

HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

The Journal of the League of Nations

BRITISH LIBRARY
21 JUL 1943
POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE

No. 35

AUGUST 1942

PRICE 3d

EDITORIAL

PATTERN OF VICTORY

For the United Nations and their peoples, one of those inevitable stages in the war has been reached in which clear heads are needed as much as stout hearts in order not to lose sight of the pattern of victory. With the lull in the South-West Pacific following the crushing losses sustained by the Japanese in the Battles of the Coral Sea and Midway Island, our anxious interest has been concentrated mainly on three fronts—the vital Battle of the Atlantic, the fresh German onslaught in Russia, and the kaleidoscopic changes in the Libyan-Egyptian campaign. Detailed comment would be out of place in a monthly magazine, when even daily newspapers may be caught napping by swiftly moving events. But the common denominator behind the three violent offensives which the Germans are now waging is clearly the necessity for Hitler to win, if win he can, before another winter. "Victory at any price," screeches Dr. Goebbels.

Yet, for all the weight of men and material which is bound to carry our enemies some way, we can still be confident that they will not attain their goal. Taking the long view, there are solid grounds for interpreting the war position as a whole with reasoned optimism, as the Prime Minister does. That, of course, is a different thing from making a fetish

of the old, complacent argument that "time is on our side"—from allowing our certainty of eventual victory to breed that lazy determinism in which faith neglects works. Let our mood match that of our Russian Allies, who are fully conscious of the dangerous immensity of the present German drive. We cannot lag behind them in straining every nerve and sinew, not only to resist the immediate challenge, but to make that resistance decisive for winning the war. Stalin's proclaimed goal of "Victory in 1942" must be our goal also. Whether or not we quite achieve it, any shortening of the period needed for the overthrow of Hitlerism will be well worth a 100 per cent. effort.

Lease-Lend

"The Allies," said Lord Cecil at the L.N.U. General Council Meeting in June, "are becoming more and more united." One of the most welcome indications of this tendency is the conclusion of further Lease-Lend Agreements along the lines of the Master Agreement between the U.S.A. and Great Britain. The treaties of this nature which the U.S.A. has signed with Greece, Norway, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia respectively bring the total to ten. Further, President Roosevelt has taken the initiative

of sending Mr. E. R. S. Stettinius to this country with the special mission of studying the actual operations of the Lease-Lend Agreements and seeing if the system can be improved.

World Settlement

We are promised, in the next few weeks, important Government pronouncements on post-war settlement. Meanwhile, speeches on the subject continue to be made by our public men.

Mr. Anthony Eden, speaking at Nottingham on July 23, associated himself with the remarkable series of utterances on the problems of peace which have recently been delivered by President Roosevelt and other American statesmen. The most important have been published in HEADWAY, and the substance of Mr. Cordell Hull's latest pronouncement of July 23 is given on pages 3 and 4 of this issue. Mr. Eden, after referring to the calculated terrorist policy of the German Government and the resolve of the United Nations to exact full and stern retribution at the appointed time, went on to declare that no nation could hope to live alone. The building of an orderly, law-abiding international society was the only alternative to the destruction of all in a welter of barbaric strife. If we failed this time we were not likely to be given yet another chance. We lost the last peace because the nations failed to work for it with the same energy they displayed in war. On the economic side the problem was to organise a full production and an equitable distribution for all—only decently fed and healthy people could work effectively for a better world. This, no short or easy task, would require the co-operation of every nation, each according to its capacity and experience.

Sir Stafford Cripps, addressing the British Association Conference two days later, saw in the statements of the American statesmen and Mr. Eden "the beginnings of an interpretation of

the generalities of the Atlantic Charter into the more detailed objectives which policy makers must have in view in working out their programmes." From an economic, political and scientific point of view the implication of those simple phrases was tremendous. Like Mr. Eden he stressed, too, that we were fighting for moral and not merely material issues. There could be no dropping back into the old competitive struggle. Natural resources and their utilisation could not be left to the haphazard methods of individual action and economic nationalism. The Atlantic Charter was the expression of our conviction that the natural resources of the world were now adequate, if wisely used, to provide a decent standard of life for all the peoples, and that all were therefore entitled to their fair share in these resources.

A notable contribution to the discussion was that of the Archbishop of Canterbury in his address last month to the Foreign Press Association. "In the international field," said Dr. Temple, "we need a real security for an international order which will involve sacrifices on the part of nations of some measure of the sovereignty that the national State has hitherto enjoyed. There must be at the same time such a contribution of force and the maintenance of such armaments as will ensure that the international order shall be upheld. It is not only a matter of providing force; it must be a matter also of willingness to use it. It should be recognised that it is the primary interest of a nation to undergo whatever sacrifices may be necessary in maintaining law and order for the sake of all."

In his own words, it will be seen, the Archbishop expresses principles which are completely in accord with the essentials of the policy advocated by the L.N.U.

The Emperor Speaks

This war, bloody as it is, will not have been in vain if we learn the priceless

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BUILDING THE PEACE

By Mr. CORDELL HULL

We publish the substance of the important declaration of peace aims broadcast by the United States Secretary of State to the American nation on July 23.

After the last war too many nations, including our own, tolerated or participated in attempts to advance their own interests at the expense of any system of collective security and opportunity for all. Too many of us, blind to the evils which were thus loosed, created growing cancers within and among the nations, a political

suspicion and hatred and a race for armaments, first stealthy, then the subject of flagrant boasts, bringing economic nationalism in their train, economic depression and misery, and finally, emerging from their dark places, looters and thugs who found an opportunity in disorder and disaster. . . Events have

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value of international unity. So declared the Emperor Haile Selassie in a remarkable interview with the *New York American* quoted in the *New Times and Ethiopia News* of July 4, 1942. Stressing that the big tragedy of the inter-war period was that few people in power really believed that harm to one State meant sooner or later harm to all, the Emperor described the action taken through the League as mere lip service to the idea—"words and gestures without force." "No word ever stopped a tank. No gesture ever arrested a dive-bomber in its flight."

"At any point along the tragic way from Corfu to Poland," continued the Emperor, "the war might have been prevented. It would probably not even have been necessary to go to war—only necessary to be willing to go to war in a just cause. That would have been enough, as Hitler himself has said. But none of the Great Powers thought that it could possibly be affected by what happened to such small, remote places as Corfu, Manchuria, Ethiopia and the rest. Who, for example, in America ever realised that the train of events which

began in Corfu twenty years ago could lead to Pearl Harbour?"

While it must be expected that each nation will think first of itself, the world must at last recognise that "*Co-operation is the highest and most successful form of self-interest.*"

Although it is hopeful that the great leaders of the democratic world are talking of noble plans for post-war reconstruction and lasting peace, it will be "a Titan's task" to avoid the same tragic errors as after the last war. Victory will bring "the most critical time in all history: This will be the moment for the greatest imagination, the greatest sacrifices, the greatest co-operation."

Then came this moving passage from the Emperor: "Though we win this war by force of arms, we shall lose it if peace and prosperity lull us into forgetting the lesson we have bought so dearly. Let us swear a high pledge, each nation to the other, that a crime to one of us is a crime to all. Let us swear by the blood of our sons that if one nation be harmed, all the world will fly to the rescue, and the swords of the world will be drawn as a single sword. If we live in that faith, firm and unshakable, no sword need ever be drawn."

demonstrated beyond question that each of the Axis Powers is bent on unlimited conquest.

The Price of Peace

We and other free peoples are forced to fight because we ignored the simple but fundamental fact that the price of peace and the preservation of right and freedom among the nations is the acceptance of international responsibilities.

The pledge of the Atlantic Charter is of a system which will give every nation, large or small, greater assurance of a stable peace, greater opportunity for the realisation of its aspirations to freedom, and greater facilities for material advancement. No nation can make satisfactory progress while its citizens are in the grip of constant fear from external attack and interference.

An International Agency

It is plain fact that some international agency must be created which can—by force if necessary—keep the peace among the nations in the future. There must be international co-operative action to set up mechanisms which can thus ensure peace. This must include the eventual adjustment of national armaments in such a manner that the rule of law cannot successfully be challenged and that the burden of armaments may be reduced to a minimum.

In the creation of such mechanisms there would be practical and purposeful application of sovereign powers through measures of international co-operation for the purposes of safeguarding peace. Participation by all nations in such a measure would be for each its contribution towards its own future security and safety from outside attack.

The settlement of disputes by peaceful means—indeed, all processes of international co-operation—presuppose respect for law obligations. It is plain that one of the institutions which must be established and given vitality is an international court of justice. It is equally clear that, in the process of re-establishing order, the United Nations must exercise surveillance over aggressor nations until such a time as the latter demonstrate their willingness and ability to live at peace with other nations.

How long such surveillance will need to continue must depend upon the rapidity with which the peoples of Germany, Japan, Italy and their satellites give convincing proof that they have repudiated and abandoned the monstrous philosophy of superior race and conquest by force, and have embraced loyally the basic principles of peaceful processes.

During the formative period of world organisation interruption by these aggressors must be rendered impossible. . . .

Economic Settlement

In order to establish among the nations circles of mutual benefit, excessive trade barriers of many different kinds must be reduced, and practices which impose injuries on others and divert trade from its natural economic course must be avoided. Equally plain is the need for making national currencies once more freely exchangeable for each other at stable rates of exchange, for a system of financial relations so devised that materials can be produced and ways may be found for moving them where there are markets created by human need, for machinery through which capital may—for the development of the world's resources and for the stabilisation of economic activity—move on equitable terms from financially stronger to financially weaker countries. . . .

With peace among the nations reasonably assured, with political stability established, and with economic shackles removed, a vast fund of resources will be released for each nation to meet the needs of progress, to make possible for all its citizens advancement towards higher living standards and to invigorate constructive forces of initiative and enterprise. The nations of the world will then be able to go forward in the manner of their own choosing in all avenues of human betterment more completely than they have ever been able to do in the past. . . .

No nation will find this easy. Neither victory nor any form of post-war settlement will itself create a millennium. For the immediate present the all-important issue is winning the war—winning it as soon as possible, winning it decisively. Into that we must put our utmost effort—now, every day—until victory is won.

THE "I.L.O." MACHINE AT WORK

JOINT MARITIME COMMISSION MEETING IN LONDON

"The machine is not only working smoothly, it is working well" was a comment overheard at the close of the first meeting since the war of the Joint Maritime Commission of the International Labour Office which met in London from June 26 to June 30, 1942.

The Commission is composed of equal numbers of representatives of ship-owners and seafarers. Twelve countries were represented and delegates came from places as far apart as Australia, China and Sweden. From the moment the Commission opened there was felt at once to be a spirit of friendly co-operation—at times conspicuously lacking at pre-war meetings—and such was the note of the opening speech of the chairman, Sir Frederick Leggett, deputy secretary of the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

All resolutions were adopted unanimously. They covered a wide field. The resolution dealing with safety measures at sea while expressing the conviction of the Commission that "the paramount consideration should in all cases be the safety of the seamen and that considerations of expense should not be allowed to be a barrier to the adoption of the most effective measures of protection" contained a series of practical measures, from the use of mechanical davits to first-aid kit, from provision of motor lifeboats to that of waterproof charts. In a resolution on organisation for seamen's welfare the Commission called attention, among many matters of special importance, to the need for finance being placed on a permanent basis and not being exclusively dependent on "so-called charity organisations" and for equality of treatment of seafarers "irrespective of colour, race, or religion."

Among subjects dealt with in other

resolutions were practical steps to improve conditions of Chinese, Indian and other seamen from Asia, Africa and the East and West Indies; the need for the shipping industry to be represented at the Peace Conference and the study of an International Maritime Charter.

Finally, the continuity of the "I.L.O." was stressed by a resolution urging Governments to ratify Maritime Conventions adopted by the International Labour Conference as soon as possible and institute immediately national consultations regarding particular obstacles in the way of ratification where such existed.

CLIFTON ROBBINS.

AMERICAN OPINION

The following report, issued by the Gallup Institute of Public Opinion in the United States, will interest our readers:

"After watching the events of the last two years, the public has undergone a profound change of viewpoint on international affairs that may determine the whole future course of American politics. The isolationism doctrine of the 1920's and 1930's has given way to a great revival of interest in some kind of world league or concert of nations after the war. The change is most marked in the rank and file of the Republican Party, which was the consistent foe of American participation in the last League of Nations. Results tabulated in October, 1937, among all voters showed that 33 per cent. favoured United States participation in the League and 67 per cent. opposed it. Results tabulated to-day among all the voters show 73 per cent. favouring and 27 per cent. opposed. Results tabulated in 1937 among Republicans showed that 23 per cent. were in favour and 77 per cent. opposed. Results tabulated to-day among Republicans show 70 per cent. in favour and 30 per cent. opposed."

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN A. RATTENBURY

One of the most interesting verbal duels that have taken place recently in the House of Commons was that between Mr. D. N. Pritt, K.C., and the Solicitor-General (Sir D. Maxwell Fyfe, K.C.) on some of Mr. Pritt's amendments to the Allied Powers (War Service) Bill. Mr. Pritt was supported in his arguments by the potent evidence produced in speeches by Miss Eleanor Rathbone and Mr. J. J. Lawson. The legal argument between the two principals was worthy of a much larger House than that assembled on Thursday, July 9, at the awkward lunch and after-lunch period, during which it took place.

The Bill, recognising in the first place the sovereign rights of Allied Governments set up in this country, endeavours to regularise the position of some of their nationals. Many of them have been desirous of enlisting in one or other of the British Forces, but have been unable to do so—our official opinion being that their own Governments had a prior claim on their services. The nationality of many of them is purely technical, and in the rapidly growing circumstances and shifting residences of the last 25 years, it has indeed been difficult for some of them to determine to what nationality they really belong. That difficulty will be intensified for children born in many parts of Central Europe since 1935—born of refugees in the act of fleeing from one country to another and passing through the territory on the way of half a dozen other countries. It happened in 1914 to 1918, and some of the difficulties of nationality are due to the refugee problem.

Jewish Problem

Then there is the Jewish problem. During this legal discussion Miss Rathbone and Mr. Pritt contended that there were anti-Semitic elements in the Polish army. Miss Rathbone's statement is as follows:—

"May I give an instance? There was a number of Jewish students in the third year of their engineering training at a British University, and great pressure was brought to bear upon them to enter the Polish army, in

which there was an anti-Semitic attitude. They were reluctant to enter because they wanted to finish their training as engineers, and they said: 'We know the Allied Government cannot force us in, but we are afraid that if a Bill is passed giving the right to conscript us, we shall be charged as deserters.' Supposing these men went under the kind of pressure and came out, is it possible for the Polish army to insist on retaining authority?'"

Earl Winterton promptly repudiated the idea that there was any anti-Semitic feeling in the Polish army, and said it showed a great lack of responsibility on the Hon. Lady's part, even if it is true to make such a statement, which is calculated to make difficulty not only between ourselves and the Polish army but also between ourselves and Gen. Sikorski. Mr. Pritt retorted that it showed lack of responsibility on the Noble Lord's part as he knew no more about the matter than she did. She had plenty of evidence and so had Mr. Pritt. He was bringing it before the Foreign Office when the Polish army was fighting in France. It is quite possible to fight gallantly and ill-treat people at the same time.

Important Declarations

Though the amendments were not accepted, there were two important declarations as a result of the discussions by members of the Government. Mr. Richard Law gave the legal position that these Allied Governments under their own law have a perfect right and always had to call up their nationals who were living in foreign countries, but they are not able to enforce their call-up notices. The Bill was not intended to deprive them of the right to call up their nationals. If the nationals do not accept the call-up, then they are called to the British Forces under the National Service Acts. Under the Bill there is given a two-months' period between the receiving of the call-up and the taking into the British Forces under the National Service Acts. That gives those nationals a "reasonable time" and also the Governments to make their plans—medical examination, and so on. Mr.

Pritt's plea and his amendment on that point was to make that period one month instead of two months. His object was to make it easier for these nationals to get into the British rather than their own national services if they wanted to. That was linked up with the Jewish difficulty, for though in the matter of birth they may have come inside the area which at the time of their birth belonged to one of these nationalities, in matter of feeling and patriotism it is to Jewry they would give their services.

Safeguards

Mr. Lawson put the case of a man who had been temporarily released from one of these national services for special work. Was he regarded as serving? The Solicitor-General gave it as his opinion that "serving" had the strictly literal meaning of actually being in the army at the time, and that men temporarily released were not really serving.

Mr. Pritt brought another amendment forward stating that "no person to whom the National Service Acts 1939 to 1941 are made applicable by this Act shall be entered on the Military Register until a reasonable opportunity has been afforded him of exercising his rights thereunder to apply for exemption, postponement, or deferment." He thought possibly that it was unnecessary, but Mr. Silverman had asked him to bring this forward. If he had an assurance from the Minister that there would be no difficulty that made such an amendment necessary he would withdraw it.

Mr. McCorquodale promptly gave that assurance and added: "*All the rights under the National Service Acts will be available to these men.*"

That surely is a very important statement, safeguarding the men from something they might think likely to transpire although there was no intention on the part of the Government that it should.

Disputed Nationality

The question of disputed nationality was the subject of an amendment by Miss Rathbone, which read as follows:—

If proceedings are taken in virtue of any section of this Act against any person who

denies that he is a national of the Power of which he is assumed to be a national by the Power or by any British Authority taking the proceedings, opportunity shall be given to that person to submit the evidence upon which his denial is based to a tribunal of three persons appointed to deal with questions of disputed nationality under the Act or the decision of the tribunal shall be decisive as to whether proceedings can be taken under the Act.

Each Allied Power to whom the Act applies shall be invited to appoint one member of the aforesaid tribunal to serve when the claim to be heard concerns a person alleged to be a national of the said Power. The other two members of the tribunal shall be appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

The Solicitor-General opposed this on the ground that there were the ordinary Courts before which a person will be brought in such cases, for the proceedings against him are taken under the Aliens Restriction Acts 1914 and 1919. He preferred the ordinary Courts of law to a special tribunal set up for this particular purpose. Mr. Pritt strongly contended that Courts of Summary Jurisdiction were not quite the Courts before whom such cases should be tried. A rich man would be able to settle the point by appeal to a Higher Court and get away with the claim he made at the expense of a mere £200 or so, but a poor man would simply have to suffer. On this point, however, the Government did not give way.

There was a provision to extend, in certain circumstances, the period of two months between the call-up of a man's national Power and the operation of the British National Service Acts on his failure to answer his national call-up. The Government accepted Mr. Pritt's amendment to omit that provision.

The nett result is the passage of the Bill. If the Governments of the Allied Powers accept the situation and their nationals know exactly what are their rights or liabilities with regard to service, it seems to me that the Act of Parliament will do what its promoters set out to do. There should, however, be a good deal of work in front of men who act as Poor Man's Lawyers in connection with various institutions. Mr. Pritt's international reputation will also keep him very busy.

THE LEAGUE TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

By LESLIE R. ALDOUS

Those who, in R.A.F. parlance, "take a dim view" of the League of Nations and its prospects for the future should not fail to read the absorbing account of current League activities which has been written by Mr. Sean Lester, the Acting Secretary-General*. Mainly this is a straightforward record of constructive international activity—all the more impressive because facts are allowed to speak for themselves and are not edged on one side by opinions. Yet the reader will inevitably find himself sharing Mr. Lester's earnest, underlying conviction that something more than an obstinate instinct for survival is keeping the League going. The League is not merely clinging to life, it is not just marking time. Even in war-time, there is purpose in all which is being done at Geneva and in other League centres. These current activities—though to be sure some have an immediate usefulness—are in sum being undertaken in the sure, unshaken belief that the League is destined to play a central part in post-war planning.

The League's present scope, as well as its limitations, can perhaps be best summarised in the words of Mr. Lester:—

"As an active political power, the League of Nations has indeed been almost non-existent for some years; it lives, however, not only as a centre of economic, financial, social and humanitarian action and studies, and as an instrument for reconstruction, to the extent of the resources granted by States, but also as a possible agency for the resumption of co-operation between nations.

"The International Labour Office carries on bravely, holding its loyalties deep-rooted in organised labour and organised employers, to serve, as it surely will, a high and valuable purpose.

"The Permanent Court of International Justice, in spite of the fact that its activities are suspended, nevertheless remains an organised reality, though driven by invasion from its seat at The Hague.

"All these organisations of the League of Nations are thus in being, ready at the appro-

priate moment to take their respective parts in the reconstruction of the world, or to serve as the foundations on which the new order can be built."

War Handicaps

Naturally, in present circumstances, all the handicaps imposed on the League by the war cannot be overcome. Twenty-four of its members are actually in the conflict, and the territory of 14 is under enemy occupation. The budget has shrunk. Every penny has to be made to do the work of two. The small staff—on April 15, 1942 there were 82 officials—are so fully occupied that many have to discharge the duties of two or three posts. But the skeleton of organisation is intact. The most efficient co-operation has been established between the branches "on mission" outside Europe and the staff remaining in Geneva. The Atlantic Charter, as well as pronouncements by such statesmen as Secretary of State Sumner Welles, have helped to give the work direction and impetus. As Mr. Lester says, "The Governments, and not only the Governments, the peoples of the world, are deciding now what Peace is worth, what sacrifices and risks will be worth while for the purpose of guarding it in the future." There is a spur in the knowledge that the Committees and Secretariat, with their special experience of international problems covering a vast field, will have an invaluable part to play in co-ordinating those plans and studies for post-war reconstruction which are now being discussed in many countries.

The Economic Side

Selection is unavoidable in dealing with such a variety of League activities as are covered in Mr. Lester's Report. As might be expected, the economic and social side looms large. Clearly the implications of the Atlantic Charter are being carefully studied by competent League experts: "Post-war policies must be thought out in advance and the lessons to be learnt from

experience must be learnt." Commercial policy, raw materials, relief and reconstruction, agriculture, international currency problems, and demographic and population questions are a few of the specialised, technical angles with regard to which League knowledge and experience are even now being utilised. The studies of post-war settlement going on at Princeton are being helped by a grant generously voted by the Rockefeller Foundation. Transport—especially the need for co-ordination under completely new conditions—is being explored notably in relation to post-war relief and reconstruction.

Population problems, which are dealt with in an Annex in the League Report (pp. 33-40), were the subject of an interesting leading article in *The Times* on July 21. "Even within the restricted range now open," commented *The Times*, "it (the League inquiry) should furnish an authoritative collection of judgments upon the relation between recent developments of civilisation and the growth or contraction of numbers through successive generations." Although there will be no place in Europe after the war for the German racial doctrine, "there will be a clear need for a 'population policy' to replace such sophistries" and to bring these matters "into the area of reasonable discussion." Under the direction of the League's Economic Department, the Office of Population Research in Princeton University is carrying out the research programme.

Fighting Disease

Disease is always the camp-follower of war. That has made the League's health work indispensable in war-time. Mr. Lester tells a story of triumph over difficulties. At first, owing to the reluctance of Governments to disclose anything which might conceivably be found useful by the enemy, some of the League's sources of information regarding epidemics tended to dry up. But since 1941 the situation in this respect has improved—occupied countries, for example, are again supplying information. Early in 1942 the Japanese reached Singapore, and the Far Eastern Bureau had to close down. Thanks, however, to the speedy good will of the Commonwealth Government, it is already

functioning again from a new centre in Australia. No hindrances have been put in the way of the dispatch of sera from the Danish State Institute and the National Institute for Medical Research at Hampstead, which for many years have been bound up with the League's health work. Important research relating to the standardisation of vitamins has been proceeding. Seventeen countries in recent months have asked for League advice and assistance in dealing with their own health problems. They include not only some of the United Nations such as Great Britain and the Dominions and the U.S.A., but Germany, Italy and Vichy France—as well as Poland. Even the League's enemies are not averse from tapping its long experience!

Post-War Needs

With health, as with other matters, we find the League constantly looking to the world's future needs. Spadework is proceeding on the assumption that the field of nutrition will offer a great opportunity after the war. With a recollection of the noble part played by the League in stemming the tide of disease in Europe after the last war, the desirability of reviving the Epidemics Commission is being canvassed.

Social work at the moment is restricted to the publication of reports and the provision of information required by Governments and private organisations. But here again it is certain that completely changed conditions due to the war, particularly the splitting up of families, will give the work a greater urgency when peace comes.

And so with refugees—to whose number will have to be added vast and pitiful armies of prisoners of war. The League, at least, is determined that valuable experience after the last war shall not be lost. "It will perhaps not be easy to find another Nansen," comments Mr. Lester, "but, by preparatory work, it may be possible to save the man or men to whom a similar mission is entrusted from having to 'improvise' everything."

The Essentials

In assessing the League's current activities, Mr. Lester utters one timely caution. "The political conception must remain supreme," whatever the value of the

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*A Report on the Work of the League 1941-42. Allen and Unwin. 2s.)

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

A large and representative gathering heard Lord Cecil address the Conference in Central London arranged by the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION on July 8. "There must be no policy of drift after this war," urged Lord Cecil, and warm approval from the audience greeted this statement as well as the corollary that we must assure the world that we mean business this time. Armaments, said the speaker, should come under the State, and not be tolerated as a profit-making industry. Mr. A. J. Howe, who acted as chairman, referred to Lord Cecil as a great leader, who had been the inspiration of the Union almost since its inauguration.

Perhaps the largest audience which has attended any of the buffet luncheon meetings arranged by the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION assembled to hear Major Victor Cazalet give his impressions of his recent visit to Russia. The speaker very strongly insisted that peace in the future must be established on principles little different from those of the League of Nations. Anglo-Russian co-operation after the war was at least as important as

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technical field. "That is to say that the first need of the world is international security"; and he continues: "If wisdom and guidance and statesmanship cannot also contribute towards an enduring international peace, with a system sufficiently strong to maintain law and sufficiently flexible to assure equity, the rest will remain for ever precarious and at the mercy of another disaster." There will be no real, lasting peace unless it be both organised and co-operative. "The League of Nations has been kept in being; some nations have left the organisation because it represented things hostile to their policies or what they believed to be their interests; others may neglect it in fear or in doubt; but for others—and for masses of peoples in all lands—it still remains a beacon of hope, a promise for the future."

co-operation to win this struggle and, in his opinion, it could be achieved on a realistic basis of understanding taking account of differences in national characteristics.

The next L.R.F. lunch, at the Y.W.C.A. on August 12, will suitably commemorate the first anniversary of the Atlantic Charter with an address from Mrs. Sargent Florence on "America and the Future."

OXTED AND LIMPSFIELD BRANCH were delighted with the closely reasoned study of the Japanese enigma given by Viscountess Stansgate (Mrs. Wedgwood Benn) at their latest meeting. Lady Stansgate said that the League embodied a great movement of the spirit of mankind, but that movement found no sort of reflection in Japan itself. The break with Geneva had been the result of a divergence of view which was fundamental and absolutely conscious. Seeing in the League national subordinated to international interests, Japan deliberately chose a gamble for world power inspired by heathen mythology. Where the East was concerned the League brought to light imperfection of purpose; where the West was concerned, infirmity of will.

EDINBURGH BRANCH reports a most successful Garden Party Meeting in the Congregational College, when the Ex-Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Rev. Dr. J. Hutchison Cockburn, gave an interesting account of his recent tour in America.

At the Annual Meeting of the ST. AUSTELL BRANCH, the Rev. W. T. Kershaw, the local Baptist Minister, agreed to become Chairman to keep the position open for Mr. L. J. Christy, who is serving with the R.A.F. in Ceylon. Mr. P. T. Bays, the Branch Secretary, and other members have been taking part in a useful correspondence on post-war problems in the *Cornish Guardian* which, through its five editions, covers a wide area of the West Country.

An attractive triple bill was arranged recently by the LEYSIAN MISSION, London. Miss Olive Lodge gave a graphic talk on Yugoslavia, followed by Mrs. M. Gladys Stevens on "Building for Peace inside the

Union." After tea, Miss Hansell gave a lantern talk on "Clearing Up the Debris," and the large audience responded well to the membership appeal. The response must have been gratifying to Mr. Southall, the hard-working Branch Secretary, who has performed prodigies in keeping the Branch together through evacuations and blitzes.

CHESTERFIELD BRANCH had the happy idea of holding an International Reunion over a week-end, to which all foreign nationals resident in the town were invited. There were Czech, Polish and Indian speakers as well as Dr. Lincoln Ralphs of the W.E.A.

On his visit to the WEYBRIDGE BRANCH, Mr. John T. Catterall's unconventional style and powerful appeal were much appreciated. The hall was comfortably full, in the proportion of two-thirds civilians to one-third military—most satisfactory from the Branch's point of view. At the Annual Meeting of the BLACKHEATH AND CHARLTON BRANCH, Mr. Catterall spoke on "Russia" to an appreciative audience of 150 people. "All too short" was the general verdict on his address, though it lasted for an hour-and-a-half. Five new members (one a Foundation Member) were enrolled on the spot, with promise of more to come. At REDDITCH, Mr. Catterall capped his informative address on Russia with a rousing appeal on behalf of the L.N.U. "From reports," wrote the local Secretary to him, "I know you have gingered us up quite a bit, and subscriptions are beginning to come in."

Visitors from LOUGHTON and LEYTONSTONE were among the audience at the BUCKHURST HILL meeting addressed by Mr. Aldous on "The Atlantic Charter." Close working contacts between the Branches in this area help to keep the Union alive and active.

HIGHGATE BRANCH, having completed one series of discussion meetings on "Social and Economic Reconstruction," has embarked at once on a further series on "Colonial Settlement." The small but steady increase in attendances suggests that the meetings are getting better known locally.

The following figures show how things are looking up for the CHISWICK BRANCH, which went through a bad patch when 114 members were lost through death, evacua-

tion and other causes. Between the 1941 and 1942 Annual Meetings, the number of paid-up members increased from 60 to 111. Thus, in a few months, the Branch has gained 50 new and rejoined members.

"We must not let the League of Nations go" was the theme of a useful leading article in the *Cornish and Devon Post*. After recalling some of the League's achievements in the past, the writer stressed that the L.N.U. was in no way responsible for the unpreparedness of this country for war, and hoped that there would be a great accession to the membership of the Union.

W.A.C.

Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., on July 14, addressed a meeting of the Women's Advisory Council of the L.N.U. on "The Minorities Problem." The Chairman of the Council, Miss K. D. Courtney, presided. In accordance with a wish expressed at a previous meeting, women from the United Nations had been invited to attend future meetings of the W.A.C. At this meeting, not only were some of these representatives present, but the Council had the opportunity of hearing an expression of their views on the Minorities Problem, when they joined in a discussion opened by Mrs. Dugdale after Dr. Murray's address.

This meeting was the last of a series held to discuss the Union's four draft reports. During the past seven months, the W.A.C. has also heard Lord Cecil speak on "Peaceful Change," Professor Sargent Florence on "Social and Economic Reconstruction in the Post-War Settlement," and Miss Freda White on "The Colonial Problem."

NEWS FROM SOUTH AFRICA

We are glad to learn that the JOHANNESBURG LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION is going on steadily with its work. The 21 meetings held last year included six lunch addresses on social reconstruction and international affairs, and two well-attended evening meetings.

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

World Settlement

Sir,—This branch of the League of Nations Union has been holding monthly meetings for the purpose of studying and discussing the Statement of Policy contained in pamphlet No. 421—World Settlement after the War—and we feel that the readers of HEADWAY would be interested in the suggested amendments of the summary of that policy.

We wish to state that no word of the summary has been altered irresponsibly, but only after much discussion. For example, our substitution of the words "World Wide" for "international" is deliberate and based on a feeling that the policy should at least aim at the loftiest conception of co-operation even if such co-operation be not practical or possible in the early stages of reconstruction.

Conclusion I.—We feel that this is misleading and does not represent either our views or the views expressed in the pamphlet. Some members take it to imply "peace at any price"—and would suggest the following:—

That a reconstruction of world conditions so that the causes of war may be removed should be the greatest interest of every State.

Conclusion II.—We substitute "against humanity" for "international" here—the latter word for many people to-day being too limited in its scope.

Conclusion III.—We substitute "world wide" for "international" here and suggest "ideal" instead of "necessary."

Conclusion IV.—That freedom and justice can best be secured by the substitution of the processes of law for the brutality of war.

Conclusion VI.—We object to the negative view of peace as displayed here and would suggest:—

That if peace is to flourish there must be machinery for settling disputes without war.

That is all, but we would like to add, however, that these discussions have been most stimulating and informative—an excellent means of clarifying one's ideas on a subject which presents so many difficulties to the seeker for an ideal but at the

same time practical solution to our problems.

(Miss) E. D. OUGHTIBRIDGE.

Hon. Sec. of

Roundhay Branch of the L.N.U.
(Leeds).

(We gladly publish this letter as an indication of the serious study of post-war problems which the L.N.U. Statement of Policy is stimulating up and down the country. May we suggest, however, that the subsequent clauses make it perfectly clear that Conclusion I does not imply "peace at any price"? Further, is not the word "international" by this time well established?—Ed.)

Union Propaganda

Sir,—I attended the Meeting of Branch Secretaries and Other Workers during the General Council, and was impressed by two speakers in particular. The first said it was impossible to carry on positive propaganda in the shape of meetings and lectures, as well as concentrate on the collection of subscriptions in a Branch; one must do one or the other. The second speaker called for much more positive propaganda in the shape of slogans and posters and did not mention the difficulties of collecting but only the actual canvassing of the public.

As a humble Branch Secretary, I have found real need for a battle-cry at the present time, and have often wished that the M.o.I. or M.o.F. were not the only people posting slogans everywhere, and recently I was really troubled by a poster which simply said, "Is your journey really necessary?" That was a simple question, not even a slogan.

Could we not have a Branch or inter-county competition for a slogan or a battle-cry, or just for a series of new posters? Surely some of us have good ideas, and it would be a help to Headquarters as well. The two speakers I have mentioned really brought up the two sides of the same question. One cannot collect subscriptions on the old plea of preventing war by joining the League of Nations Union, and that is why one has to decide

(Continued on page 13)

TO ALL YOUTH GROUPERS EVERYWHERE

Dear Youth Groupers,

As you know, since the summer of 1940, the Union has not found it possible to have a full time paid secretary for the Youth Groups. I have done my utmost to keep in touch with as many of you as possible, and during the past year or so this has been as much as we could do. Increasing pressure of my work and Civil Defence Duties are, however, making it impracticable to keep on as I have been doing.

As the clouds lift, new opportunities of reorganisation and development will become more practical, and the full time of a secretary-organiser, well within the Youth Group age limit, will be required. I wish that such an appointment could be made in the near future, but it does not seem to be practicable. Head Office will, however, maintain the existing contacts.

Some of us have spent as long as ten years in happy work for the principles of the Union. We have fought great battles and suffered great defeats. Remember the Peace Ballot, the World Youth Congress and the Youth Pilgrimage, with its more

FROM HEADWAY'S POSTBAG

(Continued from page 12)

to do one or the other, hold meetings and re-educate the Public, or try to keep one's old members by calling on them to tell them we are still on the map.

WINIFRED MARRIOTT.

Berkhamsted.

Colonial Settlement

One of our South African readers in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, who signs himself "1870 British Settler," has sent us some comments on HEADWAY'S recent discussions on "Colonial Settlement." From his long practical experience of settlement and his past friendship with native chiefs, he is critical of white officialdom backed by military power. True colonisation, in his opinion, must now be development with freedom; and home builders are needed in many parts of our Empire. We regret that space will not permit the publication of all his letter.—Ed.

responsible slogan of "Service for Freedom and Peace." When war came the circumstances were such that we were proud to take our places in the ranks of anti-Fascist Forces, wherever they could be found, but we did it in a quiet spirit of determination to redeem the failures of the Twentieth Century.

What of the future? A new generation will arise to build a new and lasting peace. We have much to contribute from our experiences and from our world in which Youth in every country were comrades. The future peace must be built on this comradeship and not on hatred. The Executive of the Union intend to make a new approach to Youth after the war. It is true that the new Youth Groups must be on different lines from the pre-war ones, but too big a gap between the two will make the task difficult.

Our job now as individual Youth Group members is to keep in close touch with the Union; to contact our fellow Youth Groupers wherever possible; and to express our views to all young people we meet so that there is at least some foundation on which to build.

I hope I may be able to keep in personal touch with my many friends in the Youth Groups, so please let me have your news when time permits. And do keep in communication with Major Freshwater at Head Office

To all Youth Groupers everywhere, my best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

ETHEL A. WAITE.

July, 1942.

FRANCE'S CHOICE

"International solidarity has become an urgent need: is it to be achieved by respecting the liberty and rights of each people and by faithfulness to the plighted word, or by enslavement through the triumph of brute force on the pretext of an international hierarchy? Are we to have a policed world society or are we to be subject to the right of the strongest? We have no other choice, whatever Marshal Pétain may think about the matter."

La France Libre (July).

BOOKS OF THE MONTH**RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE.**

MEDICAL RELIEF IN EUROPE. By Melville D. Mackenzie, M.D. (Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, S.W.1, 1s. 6d. and 2s. respectively.)

These two pamphlets are of the utmost importance. The first is an interim report by a Chatham House study group, giving the kind of factual information which people in general must be at least dimly aware of if the United Nations, with any confidence of public support when the time comes for speedy action, are to plan now for dealing with the immediate post-war problems. The feeding and rehabilitation of Europe will be an inescapable obligation, but it will involve many burdens for the victors—delay in demobilisation, maintenance of rationing, and curtailment of opportunities for private commerce. The sooner the ordinary man and woman understand why a continuation of war-time stringencies will still be necessary when peace returns, the more chance there will be of making a success of post-war reconstruction.

No relief or reconstruction can be carried out in a state of anarchy. Therefore the first necessity will be for the Allies to make themselves responsible for establishing and maintaining at least a minimum of order in Europe. It should not be beyond their power to take over control of Germany. But, if the most useful results are to be obtained, the occupation must come to be associated in the public mind with a state of order and relief of various kinds. Everything possible must be done to emphasise the *reconstructive* character of relief—to get rid of the idea which the Nazis try to spread that anything of the sort would be contemptuous charity. Further, the occupation must be regarded by those who take part in it, not as a matter of national prestige, but as an obligation of international solidarity. Indeed, under certain conditions, it might be done in the name of the "international authority."

There follows a comprehensive analysis of the tasks which will have to be undertaken—Germany, along with other parts of Europe, receiving her dues according to the scale of need. Planning now should

aim at reducing guesswork to a minimum. Stress is laid on the wisdom of using as far as possible existing machinery, especially the Economic and Financial Department of the League, the Health Organisation and the International Labour Office.

Dr. Melville D. Mackenzie, in his monograph, gives further technical guidance with regard to one of the big problems raised in the more general report. Fortunately the medical position after the war is more predictable than some of the other aspects of reconstruction. The essential step is to create a machine ready for immediate operation when hostilities cease. The use of the League's Health Organisation would provide "a rapid and efficient solution." Beyond the immediate and pressing needs for medical relief, however, another objective must constantly be borne in mind—the resumption of international health work on a research basis. Considering the extremely valuable results achieved by the League in a relatively short time, there is seen to be "limitless scope in a world at peace."

STUDIES IN DIPLOMACY AND STATE-CRAFT. By G. P. Gooch, D. Litt., F.B.A. (Longmans. 12s. 6d.)

Welcome indeed is the publication in one volume of these ten essays, written or delivered as lectures by Dr. Gooch on various occasions. They crystallise a lifetime of knowledge and historical research. Whether the subject be the ideology of the French Revolution, the totalitarian faith of Machiavelli and Hobbes, or British foreign policy between two wars, all contribute something essential to the understanding of problems of to-day. Surprisingly little dates. What Dr. Gooch had to say in his Mertens Lecture of 1935 about adapting our political institutions and our economic life to the new fact of the unity of the world, and being governed by the idea of right in reconciling politics and morals over the whole field, still holds good. There is force in the argument that time, as well as skill and resolution, will be necessary to bring about the transition from nationalism to collective security. The League experiment was well worth trying, and the world will assuredly have another shot at the mark.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

BRAVE NEW LEAGUE. By Robert Barton. (Goose Publications, 15, Claremont Park, N.3. 1s. 6d.) A plea that, while the many sound and effective principles and features of the League shall be preserved, mankind shall profit from the experience of the past twenty years. The most important change in the League's structure which the author proposes is the transformation of the Assembly into a body elected directly from zones of equal population, the new Assembly proceeding by recommendations only. His enthusiasm rides roughshod over practical difficulties in the way of securing such a Democratic League Assembly.

THE WORLD WAR IN MAPS. Edited by George Goodall, M.A. (George Philip and Son, Ltd., 2s.) This sequel to *THE WAR IN MAPS* is by far the most complete and up-to-date publication of its kind. In 40 coloured maps, with brief letterpress notes, every phase of the war is adequately covered, and there is useful material on the industrial background of the belligerent nations and on Germany's New Order.

THE COLONIES, by Margery Perham; and **JAPAN TO-DAY,** by C. J. Stranks. (Edinburgh House Press, World Issues Series Nos. 9 and 10, 3d. each, post free 4d.) Miss Perham, in her articles here reprinted from *The Times*, calls for a stocktaking regarding our Colonial Empire, and her arguments are reinforced by a leading article from *The Times*. Mr. Stranks analyses the mentality and spiritual background of modern Japan, and shows how military and economic motives have found a unifying force in State Shinto.

INDIA: An Outline for Study and Discussion. By Monica Luffman. (Council for Education in World Citizenship, established by the League of Nations Union, 6d.) A companion pamphlet to the same author's Outline on the U.S.S.R. A fair and balanced survey, with an excellent bibliography.

PALESTINE: A POLICY. By A. M. Hyamson. (Methuen, 7s.) An account of the international problem involved by an experienced man on the spot, and a solution which—though it may displease extremists on either side—deserves careful consideration.

BRIDGE BUILDERS. By Canon J. McLeod Campbell. (Missionary Council of the Church Assembly, 1s. 6d.) A most comprehensive account of missionary activity in war-time, showing the relevance of the world-wide Church to the major problems of the day.

THE NEW WORLD ORDER JOURNAL. Edited by Vera Stanley Alder. (Alderford Grange, Sible Hedingham, Essex. 6d.) A forum for discussion on post-war planning. Many views from many countries, including those of the L.N.U., are outlined.

THERE'S A GERMAN JUST BEHIND ME. By Clare Hollingworth. (Secker and Warburg. 10s. 6d.)

This sequel to *The Three Weeks' War in Poland*, telling the story of the German conquest of the Balkans, is excellent and lively journalism in book form. Miss Hollingworth believed in looking for trouble, and that meant going to the countries where the Germans (or their jackals, the Italians) were planning their coups. Bluff before Blitz was always the Nazi method; everywhere the master plan was to demoralise and then (if still necessary) to fight. In country after country the author rubbed shoulders with the remarkable "tourists" who flooded the Balkans—young men of military age, with diplomatic passports and large trunks not subject to search. Sometimes, when things were warming up, she walked out under the noses of the German soldiery. Policies of "non-provocation" on the part of the small countries helped to facilitate the triumph of German aggression in Europe. But the British diplomats on the spot come very badly out of this analysis. Often, on their Olympian heights, they seemed to be unaware of what was common knowledge in the streets and cafes; the professional efficiency of their German "opposite numbers" made a striking contrast. So much muddle and blundering is recorded that it is refreshing to find, in Yugoslavia, evidence of the effectiveness of the British blockade and, in Greece, proof that the Germans could make military blunders. The whole book is a parable of the results for the small Powers of the abandonment of the collective system.

L. R. A

MISSION TO MOSCOW. By Joseph E. Davies. (Gollancⁿ. 15s.)

The United States have sent a succession of able Ambassadors to the European capitals. Mr. Davies, who was in Moscow from 1936 to 1938, had a genius for going to the right people for his information and a capacity for taking pains to see things for himself. His book might have been more easily digestible if he had made a fluent narrative of his experiences and impressions. A patchwork of extracts from official dispatches, correspondence, and diary and journal entries entails obvious disadvantages—some repetition and the inclusion of tedious and irrelevant passages, for example. But these are more than counterbalanced by the value of the evidence presented in such a way that there can be no suspicion of "doctoring" or of being "wise after the event."

That Soviet policy was logical and realistic, even when it seemed to the superficial observer most contradictory, emerges clearly from these pages. Litvinov, whom he came to regard as "the ablest Foreign Minister in Europe," constantly disclosed to the author his anxiety regarding the attitude of the British and French Governments towards Germany; their policy, he claimed, was continually magnifying Hitler's importance. While collective security was falling to pieces, the Ambassador wrote to Sumner Welles that "it was difficult to see why the strength available should not be fostered and used for the maintenance of international justice and morals." A little later, in a letter to Harry Hopkins, he foresaw that Rus-

sia's disgust with the democracies might drive her into an economic agreement and ideological truce with Hitler. All the while he was depressed by "the impossibility of making an impression on the London atmosphere"—indeed, Winston Churchill seemed to him almost the only British statesman who really appreciated the imminence of disaster.

Although the trials and purges at first puzzled Davies, he saw sooner than most that Russia had got rid of her Fifth Column. There was, Litvinov told him, "no treason left to co-operate with Berlin and Tokyo." They left him with the impression that Russia would be stronger to meet aggression, but he recognised that they had an unfortunate effect on the outside world by "discounting the real strength of the Soviet Government as a reliable factor against Hitler." "The weakness which western Europe finds in Russia," he reported, "is the product of wishful thinking rather than an objective appraisal."

Actually the Soviet Government was "war-conscious to the *n*th degree" long before the democracies. In June, 1937, Davies estimated that it was spending on defence twice as much as Britain and France together. When Davies was asked, "Could Russian industry support a long war?" he had no hesitation in replying, "My guess is that it could do so to a far greater degree than is expected." This "guess," as all the world now knows, proved as reliable as many more of the Ambassador's shrewd forecasts.

L. R. A.

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