, thanks largely to the local Press which always gives a good "write up."

Although the Fordingbridge Branch went into abeyance when the Secretary left the district, that did not mean that interest in the League and the Union were dead. All that was needed was somebody to do the work of organising and

collecting subscriptions. Now that she has returned, a revival of the Union's work there is proceeding apace.

Mr. R. A. White, Chairman of the Harrogate Branch, reports keen and interested audiences at the meetings which he is addressing on "World Settlement After the War." At Pickering Wesley Guild he made telling reference to Sir Harry Lauder's singing of "Keep right on to the end of the road"—the end of our road being the goal of world peace.

The Elie and Earlsferry Branch eagerly seized its first chance of doing a bit of tangible international work by giving a bridge party to the Polish officers stationed there and at Christmas distributing cigarettes to their men. Both these friendly acts were much appreciated and helped to develop a spirit of understanding between guests and hosts.

Captain Oliver Bell, Director of the British Film Institute, addressed the Surbiton Rotary Club on the part which films could play in post-war reconstruction.

Through the death of Miss Emily M. Leaf, Secretary of the Southfields Branch, the Union has lost one of its most active workers in the London area. While for many years she devoted her time and talents to the Union, every good cause had her sympathy and practical help. Refugees

found shelter under her roof and, more recently, members of the Armed Forces were invited to make her house a home from home.

Mr. J. R. Kingsford, Secretary of the League of Nations Union in Egypt, asks us to thank those readers who send their copies of HEADWAY to him. They are put to very good use among the Armed Forces, merchant seamen and members of the general public. Other readers who would like to help in this way should address their copies to 76, Rue Ibrahim, Port-Said.

Many Branches are finding Lord Cecil's autobiography, *A Great Experiment*, a splendid basis for Study Circles. It is hoped at Headquarters to raise a fund by which copies may be supplied for study purposes at a reduced rate in cases where the cost of the book is an obstacle to the organisation of such groups.

The London Regional Federation, 32, Fitzroy Square, W.1, have produced a leaflet giving in dialogue form the essential points of "World Settlement After the War." Price 2s. 6d. per 100.

We shall be grateful for any spare copies of HEADWAY for September, 1940, which readers can provide. There is a continuous small demand from people who are anxious to complete their sequences.

A SUGGESTION

As a result of their evacuation from London and other industrial centres, the membership of many supporters of the Union has been allowed to lapse. Branches would therefore be doing a great service to our cause by organising during the summer months a Garden Meeting to which evacuees should be specially invited.

Such a gathering would provide an opportunity under attractive conditions for Branch Officers and members to get into touch with those who belonged to Branches of the Union in other parts of the country, and also to invite the support of those who are not already members.

"MORE HONOURED IN THE BREACH"

THE GENEVA RACKET. By Robert Dell. Hale. 18s.

The last book by Mr. Dell, brilliant correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, is disappointing. It is marred by lack of proportion; some prejudice in personal portraits—for example, without more evidence, one cannot accept certain statements about Mr. Eden, Sir Robert Vansittart and Lord Lothian as they stand; and a Johnsonian indifference to self-contradiction—how can hatred of Tweedledum Poincaré be squared with as passionate praise of Tweedledee Barthou?

Frankly, the title of the book is wrong. There was no *Geneva racket*. As well blame the League system as damn the engine for an accident caused by the driver's ignoring the signal. The author's "penny of observation" plays him false here. Much of the book demonstrably lies outside Geneva. There is a small chapter on the Secretariat, less on the I.L.O., which, however, Mr. Dell says was a grand success, and worth a book by itself. Nothing about the Permanent Court. The League's social and economic work, which wrested approval from its worst enemies, is packed into the pint pot of a paragraph. Of one of the creators of the League, and its best-known and most ardent supporter, Viscount Cecil, there is stony silence. As if in "Hamlet" there was no mention of the Prince of Denmark, while the plots of the King and Queen were hidden under the heading "Great Ophelia Racket."

Racket of a kind there was. But it was political, a *racket of Governments*. Mr. Dell's account of it is convincing. Skillfully he takes us over that inevitable sequence of events (though he is as stag-

gered as any of us to explain why diplomats and politicians were so invariably wrong, and the well-informed Press and League protagonists so often right)—Vilna, Corfu, Manchuria and its sequels, Abyssinia, Germany's rearmament and re-occupation of the Rhineland, the Spanish Civil War. In this racket of Governments there were two groups. One, led by Great Britain and France, was unwilling, or unwilling all at the same time, to apply the Covenant; and never faced up to the consequence of the fact that it was as much a treaty as Versailles. Omission was its special sin; and each such act made salvation the harder. The other group, consisting mainly of Japan, Italy from the advent of Mussolini, and Germany from 1926 on an increasing scale, was *out to wreck and paralyse the League*. For their object was to get more than justice (justice was offered in the Lytton Report and refused). For them it was no matter of hesitating to apply the Covenant; they gave guarantees that they would *not* observe their international obligations. Mr. Dell has done a real service in exposing this deliberate sabotaging of the League.

Impressive are his two lessons for the future of the League. International force must be behind international law; the abuse of national sovereignty must be made impossible. There can be no international co-operation for peace without such changes.

This book contains enough wisdom and foresight to outweigh its extravagances. Mr. Dell *does show* that the League could have been made to work. The fault, dear Brutus, is in ourselves.

MAURICE FANSHAWE.

SECURITY YESTERDAY AND TO-MORROW

Nothing is more encouraging than the way in which—in spite of the *Blitzkrieg*—people go on writing, talking, thinking about winning the peace. The latest book comes from Mr. George G. Armstrong, *WHY ANOTHER WAR?* (Allen and Unwin, 10s. 6d.). Few will quarrel with his version, for the most part capitally documented, of the progressive failures of League States to make collective security—which as he says stands for the letter and the spirit of the League's world-wide system of settling disputes—effective; still less with his broad conclusions. The machinery was not to blame (in any case, it could have been revised with a few ounces of determination). Nor was it a matter, in those early days of acid test, of lack of strength on the part of League members. No. The leaders on the Council and the Assembly, especially Great Britain and France, judged the risk of setting the machinery going too great. As if lack of decision and promptness of action could ever be adequate reply to opportunist aggressors with unlimited appetites. That must not happen again. "There must be," Sir Arthur Salter is quoted, "greater surrender of national sovereignty than the inter-State constitu-

tion of the League." There must be a move—maybe after the violent shock of Hitler's so-called New Order to European thought, more rapid and widespread than yesterday seemed credible—towards Federalism. The Allies, Mr. Armstrong insists, have a powerful moral weapon here. No effort should be spared to put over their case on expectant Europe. These portions of the book are forcibly written and carry conviction. *They should be read.*

Other parts, however, fall below this standard and appear to do more credit to the author's heart than the facts of the situation. They certainly weaken the force of his account of why we are at war. For example, there is uncritical whitewashing of post-World War Germany. Mr. Armstrong also accepts an extreme account of the post-Armistice blockade though this has been refuted by Mr. Arnold-Forster (whom elsewhere he quotes with warm approval). Nearer home, references to "Fascist England" at Munich or to pre-war Britain as as much an "Authoritarian State" as Russia or Italy are surely partisan. Further, certain minor mistakes should be corrected before a second edition.

RECIPE FOR DOUBLE VICTORY

FOUNDATIONS OF VICTORY. By Lord Davies. (Collins. 2s. 6d.)

Something of the sturdy spirit of Churchill and Roosevelt, to whom it is dedicated, animates Lord Davies's latest book. How can we win the war in the shortest possible time and the peace for the longest possible period? That is the double question to which he sets out to suggest an answer. In trying to suggest "the ingredients of victory," he warns us against the dangers of a patched-up peace. The habit of self-delusion, which reduced

the democratic system to a farce, is not easy to eradicate. When Hitler realises the strength of the opposition he has aroused on both sides of the Atlantic, he will employ every insidious device to break down our morale. He will offer superficially attractive peace terms in order to bring about a truce, which will be no more than the short period needed by the boa constrictor in order to assimilate his prey. "Peace," we must remember, has no meaning for Hitler, who thinks in terms of permanent struggle in

which no laws are valid. There can be no compromise. We must be satisfied with nothing less than complete victory and the elimination of the Nazi régime.

Lord Davies believes, with Napoleon, that in war morale is to material as three is to one. We are not fighting merely to survive—that did not save France. Also people are not prepared to go on fighting indefinitely merely to restore old territories and boundaries. Failure to proclaim our aims, or if those aims are inadequate, imposes a handicap on our war effort. Last time Lloyd George, it has been said, won the war and lost the peace. Mr. Churchill has the opportunity of winning both.

The author's views on winning the war are lively. He believes that overwhelming

superiority on land must in the end succumb to a combination of supremacy on sea and in the air. His plans for the peace are controversial. With an inclination for a federal solution, he pins his faith to closer collaboration between the American Republic and the British Commonwealth. "I believe," he writes, "the New Order is feasible provided the democracies of America, Great Britain and the Dominions are determined not only to win the war but also the peace." That New Order, by its sheer honesty of purpose, its disinterestedness and unselfishness, its disregard for financial and material gain, must so impress nations that they will come in—led, not driven.

L. R. A.

ETHIOPIA AND JUSTICE

(Continued from page 9.)

In the *Daily Telegraph* it is stated that Sir Philip Mitchell, who has been appointed political adviser to General Wavell, has the "principal task" of "constructing" the new Abyssinian State. "His duty will be to devise a constitution for Abyssinia which will protect British and Egyptian interests in the source of the Nile."

There can be no agreement for a constitution to be imposed upon Ethiopia thus from the outside. Her Emperor, Ministers and provincial representatives adopted a Parliamentary Constitution in 1930. She requires and will submit to no outside dictation.

An agreement for the desired barrage to control the flow of the waters of Lake Tana to the Nile in the interests of Egypt and the Sudan was made between representatives of the British,

Egyptian and Ethiopian governments after expensive surveys and long consultation. It waited only the final signature in London which was withheld for reasons of diplomacy! Shades of Mussolini!

There are projects to cut and carve Ethiopia on racial lines. This cannot be done: Amharas, Gallas and the rest are so mingled that no frontier can be drawn, nor do the people wish it.

My own opinion is that Eritrea should be forfeited by Italy and this territory, with the port of Massawa, which was formerly Ethiopian, should be restored to its ancient owners.

The frontiers of Ethiopia formerly extended south to the Equator, west to the White Nile, north and east to the sea. This ancient African State is the inspiration of all coloured races and must be fully restored.

NEW EUROPE

The existence of an acute political and economic crisis which pressed heavily upon them, with its problems of unemployment and complete uncertainty for the future, was perhaps more generally recognised before the war by the younger generation of the European nations than by their elders. — Outside Germany the vast majority of young people were convinced that without freedom for individuals and nations there was no life worth living. They profoundly believed that democracy within the State was the basis of democracy among States and in the World Youth Congress Movement, the International Universities League of Nations Federation and numerous other national and international groups endeavoured to work for a reasonable settlement which would guarantee political equality and social and economic justice for all.

One of the most notable of such efforts to find an effective solution of the problems of Central Europe was the organisation each year of an International Summer School by the League of Nations Society, Universities League of Nations Society, and I.P.C. of Czechoslovakia. Amidst the wild beauty of the Tatra Mountains many young men and women from all over Europe gathered with eager minds and high hopes to study in a disciplined way the problems that confronted them.

Now that the Nazi armies have overrun their countries, many of them—sometimes after almost incredible adventures—have found their way to London to continue the struggle by our side, and are no less determined to ensure that victory achieved by so much sacrifice shall not be wasted. They have, therefore, formed a New Europe Circle in which they can meet to study and plan, in the spirit and tradition of the Tatra Summer Schools, how best to create a firm basis for future collaboration between the free nations of a liberated Europe.

Public Luncheons

In addition to its programme of literary, political, social and economic discussions and evenings for social intercourse, the Circle organises about once a month a luncheon where the speakers have already included the Foreign Ministers of Czechoslovakia and Poland, M. Jan Masaryk and M. Zaleski; the Labour Adviser to the Free French Forces, M. Hauck; M. de Brouckère of Belgium; M. Tilea, the former Rumanian Minister in London; and Mr. J. B. Priestley. The luncheons have brought together most remarkable gatherings at which many people have experienced the thrill of meeting friends from other parts of Europe about whose fate they had been completely in the dark. The guests always include members of the Provisional Governments of the allied countries now established in London, former members of the League of Nations Secretariat and International Labour Office from Geneva, journalists from every part of Europe, young men and women from the various Government services and officers and men from most of the allied armies.

The Union, which is maintaining as far as possible contacts with bodies abroad which were associated with the International Federation of League of Nations Societies or International Peace Campaign, has recently decided to join with the New Europe Circle in organising a joint luncheon in the name of both bodies once a month. At the first, on Thursday, April 3, Lord Cecil will speak on "A Real Peace," and it is hoped that on later occasions there will be an opportunity to hear other distinguished speakers who will discuss the nature of the collaboration with the British Dominions, America, China, and other countries outside the continent of Europe, which it will be necessary to establish if a new system in Europe is to prosper and survive.

(Continued on page 16.)

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

JUNIOR MEMBERS AND THE STATEMENT

SIR,—I do not doubt that the very practical minds of our Junior Members have been applied to the study of the Statement as it has appeared in the January, 1941, HEADWAY.

A number of these Junior Members—now, perhaps, Youth Group or adult Members—have been to Geneva or else have heard first-hand descriptions of a Junior Summer School there. They understand, therefore, what an international civil service is and what allegiance by sovereign states to League principles should be. They have wished that every article of the Covenant had been used and they will welcome the statement by the National Executive Committee on Article 19 (section 19 of the Statement). They will certainly wish to know more of the

powers of a few states which might be opposed to a recommendation whose object is to improve some "treaty or international condition" of a possibly "dangerous or inapplicable" character and would seem, therefore, likely to nullify the support of the majority. Surely a majority vote should be enough to ensure the working of the recommendation if its aim is to assist in maintaining "future peace and economic and social reconstruction"?

Again, if an act of aggression takes place, should members of the Outer Ring have the right to refuse assistance to members of the Inner Ring who have heavy responsibilities laid upon them? The Junior Member knows what the School Spirit means and would like to see it applied to the relation of nation to nation.

Finally, in the eyes of our Junior Members, Time is a vital factor in dealing with the crime of aggression whether on the sports field or across political frontiers. An equivalent of the P.C.I.J. is needed in permanent session to deal with all disputes—some body with the school spirit of fair play, comradeship and loyalty to the best that education and the results of long experience can produce.

M. DARNLEY NAYLOR,

Hon. Secretary, Education Committee,

London Regional Federation.

Keswick.

NEW EUROPE

(Continued from page 15.)

Readers of HEADWAY are invited to join the New Europe Circle by sending a first annual subscription of 5s. (3s. for university students) to Dr. Kunosi or Robert Auty, Fursecroft, George Street, London, W.1, from whom an application form and further particulars may be obtained.

Members of the Union who would like to attend the joint luncheons may obtain particulars from the Union's head office at 11, Maiden Lane, W.C.2.

C. W. JUDD.

OUR NEW ADDRESS

The address of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION is now:—

11, MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2.

Telegrams : FREENAT, RAND, LONDON.

Telephone : TEMPLE BAR 6140.