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# HEADWAY

## IN WAR-TIME

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### EDITORIAL

## THE WAR AND THE PEACE

"First win the war and secondly win the peace by supporting it with authority." That is the kernel of FIELD-MARSHAL SMUTS' New Year message on January 5 from Pretoria.

One of the few statesmen concerned in the peace-making at the end of the last war whose reputations have not suffered in the slow disillusionment of the past twenty years, the present South African Prime Minister is always worth heeding. With political wisdom and foresight undimmed, he stands out—even in the distinguished company of Roosevelt and Churchill—as one of the truly great figures of our time; and the L.N.U. is proud to number him among its Vice-Presidents. Only the chief points of his message were telegraphed to this country, but they show that Field-Marshal Smuts reiterated as boldly as ever his unwavering conviction that there will have to be an international organisation along the lines of the League of Nations after this war. "Equipped with real authority," he said, "it will be essential to post-war development, in addition to a genuine and lasting understanding and the closest working alliance between the United States, the British Empire and Russia. . . . This time we must play for keeps, including the creating of a lasting peace.

It is said that wars are merely a continuation of political mistakes. Now we must reverse the order and secure peace by political acumen being the continuation of a victorious war."

### **Now is the Time**

Mr. Anthony Eden, too, has given a convincing answer to those who argue that it will be time enough to think about the shape of things to come when victory is actually in the bag. "Personally," he said, reporting on his Moscow visit, "I attach as much importance to the discussions which we had upon the organisation of peace and security after the war as to those on military co-operation now."

Of practical moves which are being taken among the Allies to prepare for the peace, one of the most interesting is the agreement signed in Mr. Eden's office in London on January 15 between the Greek and Yugoslav Governments. Not only does this *entente* bind the two countries very closely together in political, economic and military matters, but it offers hope of a more embracing Balkan Union. This step, it is understood, has been taken with the full approval of both the British and the American Governments. Possible de-

velopments of this kind in the future organisation of Europe were not unanticipated by the League of Nations Union; and the new agreement falls within the framework of the general scheme outlined in "World Settlement after the War."

### A Broader Outlook

Thus, side by side with intensive war effort, evidence is steadily accumulating that planning for peace as well as for victory is being taken more seriously in high places. This must bring to all in the League of Nations Union the gratifying feeling that the educative side of our work since September, 1939, has not been in vain.

When war broke out the Union, while yielding to none in its determination to help in every possible way to achieve complete victory, was a pioneer in the field of studying world settlement after the war—though it brought to the subject a wealth of accumulated knowledge and experience such as is seldom possessed by pioneers. Nevertheless, much scorn and criticism were at first heaped on its head. In some quarters, in those early days, it was considered scarcely decent or respectable to spare a thought for anything beyond the immediate prosecution of the war—even when the war was static! Post-war settlement, if it was referred to at all in official and semi-official statements of war and peace aims, was touched upon in the vaguest possible terms that meant exactly nothing.

Undeterred, the L.N.U. went on stimulating thought and discussion, all the while thus insensibly broadening the general outlook. There is abundant evidence of the great influence exercised by the Union in educating other agencies, here and abroad, which took up post-war problems. On the official side, there came in due course the Atlantic Charter, then the International Labour Conference in New York. To-

day, when so many of the British and Allied leaders have set the seal of their approval upon post-war planning, the ranks of the obstinate army of obstructionists have been thinned. Discussion of world settlement after the war has become as respectable as it is appropriate to the present stage of the war.

### The Progress of the War

Of special interest to the League of Nations Union was the first of a series of commentaries on "The Progress of the War," held in the Guildhall, London, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor on January 8. It was incidentally the first occasion on which the Guildhall, scarred but still upright, had been used since it was damaged in the Fire Blitz of December 29, 1940. Sir Archibald Sinclair, who as Secretary of State for Air is one of the many convinced supporters of the L.N.U. who have been called to high office in the war administration, brilliantly put the whole war in perspective with an illuminating survey of the part played by the R.A.F. on all fronts. The vote of thanks was proposed by the Chief Commoner, Mr. H. S. Syrett, who of course is the Union's Treasurer.

Sir Archibald Sinclair dealt effectively with the "Dismal Desmonds" who, because we have met with serious setbacks in the new theatres of war, complain that the Government has been caught napping. Certainly the Government is facing risks in the Far East, but not in any spirit of complacency. It is doing so with its eyes wide open. Although mounting all the time, the resources at our disposal are still limited. Japan's entry into the war faced us with the alternative of dispersing our forces, or of continuing to concentrate them on the Russian and North African fronts where they were already being employed with such conspicuous effect. In the full knowledge that we should

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## FROM THE NEW WORLD

It is always an encouragement to know how our "opposite numbers" in other parts of the world are faring and to find that, for them too, these days of danger are opening the door to opportunity. From Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India, news of the League Societies there gets through, though there is often a time lag. By devious routes, we have recently heard from our fellow workers in Sweden and Switzerland. News from the American League of Nations Association and the League of Nations Society in Canada is specially plentiful and up to date—one indication, incidentally, that the Battle of the Atlantic is being won.

The latest numbers to reach us of *Changing World*, the monthly organ of the League of Nations Association, and of the war-time News Sheet of the League of Nations Society in Canada are excellent antidotes alike to lethargy and defeatism.

Need we be ashamed of the words "League of Nations?" *Changing World* comes out with an emphatic "No". "Never before", writes the Editor (and the rest of the number provides plenty of evidence to support this view), "has the League idea had as strong sympathy in the United States as it has to-day. Definitely, now is the time to talk League of Nations."

Our Canadian contemporary parallels

this with a quotation from Dr. George Gallup (of Gallup Polls fame) in *Coronet* for December last: "There has been a phenomenal rebirth of the League of Nations idea in this country."

Our Canadian friends are finding the speeches of their Prime Minister as stimulating and helpful to their work as are those of Mr. Churchill to us. For example, Mr. Mackenzie King recently declared: "No nation which wishes to see freedom survive can now look to anything so old-fashioned as its own sovereign rights, or so restricted as its own unaided strength. Remoteness from the immediate scene of conflict has ceased to be a safeguard for men and nations that cherish their freedom. Surely we now have come to see that, even in seeking the preservation of our own freedom, all who cherish freedom are members one of another, without regard to class, or race, or nationality. If human freedom is to survive, all free men, regardless of national frontiers, must work together for its preservation." The National Executive Committee of the Canadian Society, in expressing its profound appreciation of the Prime Minister's clear pronouncement of the essential conditions of victory, also urged its conviction that "only by the permanent adoption of these principles by the nations as living commitments can victory be translated into positive and lasting peace."

### THE WAR AND THE PEACE

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have to expect temporary reverses in the East, we deliberately chose (in co-operation with our Russian Ally) to keep up the pressure where it would be felt most—on our formidable enemy Germany and her jackal Italy.

Nothing would have pleased Hitler more, in the extremity to which the Russians and the British have driven him on two fronts, than to have been offered a loophole of escape or a

moment of respite through the dispersal of British forces. "We know," as Colonel Knox, the U.S. Secretary of the Navy, has recently put it, "who our greatest enemy is. It is Hitler, and Hitler's Nazis, Hitler's Germany. It is Hitler we must destroy. That done, the whole Axis fabric will collapse. Finishing off Hitler's satellites will be easy by contrast." Stranger things may happen than that Germany will be brought to her knees before Japan. But the day of defeat for Japan's militarists, too, will come.

## WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN A. RATTENBURY

Only one day's Session of Parliament comes within our orbit this month—the day to which the Government agreed before Christmas after the protest of Members against too long a recess in times of great anxiety. That, let it be said at once, was a very interesting day, far more so than might have been expected in the circumstances.

Pending the return of the Prime Minister, of course, much ground had to remain uncovered. Now that Mr. Churchill is back again, the full dress debate on the war situation, to which the House is looking forward with some impatience, will soon take place. The Government have promised that. The Far East, the dangerous trend of events in Malaya, the defence of Singapore—these and the score of similar concerns now lying heavily on everybody's minds will have their turn. Further, there is eagerness to hear from the Prime Minister's own lips first-hand information about his meeting with President Roosevelt, and about the arrangements concluded in Washington for the fullest possible co-ordination between the Allies. For the moment, all these matters of first-rate importance had to be held in reserve, or at least were touched upon only superficially by Mr. Attlee in his interim review of the war situation. The Lord Privy Seal did emphasise that what was happening in the Far Eastern theatre had to be considered in the light of "the broad facts of the strategic situation." In deciding how to allocate our resources the Government had to take into account not what was desirable but what was

possible, and the most urgent needs had to be met first.

### The Russian Visit

The House was glad to hear Mr. Attlee's survey, but the chief interest of the day's proceedings lay elsewhere. In the first place, though this could not have been anticipated by the Members who pressed for the date, Mr. Eden was back from his Russian visit and had already broadcast something about it. Mr. Eden replied on the debate.

During the course of the debate, more than one speaker expressed the wish that the Foreign Secretary should answer the points raised, and not just rehash his broadcast talk—a hint, one felt, that was less needed by Mr. Eden than possibly by some other Ministers, as he generally does what the Members were asking for. It did happen, however, that, as a natural corollary to his Russian visit, he was busy on other things; and so relied a good deal on the notes of other Front Bench men for the points on which he was to reply.

On one matter of phrasing, Mr. Eden confessed that he was not afraid to "stand in a white sheet." In his broadcast he said that the trouble with Hitler was not that he was a Nazi at home, but that he would not stay at home. This, Mr. Eden admitted, was an oversimplification. The fundamental trouble with the Nazis—and indeed with the Germans—was that it was part of their creed that they would not stay at home. For the past hundred years they had been aggressive animals.

Regarding his Moscow visit, Mr. Eden reiterated what he had already told the public in his broadcast. For obvious reasons he could give no start-

ling revelations about his official conversations with Mr. Stalin and the Soviet military, naval and air force leaders: "The results will, I hope, speak for themselves in due course, and in these matters results are certainly better than any speech I could hope to make."

One passage of Mr. Eden's statement, towards the end and greeted with spontaneous applause, was his reference to the discussions on the peace settlement and post-war organisation, which took place at Moscow. These he described as "of the highest importance for the future, but only a beginning." Their value would be in the follow-up, and that would have to be done now. "It is the task of statesmanship to ensure that the development is a happy one for both peoples, a victorious one for the Allied war effort, and an enduring one for the peace of the world. It is because I believe that the conversations contributed to that end that I am glad to have taken part in them."

### Questions on India

The topic which overshadowed all others at question time must be mentioned as a matter of general interest, though strictly speaking as an "internal matter" it does not come (I understand) within the scope of either the League or the L.N.U. But it was natural that India should be much in mind, in view of the close proximity of the present war in the East to that "most truly bright and precious jewel in the crown." Several members had expressed the hope that, when he returned, Mr. Churchill would be able to say something to improve the Indian situation. Various questions were asked by a succession of speakers on the constitutional position. Mr. Amery's general reply was of willingness to co-operate with the parties in India, "but I regret that I cannot see in them any satisfactory response to the Viceroy's recent appeal for unity and co-operation in face of

the common danger. His Majesty's Government will not abate their efforts to promote that measure of agreement which is essential to the fulfilment of their pledges to India, pledges which are in no sense restrictive of the Atlantic Charter but only give precision to the general principle affirmed in that declaration."

## INDIA

Although the making and granting of a constitution for India is an internal matter for the British Empire and, therefore, not within the scope of the League of Nations Union, the Executive Committee considers that it is desirable that the history of India should be studied in order that branches of the Union may more readily understand the distinction between internal and external matters relating to the Indian constitutional problem.

Memoranda on the subject are available and can be supplied on application to the Secretary of the Union, 11, Maiden Lane, W.C. 2.

## LEAGUE BUDGET

The League of Nations Budget for 1942, as adopted by the Supervisory Commission at a meeting last summer at Montreal, amounts to 9,647,462 Swiss francs—which represents a reduction of some 10 per cent. on the Budget of 1941.

As an indication of the drastic economies imposed under war conditions, it is interesting to note that the League Secretariat and the International Labour Office now cost approximately the same, in the region of 3½ million Swiss francs each.

Thus the cost of maintaining the world's great organisation for international co-operation is, at the height of the war, some £460,000, or considerably less than the cost of one of the latest flying boats!

## CAPTAINS COURAGEOUS

By GORDON DROMORE

Of the making of blueprints there is no end; and their much study is a weariness to the flesh. But the broad outline of To-morrow—on the assumption of a complete victory of the Allies—is quite clear. We *do* know the sort of problems which will have to be faced.

They are like the problems left by the last war, only more so. Immediate problems of nutrition, shortages of food and raw materials; menace to the health of millions; dislocation of transport; demobilisation; unemployment; problems of industrial welfare; the relations between Governments and workers and employers; social and economic security; and the crowning problem of the right use of force, in defence of international law alone.

In one way or another these kinds of problems have been handled by the League's machinery, continuously over 20 years. There have been failures, but many striking successes, and those half successes which yet leave invaluable lessons behind a process of trial and error. They are being handled to-day at Geneva, in Canada, in America, where, for example, in spite of war, an I.L.O. Conference has been held in New York as a rallying point for democracy. They are international problems and can only be properly handled by international machinery. And here the League's technical organisations, which are capable of immense expansion, stand in a street by themselves.

### It Nearly Succeeded

Let us get two things straight about this League business.

The first is this. The whole great political Experiment of the League came astonishingly near success. Take the Manchurian issue. Suppose Sir John Simon and the British Cabinet had not missed that tram—American co-operation? At a fraction of the frightful risks which are commonplaces to-day, the world would have had the first example of collective action in defence of a weak nation, attacked by a strong. Or suppose

that in carrying out sanctions against Italy, to which we were pledged (this was De Bono's worst nightmare), we had put something like the energy which we showed in securing our own position in the Mediterranean, in case we were attacked? Italy was no stronger in 1936 than she was when we did wake up and act, at Nyon. Suppose we had seized the right moment at the Disarmament Conference, when even Sir John Simon said, "All the technical problems of disarmament have been solved", and pressed on bravely to the general abolition of just those "offensive" weapons which, since then, have made this war the Hell of all time? A little more will-power, more conviction, and leading linked to looking ahead. Oh for a few moments of a Churchill or a Lincoln, instead of long, hesitating months of men who lounged away the destiny of democratic Europe.

### Stuff of League Principles

The second point follows. Evidence is abundant that Governments are aware of this near approach to success, and recognise the nobility of the League way of living. We see it in President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms speech, in the first speech of Lord Halifax in America, in Mr. Eden's May speech at the Guildhall, in the "League" speech of Mr. Sumner Welles, the President's alias, in the Resolution of the Allied Council in London, in June: "the only true basis of enduring peace is the willing co-operation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security"; in the great Atlantic Charter, now the law for all the Allies—the whole civilised world. All this contains the very stuff of the League principles.

These are inspiring facts.

But therewith goes a stark warning. After every great idea, said one whom Germans quote but dare not name, there is a Golgotha. It happened so with the League. But it must not be allowed to happen again. The League had enemies.

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## A SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCE

At Leighton Park School, Reading, from January 8th to the 12th, there was held what a representative from the Board of Education described as "a most significant Conference" on World Problems To-day and To-morrow. It was attended by some 150 boys and girls from the upper forms of public and secondary schools, and so great was the demand for places that had there been sufficient accommodation at Leighton Park School another 200-300 members could have been accepted.

The Council for Education in World Citizenship (established by the League of Nations Union), who organised the Conference, had arranged a varied and stimulating programme of meetings, which concluded with an address by Dr. Gilbert Murray, the President of the Council for Education in World Citizenship.

What was it that made the Conference "significant"? Why was it that speakers and helpers alike found this such a stimulating four days? At a time when the world is in foment, when the most terrible war in the history of man is being waged,

it was indeed heartening to see so vigorous and intelligent a group of boys and girls looking eagerly towards the future, determined to acquire the knowledge and understanding that will be needed to establish a genuine peace in a brotherhood of nations when this war is won. The members of the Conference had come to learn. Every speaker was bombarded with questions, and the study groups, or Commissions, on such subjects as "Education for Peace and Democracy" and "Social and Economic Reconstruction," for which members of the Conference had read in advance, were lively affairs. Each Commission, of which there were eight, produced a report which was read at the final session. They showed a breadth of interest, a freshness of approach, as well as an inevitable lack of first-hand experience. The Conference dispersed not with a feeling of complacency that the problems of the world were now settled, but with a fresher and deeper interest in the problems that have to be resolved, and a firmer belief in the importance of an intelligent democracy.

### CAPTAINS COURAGEOUS

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"Realists", they called themselves. Beware of the camouflage called realism, which covers a cavalcade of sins. In the event they were incorrigibly wrong—those millionaire types whose docile Press traduced and distorted the whole League idea and practice; the financial Pecksniffs who, year by year, cut the League's budget to the bone, or ranted that our petty contribution (it worked out at about twice the cost of one "Flying Fortress" to-day) would break the City's back; and the "Interests" in whose eyes the Covenant, a Treaty of their own Nations, was dross compared with the glittering yen invested in Manchuria. And beware of Lipservers—light half-believers in a casual League,

who only walked with it when it appeared "in silver slippers, in the sunshine".

Once and for all, there must be Conviction in our loyalty to the League. Goodwill, unless it means doing good, is an empty gesture. We refuse to believe that immense energy, courage, readiness to take risks and make a sacrifice, "conviction" in the place of "opinion" are only to be found on the side of fierce miscreeds like Nazism. All this and more are demanded on the side of democratic, League ways of living—for the sake of law and order and abiding peace, of reciprocity, the right of people to live their own lives, of the decencies and broad equality—in human relations. For enrolment in this, the greatest of all crusades, "say not the struggle naught availeth".

## COLONIAL SETTLEMENT

By J. ARTHUR WATSON (Hants Federation L.N.U.)

There has lately been issued a draft Report on Colonial Settlement by the Industrial Advisory Committee of the Union, in which an attempt is made to establish broad principles of future colonial policy. The Report covers an immense field, and as was to be expected, contains many valuable proposals. There are, however, points in it which I ventured to challenge at the recent Council meeting, and this article is written in response to the Council's invitation to put my criticisms on record. Space admits only of the more crucial issues being dealt with.

### A Travesty of Truth

1. In paragraph 6 it is alleged that "all the Colonial Empires acquired their dependencies for gain or ambition, and in their earlier stages exploited them ruthlessly." So sweeping a statement demands proof, but none is forthcoming. In relation to the most discussed of our own dependencies, the East African territories, it is a fantastic travesty of the truth. They were acquired for humanity, for Christianity, for healing Africa of her open sore. Their story, starred with such great names as Livingstone, Kirk, Laws, Hetherwick and Lugard,\* is one of the most splendid triumphs of idealism, and ought to inspire us with pride and thankfulness. It is not widely enough recognised that our present position in Kenya and Uganda is entirely due to the influence of Exeter Hall and the great missionary societies, and that our Government in the notorious "scramble for Africa" of the '80s carried its fears of Empire so far as to refuse the entreaties of the

\* It is interesting that in 1919 an anti-Imperialist author of high repute described Lord Lugard as possessed by a homicidal mania (*Empire and Commerce in Africa*, by L. Woolf, p. 273).

Sultan of Zanzibar to accept a protectorate over all his dominions on the mainland.

From this disputable generalisation the Committee deduce that colonies might be restored to Germany or Italy if they abandoned their totalitarian philosophy. But such a conclusion is a denial of our declaration of 20 years ago that our trusteeship in the colonies is one "which we can neither delegate nor share." It is true that in the Appeasement period our Government was ready to treat our native wards as counters for bargaining in defiance of this principle; but it is surely unduly cynical to treat it as an instrument specially invented for the discomfiture of the British settler only.

### The Economic Aspect

2. In paragraph 19 it is alleged that European agricultural settlement in central Africa "has never been economic." This, of course, cannot mean that the great East African exports of tobacco, coffee and sisal are of no value, which is absurd; or that the British taxpayer derives no benefit from the Colonies, for it is the justification of our empire, and its pride, that we no longer call them possessions, and that we treat them as liabilities, not as assets. What does it mean?

The conclusion drawn in paragraph 19 is that Colonial Governments should refrain from subsidising white settlement. This again is much too vague. It should be made clear whether direct subsidies only are meant, to what extent (if any) they are granted, and why a new "colour bar" problem should be raised by excluding white agriculture from the benefits of the financial assistance advocated in paragraph 9.

### Too Pessimistic

On these and other questions the Report seems to be too pessimistic in outlook. Our African dependencies, and Kenya Colony in particular, have for many years been the butts of a school of writers having the common characteristic of an essentially materialistic philosophy, the background of which is the obsolete fallacy that greed is the strongest factor in human life. These writers have not been without influence in Union circles; but it would indeed be a strange anomaly for the Union, *ex hypothesi* a league of optimists, to borrow its philosophy from sources of so alien a nature. Livingstone's deliberate opinion was that the best hope of raising the African to the full height of his capacities lay in British settlement, and it has stood the test of seventy years' experience. For it is not true that lower standards prevail among our own people in the colonies than at home. The authority most competent to judge said in 1930 that "probably nowhere in the world were relations between employers and employed better than in

Kenya. The concern of the unofficial population for the development of native communities was a particularly noteworthy factor in the social and political life of the Colony." This vindication of Livingstone's faith is as true to-day as then, and not of Kenya alone. Indeed, the most serious grounds for anxiety about our colonies lie in the chronic sluggishness and timidity of the Colonial Office, and its poor judgment in the allocation of appointments; and in the apathy and indifference of the British people. The argument against our sharing our trust with the colonists is that they are interested parties, although on a long view the interests of settlers and natives are not competitive. Their complaint is that we who claim a monopoly of the trust are uninterested; and in this there is far too much truth. We should be well advised to attend to the beam in our own eye; for so long as our people are content to be as ill informed on colonial matters as they are at present, they cannot be regarded as worthily discharging their duties of trusteeship.

## MR. ATTLEE ON THE LEAGUE

On the eve of attending the International Labour Conference in New York, Mr. C. R. Attlee, Britain's Deputy Premier and Lord Privy Seal, indicated at the National Defence Luncheon which he addressed that the League of Nations idea would play an important part in the post-war peace plans of the Allies. It is strange that the British Press, at the time, virtually ignored this aspect of his speech; and we are indebted to the *Christian Science Monitor* (U.S.A.) for an adequate report.

League principles, said Mr. Attlee, "weren't proved wrong because the League failed. The wrong consisted in not implementing them. The principle that there must be in the world a force

to support the rule of law has been reaffirmed in the Atlantic Charter. . . . The only way to preserve peace is to bind together all peace-loving peoples and endow them with force sufficient to prevent aggression. It may be that the old League of Nations won't be re-created; but I am certain that its principles must be applied if we are to have a peaceful, ordered world."

Besides the Attlee speech, comments the *Christian Science Monitor* (October 18, 1941), plenty of other evidence of how widespread confidence still is in League of Nations principles has come to light lately. It mentions a survey of aims of Continental Governments exiled in London, published in the *Fortnightly Review*, in which Government after Government is shown pinning its faith on the League idea—a League strengthened, revised, extended or even gradually evolving into a kind of Federal authority.

## UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

"Plan now for peace," urged Dr. Vaclav Benes in his talk on "Europe's Future" at the January Sandwich Luncheon arranged by the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION. It was now certain, he said, that in a relatively shorter time than had once seemed likely Germany would lose this war. That was no excuse for relaxing effort—any diminution of our war activity would only postpone the moment of return to peaceful, constructive work. It was necessary for Great Britain, Russia and the U.S.A. to create a situation in which revolt against Nazi tyranny would be certain to succeed. Then, when the time was ripe, the enslaved peoples of Europe would rise and deal Germany the decisive blow. Dr. Benes thought that the circumstances were far more favourable to a solid peace than in 1918. The very fact that people to-day did not expect miracles would tend to make planning more concrete. His country's aim was a free Czechoslovakia in a free Europe, and she was ready to accept limitations of economic and political sovereignty. In his opinion, when this war was over, it would not be practicable to proceed at once to a great European federation.

At the next L.R.F. Sandwich Luncheon, at 1 p.m., on Tuesday, February 10th, at the Y.W.C.A., Great Russell Street, W.C.1, Mr. John T. Catterall will speak on "The Far East."

Our workers in the COVENTRY area are making devoted efforts to keep together and revive the Union's activities there. They refuse to be discouraged by such experiences—inevitable in the circumstances—as visiting a dozen houses and in every case finding either the member out, or the premises down and the occupants gone with the wind. As a result of perseverance, subscriptions are still gathered in from loyal and well-wishing members. The poster board, standing in a prominent position in the town, plays a useful part.

Similar testimony to the good work which is going on, in gathering up the threads of Union work after the big blitzes, comes from the RADFORD AND COUNDON section. At EARLSDON, too,

although meetings are temporarily out of the question, the collection of subscriptions is proceeding satisfactorily, and the Branch has promised an extra contribution of £10 to Union funds.

Some of our London branches, of course, can parallel these experiences. The representative of a Corporate Member at LAMBETH writes that they have no church, no vicar and no curate owing to bombing, but they still have their "chins up." This lady and another who is an Air Raid Warden still make time to see to it that subscriptions are collected.

PADDINGTON and ST. JOHN'S WOOD BRANCHES are again joining forces to run a further series of meetings this year. The first, on "Holland," was addressed by Mr. J. J. van der Laan. Others in the series will have speakers from Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Norway.

During January many ROTARY CLUB audiences heard talks by speakers on Yugoslavia.

One of the most useful results of Dr. Wolfram Gottlieb's visit to STREATHAM to speak on "Russia" was excellent publicity in the local Press.

"Dr. Dawson" addressed the TEES AND CLEVELAND DISTRICT COUNCIL at Thornaby on "The Position of Germany in the Post-War World."

There is still a heavy demand, both from our own Branches and from other organisations, for speakers on America. Miss Barbara Barclay-Carter spoke at BISHOP'S STORTFORD, BROMLEY and CHURCH STRETTON. Mrs. J. H. Street visited the NORK WOMEN'S INSTITUTE.

In view of the thirst for first-hand information about other countries, Headquarters are making arrangements for speakers, either English or from one of the foreign countries whose Governments are now in London (the latter, of course, would speak in English), to address large or small groups. Talks of this kind should be of special interest to WOMEN'S INSTITUTES and other women's organisations.

During January Mr. John T. Catterall addressed Branch Meetings and Rotary Clubs in ST. AUSTELL, FALMOUTH, TRURO, HAMPSTEAD, CLEVEDON, PORTISHEAD,

## UNION ACTION AT ELECTIONS

Lord Lytton reported to the General Council in December that the Executive, after fully and carefully considering the motion submitted by Chelsea on the subject of Union action at elections, had decided that the present practice in regard to Parliamentary elections should continue.

That practice is for Branches:—

To arrange for a meeting, at which all candidates shall be present to give their views on our policy;

To give publicity to the candidates' views, and to leave it to the electors themselves to decide for whom they will vote; the Branch itself may not give its support to any candidate;

To send a report to Headquarters stating what they have done, whether they think it adequate, and whether they have any suggestions to make;

To try to get L.N.U. representation on local committees responsible for the selection of Parliamentary candidates.

## THROUGH THE POST

Readers will be interested to know that many League of Nations documents—mostly on technical subjects—have recently been reaching us from Geneva. The wrappers bear League of Nations stamps (the Swiss issue with special overprint for the League) and the League of Nations postmark. This is one indication that the League is alive!

One postal curiosity which came our way last month was a highly technical report from the Siamese Government addressed to (sic) "League of Nations, Singapore, England."

The Quarterly Bulletin of the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, posted in Hong Kong before the Japanese occupation, has just arrived.

Certain Chinese newspapers, still published in Japanese occupied cities, have found their way to HEADWAY by indirect routes. The League of Nations (Geneva) postmark, in addition to the overprinted Chinese stamps, shows that, after crossing Siberia, they came to us through the League.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE and AYLESBURY on such subjects as "Russia," "The Present Situation in the Pacific" and "The Atlantic Charter." He also spoke to the senior pupils at the ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL, HIGH WYCOMBE.

"Has the League a Future?" was the subject of a discussion tea at CLIFTON. The Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Bristol was in the chair and Mr. H. G. Tanner was the speaker.

WALLINGTON and LEAMINGTON are among our Branches which are continuing their successful series of discussion meetings into 1942. Mr. L. R. Aldous addressed them respectively on "International Labour Questions" and "Economic Problems after the War"; and also gave a talk on the League to 200 Pupils at the South-East London Emergency School for Girls.

At REIGATE, Mr. J. R. Leslie, M.P., took as his subject "Social Reconstruction."

We are proud of the doggedness and determination of one of our keen supporters in CHORLTON-CUM-HARDY who keeps the L.N.U. poster board up-to-date. Recently she found that "some rabid destroyer," who apparently objected either to Mr. Churchill or his sentiments about the League, had ripped down the latest poster's overnight. Undeterred, she pasted up another set and immediately telegraphed to Headquarters for a fresh supply to have in reserve in case these brainless depredations were continued.

Mrs. Basil Williams writes: "As a member of the Kensington Branch, may I add a few words to your notice about LADY HORSLEY? By her death on Christmas Eve we have indeed lost one of the foremost stalwarts of the Union. The Council will miss those passages in which she defended to the last some point she considered vital. But only Kensington Branch can know with what indomitable courage, when over eighty years of age, she carried it through the slump caused by the war. Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, she was all three in one. Thanks to her devotion, the Branch is now well on its feet, and she would not wish for a better reward."

## THE PEACE HUNT

The hunt for Peace is up. Some uncommonly good scent and a fine run are given in Professor Rappard's book\* on the history of roughly the past twenty years, with its selection of decisive documents and dominant speeches, from the important angle of an international lawyer and an experienced eye-witness of events at Geneva. With his factual account of the League's origin, successes and failures, and some broad lessons deducible therefrom, few will quarrel. Indeed, much of this book must remain a standard contribution to any serious study of the problems of organising peace.

At the same time, the very excellences make it all the more worth while offering constructive criticism of accompanying weaknesses, which seem serious because they typify two dangerous tendencies of yesterday to be got rid of if the peace of tomorrow is to work: *Legalism and lack of guts*. The author, naturally perhaps, allows overmuch space and emphasis to the record of international law, to the progress of the legal side of political development. At times it seems to be forgotten that the test of the efficiency of Law is the bad man, who cares only for material consequences; not the good man with a sense of social responsibility. Was ever a grimmer epitome of the paralysis of legal formalism than Mussolini's justification of his attack on Abyssinia as "defending the prestige and good name of the League"?

Further, it is not enough for us, in 1942, to find a verdict on the failure to organise peace in the last twenty years implied: it should be given from the house-top. True, there is complaint of the excessive debility of the successors of 1919 who missed the golden opportunities offered them in the Covenant. Also, there are the prophetic words of the Emperor Haile Selassie: "What undertakings can have any value if the will to fulfil is lacking?" And, on the occasion of sanctions, the positive statements that Great Britain in 1936 was still supreme in the Mediterranean, and that

\*The Quest of Peace Since the World War. By Professor W. Rappard. (Oxford University Press, 1940. 17s.)

America made it perfectly clear that no firm action by the League would be exposed to any interference from her. No, that is not enough. A full Judge's Verdict is wanted and is warranted by the evidence. There is the feeling, in fact, that Professor Rappard is not fully alive to the key realities and the crowning needs of the time he describes: the existence of two vast movements, one fighting for Domination, the other for Co-operation; the menace of violent, systematic sabotage of the League system on the one hand, matched by a dreadful dearth on the other of men of imaginative force and action like Albert Thomas or Dr. Nansen; and the impotence of legal methods of appeasement alone, for modifying a cleavage in practice and psychology so formidable and so fundamental.

And yet the gap between success and failure in keeping the peace was not unbridgeable. Mr. Eric Linklater, in his dynamic little book *THE CORNERSTONES* (Macmillan, 2s. 6d.), takes us to the green Elysian Fields to hear what Confucius, Lenin, Abraham Lincoln and a dead young airman all have to say about yesterday and tomorrow. A fifth person is there too, lying in the grass behind the trees. The talkers don't notice him till he gets up to go. "Tell your friends", he says, "the next time you see them that they can't do without me. They can't win the war without me, and they'll make a poor thing of the peace without me, in spite of all good intentions." "What is your name?" asks the young airman.

"My name is COURAGE."

MAURICE FANSHAWE.

Our Address:—

THE LEAGUE OF  
NATIONS UNION,

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

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

"A man who cannot read or does not read is a prisoner in his own little mind and in the mind of his own little limited group of friends and acquaintances. Books admit him to the free company of all men who have anything to say worth hearing."

Here are some books which say something worth hearing.

About America, two must be read by all who care for Anglo-American co-operation: *AMERICA AND WORLD AFFAIRS* by Allan Nevins (Oxford University Press, 2s. 6d.) and *THE ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY* by A. J. Brown (Oxford Pamphlet, 4d.). The former is a most timely, authoritative, liberal book by an American historian; full of facts, wit, pen portraits of personalities and illuminating *aperçus* on the cross currents of American politics; of special interest as regards Japan—for it was a Star in the Far East which cleaned America from the cataract of her isolationism. The latter, although written before America went to war, is a mine of useful facts about America's economic production, especially shipping and aircraft.

MR. CHURCHILL, by Philip Guedalla (Hodder and Stoughton, 8s. 6d.). It is difficult to imagine more lively wit and penetrating wisdom than shine out in this all too short life of our Prime Minister—a second and greater Chatham. Many lessons can be learnt from it for the future, not least from Mr. Churchill's championship of the League system, undaunted and based as it was on profound knowledge of history. What better light for the blackout than to read of the actions of this man who stands as a symbol of his country, and his speeches where nouns are pictures and the verbs work?

In *WANTED—A NEW VISION*, by Axel Heyst (Minerva Publishing Company, 6s.), there is a stimulating antidote to complacency, "the greatest defeatist agent in this country," as to the Allies' victory. If we have vision and vigour, come that will. For this means that we realise the full physical strength of the enemy, as something not to be broken by air attack alone, as well as the menace before our eyes to-day of this "New Order" in a

Europe scientifically "forced back into an epoch when pyramids were built by slaves."

Lastly a warm word for Kenneth Lindsay's new illustrated book, *ENGLISH EDUCATION*, one of the best written and most attractive of the Collins publications (3s. 6d.).

**THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CODE, 1939.** (International Labour Office, Montreal. Obtainable from London Office, 38, Parliament Street, S.W.1. Price 15s.)

Students of social legislation and officials responsible for administering social and labour law will welcome this valuable work of permanent reference. Between 1919 and 1939, 67 conventions and 66 recommendations were adopted at the successive sessions of the International Labour Conference. Though it would be untrue to suggest that their growth was haphazard, their chronological order was clearly not the best method of classification. So now, in this volume of close upon a thousand pages, the Office has produced for the first time a coherent code according to subject matter.

The last of ten useful appendices gives the International Labour Code as it was on August 1, 1914. These few slender pages, compared with the bulk of the present volume, are a measure of the advance made since the I.L.O. came into existence.

**THE BASIS OF RECONSTRUCTION.** By James A. Bowie. (Published for the Salter Society by Oliver and Boyd. 1s.)

If Professor Bowie has a fault, it is that he looks at to-morrow from too many angles. Useful as many will find his pamphlet, it would be better if the range were more limited.

He favours very severe Armistice terms and a Peace Conference some years after, the interval to be used in practical measures for economic and agricultural reconstruction in Europe with an eye to European Federation. Above all, there must be conscious social unity, with economics as the instrument and not the end of life—an instrument serving all, customers, workers, suppliers, share-

(Continued in col. 2, page 14.)

## TO ALL YOUTH GROUPERS EVERYWHERE

DEAR YOUTH GROUPS,—

A rather belated but nevertheless sincere message of New Year greetings to you. 1942 will see us nearer to our goal of victory, and you and I must see that in the hour of military success we are not defeated by apathy and unpreparedness to meet the new battles and new problems which peace will bring.

Since I last wrote yet one more piece of the ghastly jig-saw puzzle has fallen into place, and it does not help to say "We told you so in 1931!" We can only salute the long-sustained heroism of our Chinese Allies, and work our hardest to give them support.

We greet the young people of America and say, "We are glad that you are now by our side, and trust that your cities will never be despoiled as ours have been, nor your land ever become 'scorched earth.'"

Russia is presenting the world with yet another miracle. Perhaps miracle is the wrong word, for recent events are what we have expected from such a people. The Anglo-Soviet Youth Alliance is now open for membership, and issues a monthly "News Letter" full of useful information. Details can be obtained from 104, Wigmore Street, London, W. 1.

As a follow up to the Albert Hall Rally, the International Youth Council intends shortly to set up an International Youth Centre in London. Help is needed, and I shall be glad to hear from anyone who is interested.

In another part of this issue you will read that you can now obtain information on India from Headquarters. Youth Groups have long been interested in this problem, and here is a chance to get some sound guidance in your study of this country.

Now here is a horrible story. A certain Branch wrote asking that a part of our

*News Sheet* should be devoted to Youth Group matters. They had never read our page in *HEADWAY*, and had never let us know that a Youth Group existed in this district. I am sure that there are other groups in existence which have not kept in touch with us. What about the groups we knew to be active at the outbreak of war? What about those who have written to me once only? Your group is not too small nor your activities too insignificant to let us know all about them.

I hope you have read the January *HEADWAY*, and found out all about the December Council; if not, please write to Major Freshwater.

I should like to have news for this page of our members in the Forces or other war work.

To all Youth Groupers everywhere my best wishes for 1942 and our future.

Yours sincerely,

ETHEL A. WAITE.

### BOOKS OF THE MONTH

(Continued from page 13.)

holders. Economic planning, as avowed Government policy, must include increase of income, prevention of price rising, public works stretching over periods of years—to do wisely in peace-time for unemployment and social welfare what war has forced us to do in a hurry and uneconomically.

Reconstruction, like charity, begins at home. Professor Bowie pleads eloquently for deliberate and generous efforts to solve Scottish problems, through the medium of a Reconstruction Council with Departments to include Technical Research, Economic Investigation and Financial Assistance.

### FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

From Sir George Young, Bart.

SIR.—A World Confederation of Federations, as adumbrated by the L.N.U. statement of policy (par 25) recently approved, and as developed in my "Federation and Freedom" (Oxford University Press, 1941) would be more effective for peace than the Leagues of Sovereign Nations in 1777 and 1919, cited by Mr. Arnold Price as evidence of the inefficacy of Confederations. In principle, a World Federal Union such as he wants would no doubt be a more perfect and permanent pacification; in practice it undubitably would not. Anyway, it could only be established by stages such as that of the L.N.U. statement. Incidentally, this procedure also meets the requirements of F. E. Pearson and M.L.S.M. by providing the former with a federal (international) police, and the latter with the freedom of each (federal) state.

GEORGE YOUNG.

London, W.8.

### Religion and the League

SIR.—Why should religious circles be indifferent to, criticise or denounce the League because it is not "explicitly a religious organisation"? Do they affect the same attitude to the House of Commons, their Insurance Company or their Trades Union? If not, why not?

The most important sentence in the Reverend Mr. Donovan's article is "Nevertheless the League embodies ideals which are profoundly Christian and should therefore enjoy the support and arouse the enthusiasm of all Christian people." The issue thus raised is clear; it is confused by the rest of the article and still more by the correspondence arising from this.

Because the League of Nations does not officially recognise, or acknowledge that it draws its inspiration from, one of the religious sects it should not be assumed that it is not inspired by the spirit of God. What there is of good in the efforts of the League can come from no other source and will, therefore, have in all circumstances the support of all genuinely religious souls and their respective Churches.

If they do their duty to the League it will not fail them.

W. RAMSAY SIBBALD.

Hoylelake.

### The League's Constitution

SIR.—The article "How are the foundations" in December issue gives rise to at least one important question, namely, the constitution of the future League of Nations. Mrs. Wootton thinks that the future International Authority should have "power to deal with, and to impose its decisions, not upon states as states, but upon individuals within those states." If there is to be such a direct connection between the International Authority and individuals when it makes decisions, there should, on democratic principles, be the same direct connection when the members of the Authority are appointed. In other words, members of the Authority should be elected directly by the various peoples instead of being appointed by the Governments. A suggestion to this effect has recently been made to the L.N.U. by the Wallington (Surrey) branch, and although it may not be practicable universally, it should be adopted as a principle and applied wherever practicable.

Such a method of forming the new League would have the effect of making it a distinct entity. The present League is not an entity. It is little more than a permanent conference of governments, and on all first-class issues the delegates refer back to these governments for instructions. Whilst a good deal of thought has been given to the question of the powers of a new League, too little has, I fear, been given to its constitution. If, however, a new League is to be successful, it must gain general confidence, and although a growth of confidence will depend largely on its actions, it will also depend in an important degree on its constitution. We must not talk of endowing an international body with big powers unless at the same time we carefully consider what is to be the exact character of the body to which these powers are to be entrusted. Would it not be best to secure the foundation by means of a reasonably democratic constitution which would



make the League a separate entity, even if it should be advisable to endow it *at first* with limited powers?

The new League should not be given a separate armed force, for instance. Indeed, I find it difficult to believe that it would be practicable to give armed force to any international body except a real world federation, which one may hope will be the ultimate but not the immediate solution. Whatever nominal claims to armed support were possessed by a new League, the plain fact would remain that for many post-war years peace (unfortunately perhaps) will have to be preserved by the armed might of the English-speaking world and its allies. It would be better to recognise this plainly than to camouflage it.

With considerable diffidence, I venture to picture post-war international bodies somewhat as follows:—

- (1) Definite new federations: Great Britain and U.S.A., Eastern European, other European, possibly mid-Eastern and far-Eastern.
- (2) Military alliance—Great Britain and U.S.A., Russia, China and allies.
- (3) League of Nations—a separate entity with a democratic constitution, and *at first* limited powers.

I am, of course, aware that the difficulties involved in the post-war settlement will be immense, and it is possible that, even after such a catastrophe, the world will not face up to drastic remedies. But let us hope (and work) for the best. My main object in writing is to plead for serious consideration of the question of the *constitution* of the new League.

Wallington, Surrey.

J. GEE.

## LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The subject before the London International Assembly at its meeting on January 19th was Point III. of the Atlantic Charter. Lord Cecil presided over a large and representative gathering. The first speaker was Professor Stronski, Polish Minister of Information and a former member of the Representative Council of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. He was followed by Dr. Taborsky, President of the Czechoslovak Branch of the International Law Association. The third and last speaker was *Senateur de Brouckère*, of Belgium, a prominent member of the Belgian Labour Party and frequent delegate to the League of Nations.

All speakers stressed the importance of the Charter as a whole. Professor Stronski pointed out that, while the word "democracy" came from an old Greek word, the words "despotism" and "tyranny" were still older.

As regards freedom to choose for themselves the kind of government under which they wished to live, all speakers stressed the vital necessity of that choice being freely made by the peoples; voting should be free in the full sense of the word. The right of ballot was recognised, even by Germany, but the kind of ballot in use after the war should be one in which the right to vote could be exercised without restraint; voting papers should carry more than one name and no penalty should be exacted from anyone using their vote in any way they might think best. Secret ballot was, of course, imperative.

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