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IN WAR-TIME

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THE ATLANTIC CHARTER AND THE L.N.U.

By VISCOUNT CECIL

Undoubtedly the Prime Minister was right when he claimed that the prime importance of the Atlantic Charter is that it symbolises the underlying unities of the English-speaking peoples. But its content is also of great value. It proclaims once again the objects for which the British Empire and its Allies are fighting, with the inestimable assistance of the United States. Apart from the restoration of the independence of the countries overrun by Hitler and his accomplices, we desire no territorial changes; nor do we wish to impose on any people a form of government not welcome to them. That is the negative side of the Charter, and few will be found to criticise it. But by itself it is not sufficient to secure Peace and Prosperity for the world. Accordingly, the President and Prime Minister went on to advocate economic liberty based on international collaboration, with the object of improving labour standards,

economic advancement and social security. Further, the Charter recognises that these objects cannot be attained unless the nations are freed from fear and want by the establishment of peace; and finally it declares that "for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, there must be an abandonment of the use of force." As a first step, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, the disarmament of nations which threaten aggression is essential. It is also desirable to lighten the burdens of armaments on peace-loving nations.

Force and the Law

All this is in accord with the declared policy of the League of Nations Union, though perhaps inevitably it is expressed in more general terms than we have used, both on the economic and political side. Naturally I should have liked the negotiators to have gone further. In par-

ticular, I miss a definite repudiation of the central proposition of the Nazi philosophy—the uncontrolled sovereignty of the State. Unless the nations of the world are prepared to accept the view that every country, however powerful, is nevertheless subject to those principles of morality which command general acceptance, lasting peace is unattainable. It is true the Charter says that force must be abandoned. But that is not the same thing, nor is it, so stated, true. Force there must be as part of all effective international organisation for peace. But it must be not as a substitute for right and justice, but as their support. It is just because this truth was not clearly understood and acted upon by the States Members of the League of Nations that the machinery of the League was not properly employed for the maintenance of peace. The Nazis reject the proposition altogether. In their view, every State is entitled to use any violence and defy all principles of truth and justice in pursuit of its own power or ambition. The only limitation to its action is imposed by the amount of its strength, which can, in the end, only be ascertained by fighting. War, therefore, is not only permissible in order to extend territorial or political domination, it is admirable, and to be killed in war should be the ambition of every patriotic individual. Obviously, such views conflict irreconcilably with all Christian morality, and easily assume the form as well as the substance of a neo-pagan idolatry.

Rejecting Nazi Principle

No one doubts that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Winston Churchill reject the Nazi

principle as unhesitatingly as anyone. If, therefore, I venture to regret that their repudiation of it was not expressly declared, it is not from any distrust of them, but because, if our future policy is to be more successful than it has been in the past, it must be more clearly based on sound principle. We must get rid of the doctrine that we are only prepared to use force in defence of our own territorial or political rights—a doctrine which did such infinite harm in the years preceding the war. How often did we hear it said that we were under no obligation to prevent aggression on this or that country because our national interests were not involved! Unless that point of view is changed, no international machinery for the preservation of peace is worth the paper on which it is written.

The same criticism applies to the clauses of the Charter dealing with Disarmament. It is no doubt true that the first necessity is to deprive the aggressor nations of the power to renew the war. But that is only clearing ground to enable the permanent structure of peace to be erected. Any idea that the aggressor nations, and in particular Germany, can be held down for ever by external force and nothing else is illusory. If that is to be our post-war policy, it may give us a truce for twenty years or so, but nothing more. Force must be used, just as splints are needed to give a limb time to heal. In the end we can have no trustworthy security except by inducing the Germans and others to co-operate sincerely in the work of peace. All our measures, therefore, should be designed

with that object in view. When we impose Disarmament on Germany it should be as a first step to General Disarmament, agreed on and enforced by the supreme international authority, and it should be made clear to the Germans that it depends on their attitude how soon that consummation will be reached.

Our Clear Duty

We, then, of the League of Nations Union have a clear duty before us. We must accept thankfully the Atlantic Charter, and we must labour to have it perfected into a complete and workable scheme for an enduring peace, based on the supremacy of the moral law.

EIGHT POINTS FOR PEACE

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

FIRST, their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other.

SECOND, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

THIRD, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

FOURTH, they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, or access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

FIFTH, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations

in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security.

SIXTH, after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

SEVENTH, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

EIGHTH, they believe all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

"NO EXHUMATION"

Consistency has never unduly worried the *Daily Express*—except perhaps in its unreasoned hatred of the League of Nations. Apparently, unlike other old opponents of the League, on whom the lesson of events has not been lost, this newspaper has learnt not even the wisdom of silence. Suspecting that its readers might make an obvious deduction from the Roosevelt-Churchill Declaration, it was constrained to tell them the next day: "Roosevelt and Churchill are not exhuming the corpse (*sic*) of the League of Nations." It added: "There are no furious idealists or aged and implacable Frenchmen in charge of this peace aim. There are instead, two of the most practical statesmen of the world."

President Roosevelt

Yes: "Two of the most practical statesmen of the world." One of them, the President, suggested the historic meeting at sea not because of, but in spite of, the "opposite numbers" of the *Daily Express* in the United States. Who can doubt that, all along, President Roosevelt's inclination has been to go much farther and much faster than the influence of the Isolationists would allow?

Mr. Churchill

Again, if the Editor of the *Daily Express* believes in his simplicity that Mr. Churchill has ever shared his paper's views on the League, he should start his education by studying the Prime Minister's public utterances. Those of

recent years have been collected into a handy volume, INTO BATTLE (Cassell, 8s. 6d.). Almost anywhere he can dip into this with profit. "Arm and stand by the Covenant," came Mr. Churchill's clarion call at Manchester in May, 1938. "If," he added, "a League of peace-seeking peoples is set at nought, we must convert it into a League of armed peoples, too strong to be molested themselves." The following year, while the international situation was deteriorating rapidly, he was as emphatic as ever that our position must be based "absolutely on the Covenant of the League of Nations." In his most recent broadcast speech on August 24, 1941, Mr. Churchill reminded a vast listening audience of all this. "Three and a-half years ago," he said, "I appealed to my fellow-countrymen to take the lead in weaving together a strong defensive Union, within the principles of the League of Nations, of all the countries who felt themselves in ever-growing danger. But none would listen." Now in the midst of the war which he and we strove to prevent, the League of Nations Union is proud to hail Mr. Churchill as Honorary President.

President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, according to the *Daily Express*, "have stated general terms on which all men in their own countries can agree." They are, in other words, principles, and the broad details in the Union's statement, "World Settlement After the War," and the Commentary are very fully in accord with them.

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

LETCHWORTH'S GOOD EXAMPLE

We have just received from Letchworth a full and detailed report of how that Branch is carrying on in war-time. The brief account of Letchworth's war-time methods which follows is not published with the implication that this is by any means the only Branch which has refused to allow its work to be "blacked out" by the war. Far from it. But any Branch which has a cheering record of continuous activity to show is an inspiration to others.

Calls of National Service and the physical obstacles inseparable from war conditions have imposed, as in other places, a heavy strain upon our Letchworth Branch. In Miss Ruth Pym there is a good Secretary, which counts for a lot. Still, under present conditions, helpers are scarcer than in peace-time. As with so many branches at present, it falls on the few to keep up steady activity.

The Chairman, Mr. A. Fuller, does far more than merely preside at committees and public meetings. He also combines the duties of Press Secretary and frequently "speaker-finder."

Press Publicity

Thanks to what has been done to keep on good terms with the Press, the Branch never holds a meeting without getting one or two "write-ups" in the three local papers beforehand. If for any reason a reporter is not present at a meeting, the Branch promptly supplies a report of its own. But Press publicity is not confined to occasions when meetings are being held. Any topical news is featured or written up with L.N.U. and Branch focus. Further, whenever unfair criticism appears in the correspondence columns of the newspapers, it is taken up in letters to the editor.

Letchworth finds that it pays to stress the wide embracing structure of the L.N.U. The Branch Council is as representative as possible of all shades of opinion—political, social and religious. All Churches are asked to announce notices of meetings and other activities. Recently the co-operation of the Clergy and Ministers was sought in getting volunteers to help with the collection of subscriptions.

Meetings and Discussions

The Branch regularly holds public meetings, discussions and study groups. To advertise them, in addition to the notices in the Press, two long linen streamers (9 ft. by 2 ft.) are hung over the doorway of the hall or building all day before the meeting. These read respectively, in large blue block letters: "L.N.U. PUBLIC MEETING TO-NIGHT," and "L.N.U. PUBLIC DISCUSSION TO-NIGHT."

The Branch officers believe in making as many personal contacts as they can with members. At meetings, for example, the Chairman makes a point of extending a personal welcome to new members. Questions are encouraged in an atmosphere of freedom and sympathy. Young people are especially welcomed, particularly for debates and discussions.

Meetings of other organisations, such as Brotherhoods, guilds and young people's societies, are often addressed by the Chairman on such subjects as "The U.S.A.," "Fellowship and Frontiers," "Co-operation or Chaos?" and "The I.L.O." All can be treated in such a fashion as to stress some of the broad principles and ideals of the League.

Press, posters, L.N.U. literature, meetings of different kinds, and the personal touch in everything—these help the Letchworth Branch to keep the flag flying.

A SUMMER SCHOOL AT LYNMOUTH

By L. E. CHARLESWORTH

Miss Charlesworth is Head Mistress of the Sutton High School for Girls (G.P.D.S.T.) and represents the Head Mistresses' Association on the Council for Education in World Citizenship.

The Council for Education in World Citizenship held a Summer School from August 9 to 16 at Badminton School, Lynmouth, by kind invitation of the Governors and of Miss B. M. Baker, the Head Mistress, a member of the Management Committee of the Council. It is the strongest encouragement to the work of the Council that at such a moment more than 200 people should have applied for admission to the Conference, the expressed purpose of which was "to study the possibilities of international reconstruction after the war, the principles upon which such reconstruction should be based, and the methods of teaching those principles in the colleges and schools." It was, in fact, possible to accept only about 120 applicants, but these were drawn from educational institutions of all types, and composed a study group which was able to make its own contribution to the course by the relevancy of its questions and comments.

Principles of World Citizenship

The Conference was most happy in enjoying the presence of Dr. Gilbert Murray, President of the Council, who opened the course with a talk on the Principles of World Citizenship. Dr. Murray analysed the true causes of war, pointing out that in spite of the return to barbarism exemplified in the policies of Nazi Germany and of Italy, with their desire for world domination, the signs of the gradual awakening in recent times of a national conscience in Britain and the United States gave ground for sober confidence in the future of international relations. In his two other lectures, Dr. Murray dealt with

the Colonial Problem and with the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation respectively; and, different as were these subjects, both pointed the need for the awakening of the imagination and conscience of nations. He showed how our own Government, in dealing with the Colonial Problem, had proved that it had ideals even if it did not always live up to them, whereas its attitude towards Intellectual Co-operation had been sadly lacking in idealism.

Mr. Nowell Smith, in a most interesting and scholarly paper on Masaryk and World Citizenship, pointed out that Masaryk's whole political philosophy was based on the moral law of human brotherhood, and of the equal right of all men and all nations to justice.

International Reconstruction

The two lectures given by Professor Brodetsky on the League Experiment and Proposals for the Future developed the theme that any future international system must be based on moral principle; and Miss Courtney reminded the Conference of the lessons to be learned from the history of the Disarmament Conference. An admirable and detailed survey of the problems of social and economic reconstruction which must take place after the war was given by Mr. A. A. Evans (formerly of the I.L.O.).

The international field was surveyed in some distinguished papers. Count Balinski and Dr. Vaclav Benes spoke movingly of Hitler's "New Order," as seen respectively in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Professor Arthur Newell, Chairman of the American Outpost in Great Britain, in a brilliant

survey of American Foreign Policy, emphasised the recent but definite realisation in the United States of its international responsibilities. Mrs. Beatrice King spoke of Education in World Citizenship in the Soviet Union.

Methods of Teaching

Space does not permit of a detailed report of the other papers, whose scope was narrower, but of the utmost importance, as it concerned the actual methods by which the ideals of world citizenship might be inculcated by teachers. In this connection the teaching of history, science and religion were dealt with, and a most fruitful discussion on Education for Peaceful Change in Social and International Affairs was ably inaugurated by Miss C. Stewart,

Principal of Lincoln Training College. Mention must also be made of Mr. Oliver Bell's interesting exposition of the use of the Film in Re-education for Peace and Democracy.

Most grateful thanks for an inspiring week are due from all who attended the Summer School to Mr. Judd for the organisation of the Conference; to Mr. Evan T. Davis (Director of Education for West Sussex), who as Chairman showed tact and humour; and, above all, to Miss Baker, who not only obtained the generous permission of her Governors for the use of the School rent free, but sacrificed part of a short holiday to supervise our comfort—and to make contributions of the utmost value to discussions.

THE LEAGUE'S FUTURE

Will the League of Nations revive after the war? To most experienced observers, this question admits of only one answer. Mr. Frank Walters, who for twenty-one years was one of the best known members of the League Secretariat, has been outlining the form which the League's administrative machinery is likely to take in the future.*

The Covenant, he says in the light of his vast experience, "was not only a magnificent conception but a perfectly sound and workable plan: with American membership the League would almost certainly have ensured the peace of the world for an indefinite time, and it could in fact have done so even after the defection of the United States." The two main reasons for its failure were first certain political errors and weaknesses on the part

of the peace-loving States, and secondly the "persistent, subtle and unprincipled campaign of disruption from within and without" launched against it by the very States who later used the same tactics against their neighbours. "The main principles of the Covenant," Mr. Walters concludes, "will still prove to be the only ones that can be generally accepted and effectively applied."

Thus "we are led automatically to foresee the rebirth of a great international centre." It will pay Governments to support it from the point of view of both efficiency and economy. They will be wise to agree to pay, relatively speaking, a good deal more for efficient international service. "It is quite possible, indeed I believe myself that it is highly probable, that the increase in its (the League's) prestige and activity which would have resulted merely from doubling its annual budget would have meant the difference between success and failure."

* "Administrative Problems of International Organisation." By F. P. Walters, M.A. Sidney Ball Lecture. (Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, Barnett House Papers No. 24, 1s.)

THE DECLARATION—AND AFTER

By ALAN THOMAS

(Mr. Thomas was for many years on the staff of the Union; he is now a member of the Executive Committee)

The joint declaration of the British and United States Governments, made in the middle of August, has given the *coup de grâce* to any suggestion (not one, I may say, ever made in L.N.U. circles) that because we do not know what conditions will be like after we have won the war therefore we need not worry about the nature of peace. What the outcome of the declaration may be we cannot at this moment tell. All we know is that here is a pronouncement immense with possibilities, and that the principles it lays down are those, or some of them (it is not my purpose here to analyse the declaration), which we should wish to see established in the world. The statement has, in fact, lifted our gaze from the present to the future: it has given us a glimpse of the kind of post-war world we may expect.

Hard Work Needed

Let no one suppose, however, that such a world will be born without much travail. We shall have to work, and work hard, if we are to bring it into being. Nor must we lose sight of the kind of conditions which will face us immediately the war is over. We know that one of the strongest feelings throughout Europe will be hatred of the Germans and desire for vengeance. We know, too, that material conditions will be chaotic, that years must elapse before the world can be set going again on decent, civilised lines, and that, after the first great sigh of relief, men will turn to their leaders everywhere (much as they did after the last war, only more

so) demanding the fulfilment of their promises—a world set free from the menace of war, a world in which all can live and work in peace.

No Absolution

This declaration of principles, then, does nothing to absolve us from the necessity of being ready with our detailed plans. Very much to the contrary. That is why the L.N.U. and all those who are engaged in thinking intelligently about the new order (ours, not Hitler's) are doing their duty not only by the second of the great purposes of this war, which is to win the peace, but also by the first, which is victory. For it was dangerous to imagine, as some people were prone to, that our war effort could or would go full steam ahead indefinitely without regard to a constructive purpose. Just as in peace time the presence of a plan—a plan with inspiration in it—bears directly on the quality of the labour that goes to its achievement, so to-day does the consciousness of a constructive purpose hearten those who fight. Conversely, too, the sooner the message of the real new order can reach the enslaved peoples of Europe, including the Germans, the sooner can we count on the disintegration of the Nazi war machine.

Going the Whole Hog

Consider then the Union's statement on world settlement after the war. Judging from the comments that eminent contributors have made on it in

Headway, it seems that on general principles we are most of us agreed. Over the details, particularly in regard to the proposed machinery, there is some difference of opinion. There is, for example, the business of the Inner and Outer Rings. What, it may be asked, is the difference between saying to a small State: "You are bound to take certain measures short of military action," and saying: "You are bound to take certain measures which may in fact very soon lead to military action"? Isn't there the same mistake here as there was between trying to draw a distinction between military and economic sanctions? Because once you have started on sanctions of any kind you must be ready to go the whole hog; otherwise you are at the mercy of the aggressor. Some people, I know, think that international opinion will not be ready for so drastic a suggestion as that all States wherever they may be, must declare their willingness to go to war, no matter where the aggression may break out. Yet, among the many lessons we have learned in the past two years, one surely is that events, and particularly military events, move with astonishing rapidity, and that a State which is geographically remote from the place where the trouble starts may very well find itself involved before it has had time to say "Jack Robinson"! And the development of the flying machine is not going to make this danger any less acute. It may in fact be true that small remote States will not, even after the experience of the present war, be prepared to declare themselves ready to go all the way; but can it be right for the L.N.U. to foster such timidity by advocating the idea

of Outer Rings? Ought we to encourage half-measures in a world in which we know that half-measures are no good? Should we not rather emphasise the fullness of the contribution we expect and declare that every nation, great or small, near or far, must make its total effort, bear its maximum share—the greatest of which it is capable—in establishing and maintaining peace?

The L.N.U.'s Part

That is one side of the question; there are no doubt formidable arguments on the other side. It is matters like this that we of the L.N.U. must try to straighten out. But—and here is the point—let no one think that these are idle, academic questions. The "boys in the back room" who design our Hurricanes and Spitfires are occupied with questions of design. On their skill may hang the issue of the battle. So, too, on the skill, patience, and wisdom of those who are designing the new order may depend the lives and happiness of coming generations.

PEACE PLANS

As an illustration of the intense interest which the subject of World Settlement after the War is arousing in the United States may be mentioned the summary of principal peace plans which the *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston) published on July 23.

British peace plans outlined in this survey included the proposals put forward respectively by the League of Nations Union, Viscount Cecil and Dr. Maxwell Garnett.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

The LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION, feeling that a Conference to discuss "The Branch in War-time," might prove helpful to Branch workers, invited representatives to meet together at the Plane Tree Restaurant. It was arranged that certain branches should contribute brief reports on the following problems:—Membership (Harrow), Carrying on though evacuated (Southgate and Friern Barnet), Publicity through Press (Lambeth), Helping your Branch (Buckhurst Hill), Possible War-time Activities (Wallington, Streatham), and Finance (Hampstead). The Conference agreed that the Eight Points laid down in their Declaration by President Roosevelt and the Prime Minister gave official encouragement to the Union to intensify its efforts to educate the public for peace.

When Dr. Wolfram Gottlieb addressed the second High Tea Talk run by the L.R.F. on "Russia To-day," accommodation at the Plane Tree Restaurant was strained to the utmost, and the barrage of questions was evidence of the interest aroused. At the next Talk of the series, on Wednesday, September 3, at 6 p.m., the subject will be "America and the War." Mr. Donald Grant, the speaker, has just returned from a six months' intensive lecture tour of the U.S.A.

"Come! Resolve to play your part in building the New World" was the slogan adopted by the REDDITCH BRANCH to advertise its public meeting addressed by the Dean of Chichester. More than 200 people attended, and so great was the revival of interest that a further meeting this month is to be addressed by Canon Hutchinson, Chairman of the Worcester Federal Council. It is hoped to arrange a study group for the winter months.

Elsewhere in this number will be found a stimulating story of what the LETCHWORTH Branch is doing to keep interest in the League and the Union alive. Rain on the day of their Garden Party did not damp the ardour of Letchworth members. A large crowd arrived to hear Miss

Barclay-Carter speak on the U.S.A., though it was hopeless even to think of a meeting on the lawn. Somehow 80 people were crammed into a large drawing room; the rest listened outside at the open windows with their umbrellas up. Under the worst possible conditions, four new members were enrolled.

The Reverend Marcus Donovan has continued his series of meetings in SUSSEX with talks at Crawley, Petworth, Crawley Down, and Burgess Hill.

Miss Margery Perham led a discussion on "Colonial Settlement," arranged at Shere by the SURREY FEDERATION. The meeting was based on the Union's draft report on this subject, copies of which were taken away for future study. Mr. Freeman Wills Croft was in the chair.

When Mrs. Corbett Ashby visited the WEYBRIDGE AND OATLANDS BRANCH, it was noted that many soldiers were present among the audience. The speaker explained how victory would give us the chance to right the wrongs of previous years, and to carry out reconstruction on a scale hitherto unknown to the world.

Transport difficulties—the aftermath of "enemy action"—did not prevent people from Portishead, Farland, East Compton, Kingswood and other places around from attending a splendid meeting of the BRISTOL AND DISTRICT COUNCIL. Furniture had to be cleared from the room, and still some of the audience had to listen from the landing outside. The live discussion pleased everybody.

HALIFAX BRANCH, at its Summer Meeting, heard an address on "Europe after the War," from Mr. Karl Stadler, a refugee from Vienna. After giving a vivid picture of conditions in Central and Eastern Europe, the speaker said that the appalling poverty in those regions was one reason why Hitler's "New Order" made an appeal. After the war we must be prepared to stretch out a helping hand to the Central European masses, including the

Germans, to help them establish a suitable economic life for themselves.

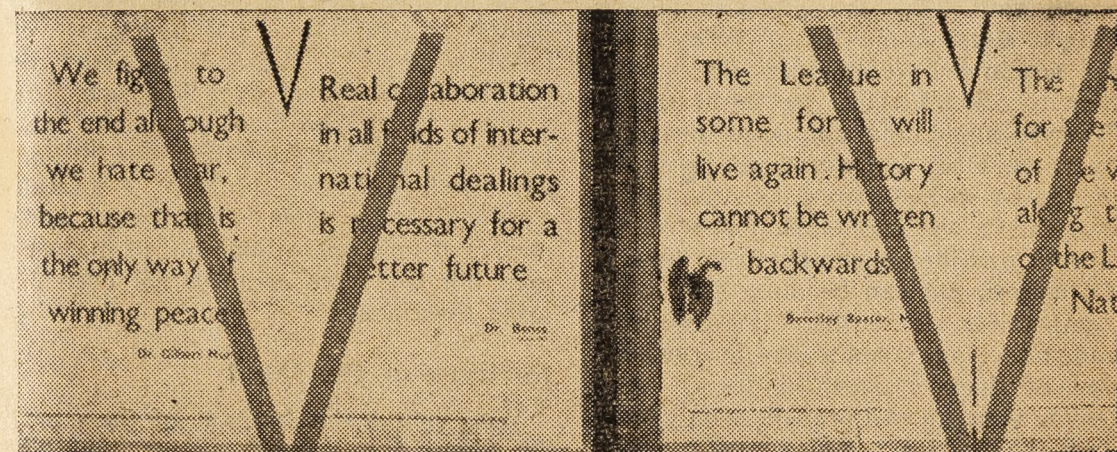
CHELSEA'S Tea Meeting, held in Whistler's old house on the Embankment, was most successful and well attended. Miss Cicely Hamilton, the well-known authoress, took the chair, and Miss Hebe Spaul spoke on "Russia" with special reference to the Red Army.

PADDINGTON and ST. JOHN'S WOOD BRANCHES are combining in a series of four meetings on "The Ideas and Ideals of the Great Powers" to be addressed by speakers from France, America, Russia

Branch of the International Friendship League invited the Editor of HEADWAY to tell them what the Union was doing in war-time. Black-out found a keen discussion on "World Settlement" in full swing, and the meeting continued for an hour longer.

Audiences of several hundreds have been attracted by the open-air meetings in HYDE PARK, addressed by Mr. T. C. Archer, on Wednesdays, Saturdays and Sundays in August. During September they are to be continued on Saturday evenings and Sunday afternoons.

L.N.U. POSTER BOARD



Keswick spells it with a "V".

and China. At the first meeting, on September 27, at 3 p.m., in the Presbyterian Church Hall, Marlborough Place, N.W. 8, Mr. L. E. Genissieux will speak on "France."

Some evacuees now attached to the BOSCOMBE BRANCH made the discovery that *Headway* was no longer in the reading room at the Bournemouth Public Library. When the authorities were reminded that the L.N.U. journal is still published, they readily agreed to include it again in the magazine section.

Realising that they had many ideals in common with the Union, the Southgate

Lord Lytton is to address a Regional Conference at LEEDS on September 13—subject "Post-War Settlement."

A thoughtful reader at GIRLINGTON, in addition to her subscription for the current year, sent a gift token for two National Savings Certificates, together with best wishes for the work of the L.N.U.

High praise for the Union's new leaflet, *Hitler's New Order*, has come from the Birmingham Co-operative Society, which has asked for permission to reprint it in the local pages of the *Wheatsheaf*. The leaflet itself costs 4s. 6d. a hundred, 40s. a thousand.

LONGING FOR THE DAY

By MAURICE FANSHAWE

Mankind is on the march. So of the making of maps there is no end: many of them misleading forgeries; more, defeating dull; a few as inspiring as the vision at Joppa. It is our fortune to have found one of these few*, and we can think of no better service for those who will have the shaping of things to come than to pass it on.

Alternative to War

To-day one question counts: "What are we to do about war?" If it is not stopped now, when this globe of ours is an eight days' jaunt for a Wiley Post, when within five years planes will have a radius of 25,000 miles, we know that it will come again and cut down our next generation. Drift and worse, the deliberate direction by wicked men, led by the lust of power, make war inevitable, unless we go to it and provide an alternative in time.

Of course, this can be done. To say it is impossible is bosh. Impossibilities parade under our noses to-day, everywhere, many of them, alas, in uniform. And growling over gnawed prejudices only leads us up the garden. This lust-for-power motive? There is an alternative, the age-long lure of pioneering, the indelible love of freedom. This living death under the domination of war? There is an alternative in plans for the practice of creative co-operation and assured peace. What is needed is the effort to recognise the alternatives, and the will to use them. It is precisely here that our Mapmaker, Prof. Catlin, offers us guidance, on broad, bold and imaginative lines. Look!

A people without vision will perish. If we, who are likeminded, are determined, there is a splendid chance of "winning the peace" offered us in what he calls

* "One Anglo-American Nation: The Foundation of Anglosaxony as basis of World Federation." By George Catlin. (Dakers Ltd. 3s. 6d.)

"Anglosaxondom as a basis of world federation." Anglosaxondom or Anglosaxony? Never mind mere words. Dig down to the meaning, the ideas which they are meant to convey. And find the folk who believe in them, aye, and will fight for them. In their hands lies the Future.

Anglosaxondom is a language of the mind. It stands for free institutions and co-operation. Its notes are liberty, toleration, respect for law, the right to work, and the priceless right to experiment. The heart of it is the notion of freedom. We have here, already, a cultural *bloc*, with common traditions, habits, ways of thought, and, by and large, democratic practice. Something deeper and wider than a racial *bloc*. The men, the minds who built it, aye and are building still, Milton, Cromwell, Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Churchill—they find deep response in masses of men and women not of the same race, nor the same country, nor even the same Continent.

Heritage of the Mind

Who claims this heritage of the mind? To whom does it make an inevitable appeal? Above all, declares Prof. Catlin, the British Commonwealth, the United States, probably Scandinavia, Holland; perhaps Belgium and France. Here is the nucleus, capable later of enlargement in various directions, of an organised co-operation founded on the same ways of life, fused by the same broad emotions; here is the dynamic for the creation of a federal *bloc* or a confederation—the essential point being organised co-operation to the needed degree—potentially the strongest and most concentrated in the world.

Prof. Catlin is no lover of blue prints or rigid systems: they are dictators' meat. But his broad outline, the key points, of his plan for rebuilding the world are clear. Here they are. First, a beginning should

be made quickly with co-operation on an organised basis. Prof. Catlin favours federal experiment. But it should advance by stages; nothing oils the wheels of events more than an historic sense of proportion. First culture, with perhaps reciprocal Anglo-American citizenship on the lines of Mr. Wendell Willkie's proposals; then on to defence, and next economics, when the way might be clearer to politics.

Strengthening the League

Secondly, though Anglosaxondom, this common way of looking at things, is an alternative to Hitler's New Order, it is *no* alternative to the League of Nations, but supplements it. The League, Court and I.L.O. must, therefore, be revived immediately after the war—it is insanity to scrap the lessons of 20 years' experience and experiment. The new League will be a loose but *universal* confederation, Germany and Italy, and new European Federations maybe, becoming members as part of the Peace Treaties: possessed of technical machinery and power of action capable of great expansion. But behind this League there will be the closer knit co-operating *bloc*—Anglosaxondom, with power concentrated for the first time in the hands of people who are, we believe, at heart deeply interested in seeing that the League's decisions are carried out, and who do mean its machinery to be given the chance to work. For the first time the League will have an energiser, an executive dynamo, behind it, to enforce peace and also to encourage the League to get on with its ample, creative co-operation. Let us add the wise words of Mr. Winant, the American Ambassador: "Our strength comes from diversity and our freedom is born of tolerance. The common ideals of the English-speaking peoples of the world are not ideals from which others are excluded."

Better than Streit

Such is Prof. Catlin's plan. Straighter than the rigid logic of Streit, because it is more out to make and build than to break. Not for intellectuals only: capable of

adaptation: ready for frank criticism and full discussion. Of course, there are difficulties in the way. But also what opportunities! Old and young to-day demand that democracy should have its visionaries as it had its prophets in the past. False ideals cannot be met with no ideals. Nor is there magic in freedom itself unless it stands for strength through unity. Here at least is a task—and what nobler!—for our generation, to build out of genuine consciousness of community and common values a habit of practical co-operation, expressed in a form of laws, economy and politics. A bridge from like thinking to like action.

AMERICAN OPINION

Dr. George Gallup, in announcing the result of his recent poll on the subject of the League of Nations, comments on "a marked reversal" in American public opinion regarding American membership in a League of Nations—"unnoticed and unheralded" (he says) "by even the shrewdest political observers."

The Gallup Poll showed that 49 per cent. of the voters in a scientifically selected cross-section of each State favoured the United States joining a League of Nations after the present war. In an earlier survey in 1937, the corresponding figure was 33 per cent.

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BOOKS OF THE MONTH

LET THE PEOPLE KNOW

"No army, however efficient, can destroy a people who thinks freely and reads freely." Thank you, Miss Dorothy Thompson. And thanks again for those splendid words of yours (*Listener* 31/7/41 and 21/8/41) about a *World of New Vision*—not a bleak world of "dog eat dog," but of co-operation in the use of all our resources.

And now for some books.

THUS SPAKE GERMANY, by *W. W. Coole* and *M. F. Potter*. Foreword by Lord Vansittart (Routledge, 10s. 6d.). A tremendous book; standard evidence in the case "Black Record." It should be read by all, for we cannot hope to cure an endemic disease without knowing what it is. Here is evidence taken down accurately, verbatim from the lips of a great number of Germans representative of every class, as to Germany's policy and goal over a long period. Of course, it is not *all* the evidence; nor is it all by any means of the same value; nor does it pretend to finality on the actual size of such German opposition to Militarism or Nazism as there may have been or may be. But it is a most formidable mass of statement coming from so many Germans who, in one way or another, *counted* in directing a dreadfully docile people. The argument that you cannot indict Germany as militarist because the character of the nation is so mixed is double-edged. For there is powerful evidence from psychologists, including notable Germans, that a unique thing about Germans is just their capacity for including utterly opposite elements in their make-up. At all events, readers have material here to help them make up their minds. On this German evidence (and imagine the world hullabaloo if representative, leading Englishmen made statements of this kind about their country's aims), the conclusion is plain: We are really at war with *German Militarism*—a deeper, older thing than Nazism, which

cleverly floated in on the crest of a wave and put a scientific finish to much older national practice. We are at war with militarism *crescendo*, to the edge of world hegemony. Unless this militarism, with its gospel of Force and Fraud in Foreign Policy (long established in its hold over Germans, including many workmen) be eradicated, there is not a ghost's chance of a better world.

IN MINDS IN THE MAKING, *Mr. E. R. Dodds* (Macmillan War Pamphlet 14, 3d.) exposes the menace to Education if Nazism wins. The German is drilled from the age of 6 to be a political yes-man with no independent judgment or knowledge of the outside world. Democracy alone can save us by providing opportunity for education to be responsible citizens of free societies.

CHINA'S STRUGGLE WITH THE DICTATORS, by *O. M. Green* (Hutchinson, 16s.). The best recent book on the Far East; more evidence of the folly of not stopping the first aggression. We could have no wiser guide to the ways of life, range of character, and dynamic progress to-day of the Chinese—so very unlike the Nazis and Japanese. It is this great people who are waiting for us to be honourable Allies in the World War.

CHINA WILL RISE AGAIN, by *Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek* (Hurst and Blackett, 12s. 6d.). Contains, among up-to-date reports, the author's vivid account of this new unity of China, which she helped so much to make, taking her place among leaders of our time. Yes, Democracy can throw them up. But she warns: "If we are defeated, it will be because China was strangled to death by an economic noose fashioned by Japan out of British appeasement, American profiteering and French fear." Are we always to be too late?

TOTAL VICTORY, by *Stephen King-Hall* (Faber and Faber, 7s. 6d.). The well-

known broadcaster and writer has clear-cut ideas as to how propaganda can supplement military and economic weapons in winning this war. His detailed scheme is interesting, though many may think that his blind spot is his reliance on German ability (in present circumstances, at least) to reason or believe in reason at all. But, whatever we may think of the Commander's plan for getting over to the German people the fact that Hitler cannot possibly win, there is much more in the book than that. What makes it particularly worth studying is its proposal for Anglo-American collaboration in maintaining the peace of the world, especially its background of a reconstructed League.

RUSSIA AND OURSELVES, by *Victor Gollancz* (Gollancz, 2s. 6d.). A timely book inspired by the belief that recent developments in the war have so completely transformed the world situation that we may now have hopes for the future which would have seemed fantastic a few months ago. "We wage the war because we want peace; and it is into the peace that the war will insensibly merge." Much prejudice and misunderstanding must be cleared away if the leading rôle in the organisation of peace is to be taken jointly by the British Empire, the Soviet Union, the United States and China. Although the arguments are addressed primarily to Socialists, they may be read with profit by all who are interested in world affairs. Surveying the respective foreign policies of Britain and Russia, the author comes to the conclusion that neither has the right to throw stones at the other. If the Nazi-Soviet Pact shares with the "diplomacy" of Western Europe the responsibility for the outbreak of war, it would never have occurred but for our previous policy. Coming on to the present and the future, the lines along which Anglo-Soviet collaboration should proceed are suggested in some detail. The key-note is that we can beat the evil of Nazism only by the good which is its opposite. Finally, the Appendix on "Theory and Faith" and "The Imperialist War" should be read, especially by British Communists and "near

Communists"—it is the complete answer to Messrs. Pritt, Montagu, Dutt and Co.

IN DEMOCRACY MARCHES (Chatto and Windus, 3s. 6d.), *Mr. Julian Huxley* says that only social service can pull democracy through. From another angle, *Mr. Lionel Curtis* argues—in *DECISION* (Oxford University Press, 6d.)—that democracy can down the aggressors only through some federal organisation. Let Britain begin with most of the Dominions, and the democratic-minded nations of Europe to follow; but federal power should be *confined to defence* and its financing.

POVERTY AND PROGRESS, *Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree's* second social survey of York (Longmans, 15s.), fully bears out the claim made for it that it will serve as an invaluable guide to all those who are considering post-war reforms. It touches usefully upon many of the problems which have been engaging the attention of the League and the I.L.O.—e.g., housing, health and nutrition.

Particular attention is drawn to the new pamphlets issued by Longmans (6d. each). Already out are *BRITAIN AND INDIA*, by *R. Coupland*, and *BRITISH EMPIRE TO BRITISH COMMONWEALTH*, by *Sir Alfred Zimmern*.

Edinburgh House Press has started a new series of pamphlets on "World Issues" (3d. each). *TOWARDS A NEW ORDER*, by *Cecil Northcott*, and *NEW LIFE IN CHINA*, by *Winifred Galbraith*, deal with these subjects from the missionary angle.

"The single-mindedness and sacrifice with which we jointly dedicate ourselves to the production of the weapons of freedom will determine in no small part the length of the ordeal through which humanity must pass."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT
(In his "Labour Day" Broadcast)

THE WAR AND LABOUR SUPPLY

By E. BLACKWOOD

A report, as topical as it is important, on *Labour Supply and National Defence*, has been published by the International Labour Office (4s.). Most of the necessary research work has been done by the I.L.O. at its war-time "organising centre" at McGill University, Canada. One of the first lines of defence of any country to-day is efficient organisation of labour supply for essential industries. Where both the armed forces and industry are making constant demands, it is difficult in the heat of battle to strike the balance which will best serve the interests of the war effort. This is where an international body such as the I.L.O., playing in some measure the part of a well-informed and experienced onlooker, can provide useful guidance. It has done so in this matter.

Scope of Report

The allocation of man power between the armed forces and industry, the control of employment, the vocational adjustment of labour supply, the mobilisation and distribution of labour reserves, and problems of information and organisation, are all exhaustively dealt with in the report. There is a descriptive account of the experiences of many countries, especially Great Britain, in tackling these problems. Recently the I.L.O. has held tripartite meetings in Montreal, at which representatives of the Governments, the employers and the workers of Canada and the United States played a prominent part; and the general conclusions reached have been embodied in the report.

It is no easy matter to summarise such a weighty and authoritative mass of material. Some of the main points, however, may be extracted.

Main Points

Available unemployed, including men discharged from the Services, should be

called upon first of all to meet labour requirements. A matter of common sense, maybe; but how easily overlooked in the competition to utilise man power!

Admitting the need for curtailing or converting non-essential production, this should be carried through in such a way as to reduce unemployment to a minimum.

Distribution of defence orders is urged, in order to avoid unnecessary transfers of workers from one employment area or occupation to another. In arranging transfers, everything should be done now to make re-instatement as easy as possible after the war

All through, in fact, the report is concerned with the question of making future problems of readjustment as narrowly confined as possible. It suggests how, even in war-time, the long range objectives of technical training and apprenticeship can be kept constantly in mind.

There is a note of warning in the section which stresses that, in time of defence emergency, it is specially important that attention should be given to questions of accident prevention, industrial hygiene, preventive medicine, nutrition and hours of work—and to the adequacy of the system of enforcement.

An International Labour Conference is to meet in New York on October 27, preceded by a session of the Governing Body on October 24. The report of the Acting Director will be discussed, and also the subject of collaboration by public authorities with the employers and workers. The full composition of the British delegation is not yet known, but Mr. Joseph Hallsworth will represent the British workers.