

HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

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THE MAGINOT MIND

By MAURICE FANSHAWE

No political systems are perfect. But some weaknesses are more fatal than others. There was one weakness which mushroomed up among many post-war democracies and led to the present catastrophe. It was a mental weakness. We will call it the Maginot mind. The ill-omened name comes from the inert mass of fortresses along the North-Eastern frontiers of France. It is ill-omened because this system of forts stood for a theory of obstruction and resistance by sheer defensive weight against the unknown potentialities of the spirit of daring attack; and the theory coloured the political and social attitude of France, ourselves and other democracies towards a whole series of explosive problems of this age. And in the last hour, when the flood of war broke the banks, behind this Maginot Line the glorious *élan* of France was content to stay put.

Dead and Deadly

Let us look at our Maginot mind more closely. It stands, mainly, for a defensive, negative attitude to the impacts of life. It avoids action or reduces its disturbing effect to a minimum. It dislikes risks, anything that savours of

adventure. It is the dead and deadly opposite of Danton's "*de l'audace et toujours de l'audace.*" It is shy of any obligations which may imply definite duties for the future (though invariably during the last 20 years non-acceptance has made any later action which has to be taken, too late). It is all for Neutrality. Maybe, if this mentality had been operating in a vacuum, or in a period which by any stretch of imagination could be named normal, its influence on the character and practical working of Democracy might not have been so devastating.

But the reverse was the case. The World War was barely over—indeed it poisoned the blood for years after the Armistice. Huge problems on which the lives of millions hung—unemployment, disarmament, the distribution of wealth, sharing of economic resources and so on, demanded solutions imperiously on every side. Yet how could a defensive, passive point of view, with its half-measures, its "half-a-mind" to end a thing, fail to be inadequate for a generation which, General Smuts warned us long ago, "is on the march"?

The Maginot mind was worse than a misfortune. Inevitably it became a

menace to peace. For at the same time the deadly enemies of Democracy were at work on some of these problems, but were pouring vast energy and determination into solutions of them, when and after they had built up their own material and military power so as to reverse the verdict of 1918. The Maginot mind offered a lethargic lump to the lit fuse of the Totalitarian dynamic of destruction.

The Contrast

Let us contrast the two attitudes. On the one side *Mein Kampf*, the banked fires of hatred, unbounded belief in attack and the tonic of collective action; vast plans for the future, in which, however, all means were subordinate to a single German end. On the other, among democracies, wobbling aims, in decision, compromise cultivated to the edge of vice, passivity preferred to action, appeasement to the honourable risks which go with the responsibility of any Power which deserves to be Great.

Democracy, in fact, was running to fat. Our very slogans showed it: "Safety first," "peace in our time." Our cartoons drove it home. No more bluff John Bull, the enemy of bullies, and with all his faults the real friend of freedom and of the smaller and weaker peoples. Only a miserable little pipsqueak called "John Citizen," querulously preoccupied with his own interests and burdens, quite unable to visualise their link with the world outside, incessantly told to mind his own business and not interfere with others, like those "Genevafists" and such pacifist warmongers!

Call to Action

The Maginot mind probably made war inevitable. But there is a ray of hope here for the future. The disease

is not organic. This comes out clearly in the noble account of the League of Nations, "A Great Experiment," by Viscount Cecil. On more than one occasion, in more than one crisis, for example, in 1931, in 1935 and 1936, we can see that a little more determination, energy, will to act would have transformed the whole business. The lesson for the future is obvious. Democracy is learning it and the War drives it home every day. The key to a better life, to a "new order," lies in action. The post-war years will need, above all, more determination, more imagination, bold and farseeing plans, high-hearted adventure. That Maginot mind must go. "Salute to Adventurers" must be the motto of to-morrow.

I.L.O. CHIEF

In appointing Mr. E. J. Phelan, the Deputy Director of the International Labour Office, as Acting Director during the present emergency, the International Labour Organisation has followed the precedent set by the League of Nations last year. When M. Avenol resigned the post of Secretary-General after the collapse of France, Mr. Sean Lester, the Deputy Secretary-General, took charge of the League Secretariat. Mr. Phelan, who has been associated with the I.L.O. since its foundation after the last Great War, has served under three Directors, M. Albert Thomas, Mr. Harold Butler and Mr. J. G. Winant. He is author of that stimulating biography of the first Director, "Yes and Albert Thomas." Visitors who have gone with the League of Nations Union parties to Geneva will remember Mr. Phelan as a lecturer with the gift of making the I.L.O.'s activities a thrilling and fascinating story.

TO ALL YOUTH GROUPERS EVERYWHERE

Dear Youth Groups,

As Chairman of the Youth Groups National Council, I am writing this message to you whilst "on fire"—our colloquialism for "Fire Watch Duty." Many of you will read it in camps and A.R.P. Posts, and in the moments between the alerts you are asking yourselves, "Why are we doing this? We who want to organise for peace; we who want to have meetings, make speeches, demonstrate to the public that war is never inevitable."

The great majority of the Youth Group members are doing a grand job of work in support of the war. Does this mean that we have changed our minds about the things we used to believe? You remember how we admired the youth of Spain—I think we are doing as well; but you also remember that we always said that the youth of Spain were politically conscious, and this is where we find our special job.

I know that many of our Groups have found it impossible to carry on, but there are some who are doing splendidly, and still others who could revive activities if they thought it worth while. As you know, there is no full-time secretary to look after Groups now; many officers have been called up; and those of us who are left in the centre of things have little time to keep in touch with you all.

So here are a few things I would like to say to all Youth Groups and through Branches to young members not in Groups:—

1. Carry on your meetings however small and unimportant they may seem. You have the material for many discussions in the Union's new statement of policy. Victory may come suddenly and we must be ready to lead public opinion by public meetings and every kind of propaganda. It is not being too optimistic to prepare for this now. Your little Group will form a nucleus for others to join instead of starting all over again.
2. Bring the question of peace aims before the public as often as you can—in conversation, in meetings, in the Press. There is a very natural spirit of revenge growing, and we must counter it with all the knowledge we possess.
3. Don't always wait for a lead from the centre of your Region or from London. Now is the time when our whole hope for the future lies in the initiative of the Groups in "un-blitzed" villages and towns.
4. Please write to the Secretary of the Union, Major Freshwater, at Headquarters, as frequently as you can. We are in regular contact, and I shall know how things are going with you and will write to you myself from time to time.

In war-time we are all apt to think emotionally, and doubts creep into our minds as to what is right and worth while. The Union's new statement of policy confirms what I have always held—the things you knew to be right in the calm of peace-time are still right, and will be the things for which we must work when the war is over.

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

Yours very sincerely,

ETHEL A. WAITE.

WINNING THE PEACE

Abbreviated version of the Statement of Policy provisionally approved by the General Council of the League of Nations Union in December, 1940.

1. The British people entered this war, not for any national gains, but to resist Nazi Germany's policy of conquest and enslavement, and their aim now is to secure such a peace as will have the best chance of lasting—a peace that all peoples will prefer to maintain rather than to destroy.

2. Such a peace is impossible without some international organisation, united by loyalty to a common pacific purpose, and with effective power both to redress grievances and to prevent breaches of the peace.

3. The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union have been considering ever since war broke out the reasons which led to the failure of the League of Nations to prevent war, and the best means of avoiding such failure in the future. They have issued two Statements on the subject of Post-War Settlement, the second one being necessitated to meet the situation created by the collapse of France.

4. A League or organisation of as many Nations as possible with a permanent administrative staff and a regular system of conference is in their opinion essential for international co-operation in the economic field, in welfare work, in the ventilation of grievances, in the process of conciliation and in effecting political changes by peaceful means. But experience has shown that such an international organisation cannot be relied on for effective security measures. The Executive Committee have therefore tried to discover an alternative or additional means of security.

5. Their first plan was to suggest an

Anglo-French partnership as the nucleus of a future system of collective defence, but this being no longer practicable they are forced to look for some other starting point.

6. In their latest proposals a plan is suggested by which there would be a universal International Authority, the States Members of which would accept limited but precise obligations, whilst inner rings or groups of nations would undertake an unconditional obligation to keep the peace in particular areas and to have a common military organisation to secure the fulfilment of this obligation. It is suggested that the regional groups should consist of such nations as may be willing to undertake such an obligation in a specified area whether they are themselves situated in such areas or not.

7. In this plan all the States Members of the International Authority—the outer ring—would undertake not to assist any state which, having gone to war or threatened war with another state, has been declared an aggressor by the duly constituted organ of the International Authority. Acceptance and fulfilment of this obligation would be a condition of membership. A state committing an aggression or assisting an aggressor would cease to be a member. But though the obligation would be thus limited, any state would be free to take such additional measures, either to defend itself or to assist the victim of aggression, as it may decide.

8. The States Members of a regional group—the inner ring—would be bound to use all their resources, diplomatic,

political, economic or military, to prevent an aggression or to assist a victim of aggression in the area to which their obligation is limited.

9. The plan also provides for a general reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement, the abolition of national armaments specially suited for aggression (particularly national air forces), and the creation of an International Air Force available for the instant defence of any state attacked. Civil flying should be placed under international control.

10. In order to improve the economic and social life of the world, the Inter-

national Authority, in collaboration with the International Labour Organisation, would aim at replacing economic nationalism by a system of planned economy on a world-wide scale so as to render available to human needs the whole productive capacity of the globe. The welfare of the individuals in whatever state they may be living should be equally the care of the International Authority.

For the details of this plan see the fuller statement entitled "World Settlement after the War" (revised January, 1941).

EDUCATION FOR OUR NEW WORLD ORDER

The Council for Education in World Citizenship, recently established by the League of Nations Union, held at Oxford from January 4th to 6th, under the chairmanship of Dr. Gilbert Murray, a conference with Ministers of Education and representatives of Universities, schools and adult educational bodies of all the allied nations. On the first evening Lord Samuel urged that if any new settlement is to endure, it must be firmly based upon the application of scientific principles, a humane philosophy of life, and a sound system of education. Later the aims and methods of Nazi education were examined and the conference came to the conclusion that education in democratic countries must be equally concerned with the development of the *whole* child, and not only with the instruction of the mind. It was agreed too that Germany can never be brought into a system of mutual co-operation until the youth of Germany have been given a clear vision of the ideals we are striving to achieve.

The following day the conference heard how teachers in the occupied countries are, with great gallantry, striving to resist "aggression against freedom, truth and justice," and has since broadcast to them a message of encouragement and profound respect. The foreign representatives hoped that the Council would, during the war, help to prepare the vast measures of assistance that will be needed to restore the intellectual life of the ravaged lands.

Finally the conference undertook a critical examination of the attempts that were made through the League and voluntary agencies to promote the teaching of world citizenship before the war, and considered the kind of machinery—both inter-governmental and private—that will be needed if such work is to be planned and carried out in a way that will in any adequate measure meet the fundamental need for a world outlook. A very important Continuation Committee was set up to complete these studies and to help the Council to secure its aims. C. W. JUDD.

POST-WAR HOUSING PROBLEMS

SPADEWORK THE LEAGUE HAS DONE

By LESLIE R. ALDOUS

"London after the war will be an architects' paradise," an American visitor was heard to remark while walking through the scarred and blackened City streets. That will be true of many of our cities and towns which have suffered most heavily from enemy action—of Birmingham and Manchester, Coventry and Southampton. But, apart altogether from the devastation due to war, the impetus to tackle housing problems more boldly than in the past is strong in many countries. It is one recognition of the fact that peace, to be lasting, must have its roots in social justice. It is part of the growing movement to put economic and social planning in the forefront of post-war reconstruction. With peace, the opportunity will come.

A sign of the times is the illuminating survey of "Post-War Housing Problems" which a well-known authority, Dr. O. E. W. Olsen, has prepared for the Geneva Research Centre, one of the most important of the private organisations devoted to the study of topical international questions. His analysis of the ramifications and complexities of the housing problem shows that a tremendous amount of thought and scientific investigation is still needed. Yet the encouraging fact stands out that, in the past twenty years, many Governments have made serious efforts to adopt constructive housing policies. Moreover, national tendencies in this direction have been stimulated, to a degree that few people realise, by the steady promptings of the League and its International Labour Organisation.

From the outset, one of the main objects of the League's technical services has been the collection and co-ordination of information based on the experience of various countries regarding specific problems, to enable Governments to share a common pool of knowledge. Expert

studies of different aspects of the housing problem have been undertaken by the International Labour Organisation, as well as by the League's Economic and Financial Organisation, the Communications and Transit Organisation and the Health Organisation. There has been close co-ordination between all these bodies. Further, their studies in connection with housing have been intimately related to other activities aiming at the improvement of living conditions.

The I.L.O.'s Part

As early as 1922 the International Labour Office undertook a study of Government policies concerning working-class dwellings, and in 1925 the International Labour Conference was so impressed with the results that it urged the expansion of the work so well begun. Since 1932 the Office has carried out a number of special enquiries into house rents. Much attention has also been devoted to urban and rural housing schemes as part of public works policy, and it has been urged that such projects should be given a special place in programmes of public works designed as a remedy for unemployment.

Working in collaboration with the I.L.O., the Communications and Transit Organisation has collected information relating to building and housing construction.

Economics of Housing

Information relating to the economic and financial aspects of the problem have been regularly published every quarter in the League's *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*. The League Assemblies of 1937 and 1938 laid down comprehensive programmes of study for the Economic and Financial Organisation. In accordance

with this scheme, an enquiry into "the methods employed in various countries for improving housing conditions with special reference to the cost involved" was carried out in Great Britain, the United States, France, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Finland and Canada.

Housing and Health

Probably, however, the most active part has been played by the Health Organisation. Living conditions of urban and rural populations are of special concern to this body because of their repercussion on the physical and mental health and fitness of the nations. At the European Conference on Rural Hygiene (1931), and the similar League conferences held in Africa and the Far East, the influence of housing in relation to health was thrown into sharp relief. A feature of the International Exhibition at Paris in 1937 was an exhibit arranged by the Health Organisation, to which thirteen European nations contributed material on rural housing development. After many preliminary studies, the Health Organisation in 1935 created its Housing Commission.

An "International House"

The plan of work, adopted by the Housing Commission in 1935, has had in view the essentially practical aim of defining the principles of modern hygiene as regards urban and rural housing. With due regard to various climates, customs and regions, all the basic needs have been considered—e.g., protection against heat and cold, air space, protection against noise, sunshine and light, the planning of outdoor space, abatement of air pollution, sewage and refuse disposal, and the supply of pure and safe water. By the time of the outbreak of war in 1939, plans for the construction and installation of an "International House" were, as regards structure, planning and equipment, virtually completed.

A special feature of this branch of

League activity has been the co-operation of national housing committees, specially created for the purpose, in Great Britain, the U.S.A., France, Holland, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Mexico.

It will be seen that a vast amount of information exists. This should be applied on a large scale as soon as hostilities cease, if only to avoid a repetition of former economic and social disturbance. For no country has yet found a satisfactory solution of the housing problem, especially among the poorer population groups. "One-third of the American nation," admitted President Roosevelt in his inaugural address only four years ago, "is ill-housed, ill-clad and ill-nourished." Outside North America and Europe, scientific study has scarcely commenced.

Future Possibilities

Something of future possibilities have been indicated by Mr. E. M. Fisher, Director of the Division of Economics and Research of the U.S. Federal Housing Administration. "It might be possible," he suggests, "to combine adaptation of the British slum clearance programme, the suburban settlement procedure in Stockholm, the widespread system of municipal guarantees, and others from among the sound and tested measures, as the components of a comprehensive policy which, in a short period, might make more significant advances than have yet been made in any nation abroad."

The war has temporarily retarded housing progress, even in non-belligerent countries. All the more reason for making a spurt after the war. At the opportune moment Governments, if they so desire, will have in the work which the League has done a solid basis for national housing policies and for the relevant international action which will be necessary as part of a general world reconstruction programme.

THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION

By PROFESSOR P. E. CORBETT

(Professor Corbett, formerly Dean of Law at McGill University, has been analysing for the Institute of Pacific Relations the current world thought on war aims and peace possibilities. In the course of his enquiry he has studied and compared some twenty plans for world organisation, all chosen because of the authority which backed them up or because of the popular attention which they were commanding at the moment. The following is a summary of an address to the League of Nations Society in Canada.)

"I can report with confidence that as far as expert thinking goes the League had established its place as a necessity in practically any scheme of world organisation, and that that thought is practically unanimous in the conclusion that the League must not be allowed to die but that, in altered form, some altered detail, it must be restored.

Lack of Central Force

"The almost unanimous opinion was that the failure (of the League system for the prevention of war) was due to the lack of central force, a force at the immediate and direct disposal of the League for the enforcement of its decisions. And, going on from that criticism, these thinkers, in considering the ways and means by which after the present conflict is over peace might be re-established and maintained in Europe, concluded that a process of "federalisation" must be put into operation, the essence of which would be the creation of a European police force—a joint military, naval and air force at the direct disposal of the new European association."

(Later Professor Corbett added: "I refuse to use the word 'federation' because federation is a technical term with

a more or less fixed connotation; and its connotation, I think, is not adaptable in all respects to the European scene.")

"A second conclusion was that there must, without any exception or vagueness of diction, be a clearcut undertaking to submit all disputes to an arbitral or judicial process."

Regional Groupings

"The majority contemplate a world which will be governed by a series of regional groupings, of one type probably in Europe, of another type in the American hemisphere, of another type again in the Far East; and the function which they assign to the League is that of an interlocking mechanism for the organisation of all these three major regional groupings."

"Some would give up the name 'League' as one that is now irrevocably associated with failure. They would give up Geneva as the headquarters of the League. . . . At this point I venture the criticism that the 'failure association' has been exaggerated, and that it would be something of a childish mistake to give up the associations of positive success which many thoughtful people connected with the name 'League' and with the Geneva centre. And not only that: a great organisation

had been built up at Geneva. Geneva had become acclimatised to the position of centre of internationalism; a good deal of tradition had been built around it even before the establishment of the League there. It would be foolish to abandon that 'conditioning' of Geneva as an international centre in support of some new and untried and relatively unknown place in that particular context. There is also the physical installation at Geneva, which I think might be restored and have the breath of life blown into it again without these skeletons of failure necessarily haunting its corridors."

Pooling Defence

"Before the catastrophes of June, it used to be assumed that the raw material or nucleus out of which that 'federalising union' would be made were Great Britain and France. But now that becomes infinitely more difficult. We do not know what shape and temper a restored France will have. But I believe it to be one of the primary conditions of peace in Europe that an effort should be made towards pooling of defence and foreign policy. And that must begin in the West. It must deal patiently and perhaps over quite a period of time with the deeply ingrained militarism of Germany. Then, alongside this western union, or adhering to it, there will be the northern and north-western (or what were the north-western) democracies; and we might have to contemplate a Danubian federation. You would have in Europe itself a series of unions of a federal type, interlocked in the general League."

"In the American hemisphere, what is contemplated is a hardening and strengthening of what is now beginning to be called the inter-American system rather than the pan-American system.

. . . You have, curiously enough, what is commonly regarded as a traditional British method of development proceeding. Starting with no initial constitution, with a very vague association, knit only with resolutions that can be changed from one conference to another, the pan-American system has been setting up slowly the mechanism necessary to deal with problems the common interest of which to all the nations of this hemisphere was realised, and which everybody thought demanded joint administration."

"Functional" Organisation

"But there will be from time to time conflicts of interest between members of different regional groupings. Also, apart from disputes and conflicts, there will be any number of spheres of activity in which it will be impossible to draw geographical boundary lines. That is why a good many of the thinkers whose work I have analysed propose that there be set up in addition to the regional-political organisation what they call a 'universal functional' organisation; and by functional organisation they mean an organisation for the accomplishment of certain functions of an economic or juridical nature.

"There has been a great deal of hard work done upon these matters. Nearly all the scholars are impressed by the work of the financial and economic section of the League, of the Health Section, and of the Permanent Court of International Justice. They want to preserve these things. They want to give them an enlarged and more clearly defined competence. . . .

"Most of the thinkers do not yet believe that it will be possible to have a world force; for the most part they leave the application of military sanctions to the regional organisations."

THE BRANCH FRONT

Burnage (Manchester), encouraged by its experiences during the winter months, is determined to carry on just as enthusiastically in the future. This is one of the branches which, although its programme of public meetings was at first upset by the war, got its second wind when people had become used to the black-out. Summing up the winter meetings, the Secretary writes: "We always had an enthusiastic group who attended regularly; and, better still, frequently a stranger would drop in and sometimes stay to enquire about the movement." Sir Arthur Haworth, Mr. L. F. Behrens, and Mr. C. E. Clift have visited the branch as speakers. Now that the branch headquarters have been taken over as a rest centre, a new difficulty has arisen; but the Secretary is confident that "we shall still find a room for meetings, and people will attend despite black-out or blitz."

Mr. H. H. Elvin, former President of the T.U.C., addressed the annual general meeting of the Dundee Branch on the activities of the I.L.O. Until the end of April the Head Office of the National Union of Clerks and Administrative Workers, of which Mr. Elvin is General Secretary, will be in Glasgow; and he is ready to address other Union meetings in Scotland or the North of England. Dundee last year collected 93 per cent. of the subscriptions it collected in 1939.

An enterprising programme has been arranged by the Leamington Branch for its afternoon meetings held regularly at Bobby's Cafe. At the two February meetings, a member of the editorial staff of *Nase Noviny* spoke on "Czechoslovakia and the Future," and Mdlle. Yvonne Salmon on "Free Frenchmen in England." Leamington's membership at the end of 1940 fell very little short of the 1939 figure.

Carshalton's series of Saturday afternoon discussions of international questions

continue to be as popular as ever. Miss Freda White, at the February meeting, opened a discussion on the humanitarian work of the League.

Kensington's experiment in arranging two "Sandwich Luncheon Meetings" at the Wooden Horse Restaurant met with a response which exceeded the highest expectations of the organisers. Forty or fifty people, it was thought, would support this venture. Instead, eighty-eight came to hear M. Labarthe, Editor of *La France Libre*, speak on "France To-day." Mr. P. J. Noel Baker, M.P., filled the dual role of chairman and interpreter. No better augury could have been wanted for the visit of M. Jan Masaryk on February 27, with Professor Basil Williams in the chair.

"You will be able to get to the meeting by daylight and home by moonlight." This inducement, and the offer of free transport from neighbouring villages, should ensure a large audience at the annual meeting of the Ottery St. Mary branch on March 11.

At a joint meeting in the Mercer's Hall, Gloucester, spokesmen of the League of Nations Union, the New Commonwealth and Federal Union put forward the views of their respective organisations on post-war settlement.

"We are still flourishing and increasing our membership, in spite of inevitable losses to the Forces, and through evacuation." So reports the Wood Green and Southgate Youth Group. HEADWAY is always glad to receive news of Youth Group activities.

"Ready made audiences" continue to provide our branches with opportunities for supplying Union speakers. A week or two ago Mr. G. Adamkiewicz, formerly Polish Consul General in Ottawa, addressed the Northampton Rotary Club. Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., will visit this

(Continued on p. 11, col. 1.)

THE UNION'S INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

The friendly relations, established last November when representative members of League of Nations Societies from other countries met members of the Union's Executive in London, were further cemented and developed on February 12. That afternoon, under the chairmanship of the Master of Balliol (Dr. A. D. Lindsay), the Union arranged an informal conference between its advisory International Committee and representatives of European League Societies and other interested foreigners. Visitors from Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Holland and Poland took part in the discussion.

Before turning its attention to the

THE BRANCH FRONT

(Continued from p. 10.)

Rotary Club on March 3 to speak on "Recovery," and during his visit to Northampton he will also address a big Brotherhood meeting. West Wickham Women's Fellowship heard a talk on the League from Miss D. Price Hughes. Resuming after a winter of enforced inactivity through the Blitzkrieg, Grove Road Baptist Fellowship at New Southgate made their second meeting a League of Nations evening. A lantern lecture on the I.L.O. attracted twice as large an audience as at the opening meeting.

Union's statement, "World Settlement after the War," the conference dealt with two practical proposals for increasing collaboration between the Union and nationals of Allied countries now in Great Britain.

The Dean of Chichester presented a scheme for setting up what he described as an international institute, or centre, or focus in London. All present heartily welcomed, in general outline, the Dean's plan. The Union's International Committee was asked to explore the practicability, and the visitors were invited to submit in writing any suggestions for the working of the institute.

It was next reported that the Union had already made contact with the New Europe Circle with a view to co-operating in the luncheons organised by the Group.

An exchange of views on "World Settlement after the War" occupied the latter part of the conference. Comments from the points of view of China, Czechoslovakia, Greece and Holland had already been received by the Union, and these were circulated. All the speakers seemed to be in complete agreement with the main principles of the Union's statement, several expressing the opinion that the revised statement was an improvement on the earlier draft. An interesting discussion developed on the "period of transition" and the hope was expressed that, at the next meeting, more ideas would be forthcoming on this subject.

OUR NEW ADDRESS

Please note that, after March 10, 1941, the address of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION will be:—

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

"A GREAT EXPERIMENT"

SOME PRESS OPINIONS ON LORD CECIL'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

"Manchester Guardian"

This is a noble book, the record of a twenty-year campaign for a great cause, conducted with unflinching courage, temperate judgment, and remarkable diplomatic skill; with no loss of determination while defeat followed defeat, and no outburst of personal bitterness while one after another those who had promised support proved unreliable.

He (Lord Cecil) became the unquestioned leader of a very powerful popular movement first in this country, then in Europe and the world. The movement has failed for the time being. It was just not strong enough to determine British policy. But it is still alive. It is still in principle the only solution of a problem which, unsolved, will wreck civilisation; and when, after this war, that problem again stands nakedly before the peoples of Europe, Lord Cecil's counsels and example will be their guide.

GILBERT MURRAY, O.M.

"The Times Literary Supplement"

The story he has to tell, modestly as he tells it, is one of noble loyalty to a great ideal, baffled at last by the absence of any comparable single-mindedness in others, and by the fluctuations of policy inseparable from party government. Looking to the future in the light of his account of the past, one cardinal necessity is seen to be essential to any attempt to resuscitate the League. It can only revive if it becomes, for every important member, not a supplement to the machinery of foreign policy, but the heart and centre of the whole. That was never true of Great Britain or any other great Power in these twenty years.

"News Chronicle"

Lord Cecil, more than any man, put the League of Nations on the British map. He made the idea respectable. He even made it patriotic. . . . The League, I am convinced, in one form or another, will rise again. I hope Lord Cecil will live to see it.

A. J. CUMMINGS.

"Daily Telegraph"

Those who would refresh memories almost necessarily confused by the swift passage of exciting events and perpetually recurrent crises should turn to Viscount Cecil's "A Great Experiment." . . . Though he calls this book an autobiography, most of the story is monopolised by the League, as though he himself did not begin to live until he found his real calling and election in the service of the League.

J. B. FIRTH.

"The Star"

If any man of our time is entitled to utter the classic "I told you so," it is Viscount Cecil. . . . Without pride or rancour he tells the story of the failure, not of the League, but of those who should have been its friends, and he concludes that once again it will have to be tried, though, after this war, he sets out a scheme for a European confederation working alongside the League.

NORMAN ENGLAND.

"Sunday Times"

M. Kerensky once said to me that a nation which had enjoyed freedom for a day would never be content for long under a dictatorship. Perhaps the fact that there was once a League of Nations will mean that some such structure will rise again. If so, it will be a memorial to the tall pensive Cecil who never lost faith.

"ATTICUS."

"Spectator"

Lord Cecil's opinion, at any rate, is based on a unique experience of international affairs. For that reason alone his book is a contribution of the highest importance to contemporary thought, for it raises on every page challenging issues on which some decision must in the near future be taken. As for Lord Cecil himself, he is one of the great figures of our time. He has a remarkable faculty for inspiring admiration and devotion in his friends, and deserving it. To them, I suggest again, he owes it to treat this book as a first instalment, and give them, and the world, as a second those personal memories to which they may claim to be justly entitled.

WILSON HARRIS.

"New Statesman and Nation"

Viscount Cecil must be numbered among those whose verdict is that the League was murdered, but that it can and must be resurrected. Indeed, he is already working as devotedly for the establishment of the new League as he did for the creation and success of the old. . . . The "League" simply could not exist at all unless it was built into the foreign policy of each State and the foreign policy of each State built into it. . . . There can be no stable peace in Europe between nations if their relations are based upon the anarchical use of power by sovereign independent States. If this system is to be revolutionised, the independent use of power must be controlled and a system of law and order substituted. But such a revolution and new system cannot be treated as an excrescence upon our policy. On the contrary, the system must be built into our Foreign Office and our foreign policy, and our foreign policy must be built into the system.

LEONARD WOLF.

"The Listener"

Nor can Lord Cecil be silenced by the answer that it is easy to be wise after the event—he and those who worked

with him in Geneva foretold the events so accurately that they angered or bored those who stubbornly maintained that the preservation of peace was not necessarily a British interest. One is left wondering whether, even now, the lesson has been learnt that recourse to arms instead of third-party judgment must be treated as a crime against civilisation wherever it may take place. . . . And yet, when Hitler is beaten, we shall have to start again, and the next document drawn up to prevent war will, of necessity, very closely resemble the Covenant. . . . Co-operation against aggression remains now, as then, the only way to peace, and one hopes that when men can return to that task they will find encouragement and enlightenment in the book of a great man on "a great experiment."

"Time and Tide"

That the League could have worked, given honest British backing, Lord Cecil persuasively suggests. For its future working he offers constructive amendments. These are interesting and valuable, but it is as history, to be read in the sackcloth-and-ashes of repentance for the things left undone which we ought to have done, and things done which ought not to have been done, that it will stand. In sackcloth-and-ashes one hopes it will be read not only by ourselves, the common people, but in Madrid, in Washington, in the House of Lords, in the courts of Heaven too!

GEOFFREY WEST.

(Those who have not yet already read Lord Cecil's book are reminded that the Union has arranged with the publishers for a number of copies to be available to members of the Union only at the special price of 10s. 6d. Please note that these copies can be obtained only by members and only direct from the *League of Nations Union*, 60, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.2, till March 10th and thereafter from 11, Maiden Lane, W.C.2.)

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

LET THE PEOPLE KNOW

The German, like Caliban, growls, "Burn but his books . . . for without them he's but a sot, as I am." Like Caliban, the German will fail. The sound of truth which books preserve will drown the strident voice of Nazism, though half the world be perverted for an hour to repeat one monstrous lie.

The title, *LIES AS ALLIES*, by *Viscount Maugham* (Oxford University Press, 6d.), speaks for itself. Here is an unvarnished picture of one dominating side of Hitler's mentality, and the grovelling imitation of it by the Nazi party. This is his preference for the big and persistent lie—for the lie as the guiding rule of policy. Modern civilisation has known nothing like it, and has no security if it prevails. There are the series of lies, reiterated time and again, to lull the victims of his aggressions. There are his lies about the war. Above all—for they poison the life blood of the future—there are the lies with which Hitler and Co. try to gild the New Order in Europe. For any honest, hopeful meaning that his "New Order of Europe" conveys, Hitler might just as well use the word "Abracadabra." In fact, he treats all countries he has occupied as slave States. As far as he can he has taken away all notions of liberty from eight European States. He has imprisoned the bodies of countless men, and tries to put in chains the minds of all. Two stark lessons emerge from this bravely blunt book. One is that no one, no nation, can walk backward into the future and remain civilised. The other that it is deliberate squinting for any one to put faith in the promises of such as Hitler.

INTO BATTLE, WINSTON CHURCHILL'S WAR SPEECHES, compiled by his son (Cassell, 8s. 6d.). Part of our national heritage, with which all should be familiar. Mr. Churchill makes history, writes history and speaks history, in this

our greatest hour. It is significant that, like another prophet of his day, Viscount Cecil, Mr. Churchill is convinced that peace can only come by enlisting irresistible force on its side and that peace-loving nations can only deter aggressors by making it deadly plain that certain actions will mean war and nothing else.

PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE THIRD REICH (Burns Oates, 5s.). The facts and carefully collected documents of this book simply blister the whitewash laid carefully by certain people over the Nazi persecution of Christianity, in this particular instance of the German Catholics. Here are details (a summarised edition of the whole book would be very serviceable) proving to the hilt that the Nazi Government has used every weapon of fraud and brutality to substitute its ersatz religion for Christianity. Nazism and Christianity—Hitler has said a thousand times to his intimates and the Nazi party has blazoned it on the housetops—are incompatible. "There can never be friendship," our Prime Minister said after Munich, "between British democracy and the Nazi power, that power which spurns Christian ethics and cheers its onward course by barbarous paganism." The Nazis are perfectly aware of it.

Three books help to throw light on that still bewildering problem of the collapse of France. In *TRUTH ON THE TRAGEDY OF FRANCE*, by *Elie J. Bois* (Hodder and Stoughton, 7s. 6d.), the former editor of *Petit Parisien*, the most important Paris morning paper, fills in the background of recent years in France, and the final zero hours with the greatest clearness and sincerity and the really telling documents. Here we have first-hand evidence, from day to day, profound moral condemnation of political rascality, with a burning love of France which cuts through all sophistries. The rivalries of Daladier and Reynaud, the frank treacheries of Laval

and Bonnet, the machinations of figures like the financier Baudouin or Hélène de Portes just played into Hitler's hands. But this gallery was no true picture of democracy or democratic France. A second account comes from *Louis Lévy*, the diplomatic correspondent of *Léon Blum's* paper *Populaire*, in *THE TRUTH ABOUT FRANCE* (Penguin Special, 6d.). Full of pen portraits of the political and military actors in the drama of France since 1920, coloured perhaps by a socialist angle which tends to lengthen the claims of the sheep as against the goats. The principles of democracy are not wrong, but they were hardly ever really applied. It was the old story—they were undermined by enemies, whether political or military, Fascist or Communist, because of the weakness of democrats themselves. M. Lévy is convinced of France's survival, for the heart and mind of the French people are sound. The muddy paganism of German importation cannot prevail against the commonsense of that reasoning political animal, the Frenchman. Lastly comes *WHY FRANCE FELL*, by *André Maurois* (Bodley Head, 5s.). This is disappointing. The charm and polish of literary elegance are still there. A picture is outlined clearly enough, but it is not one which seems to satisfy the demands of justice or the facts as we know them as yet. M. Maurois, true, attacks the part played by many politicians; but it is almost as if their rascality and treachery were something to be expected, normalcy in fact in democracy. But military blunders, military unpreparedness, now seem to him the key to the collapse. Great Britain's part here comes in for somewhat bitter criticism, for which no documentary evidence is provided. The book is tinged with the *défaitism* of regret—Poland ought never to have been defended.

In *ELEMENTS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS* (McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 22s. 6d.), *F. A. Middlebush* and *C. Hill* have undertaken the difficult task of com-

pressing into a handbook of 500 pages the outlines of an extraordinarily complex subject, for the benefit of the student who wishes to see the political, juridical, economic and social aspects as a balanced whole. Modern developments are set against their proper historical background. There is in each section enough detail to induce the reader to profit from the comprehensive reading lists given at the end of every chapter. A general survey of the League of Nations is supplemented by information about the various constructive activities of the League and the I.L.O. in their appropriate places as the story of the promotion of human welfare is unfolded. The authors emphasise that the League organs have not been multiplied thoughtlessly or carelessly, but that each performs a special type of function. The final section on "International Disputes" includes a useful synopsis showing in chart form 43 disputes brought before the League 1920-39, with the subjects, parties involved, the Articles of the Covenant invoked, and the means of settlement employed set out in separate columns. The conclusion is drawn that the League is potentially more successful than other methods, and that the experience gained in the settlement of disputes by League action in the past two decades will probably form the basis of any new schemes for pacific settlement by an association of States at the close of the present war.

A most stimulating addition to "The World of To-day" series is *Professor D. W. Brogan's* *U.S.A., AN OUTLINE OF THE COUNTRY, ITS PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS* (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 2s. 6d.). The author has taken special account of what the British public knows and does not know of the United States. Accounts of American foreign policy and of economic strength and structure are also being prepared for the series.

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

"WORLD SETTLEMENT"

SIR,—I agree with your correspondents who protest against cessions of territory to any other Power; it would be blackmail, and would have the consequences of blackmail, as we have already found. Our sacrifices must be to the League when reconstructed, and they will be serious enough. First, we must transfer to the League the right to determine whether we are to be at peace or at war. This is involved in the statement of policy in your November number. Secondly, and perhaps most painful, we must transfer our Air Force to the League. A powerful air force can do so much damage to the homes of the people that it is a threat to other nations as our Navy never was. Thirdly, we must transfer our mandated territories to the League so as to give all its members a share in the honour and responsibility of the mandate.

I would not advocate any of these concessions unless all members of the League agreed to do the same. But they are necessary parts of the machinery for keeping peace, and we should keep them before the minds of the public so that when the time comes for carrying them out they shall not be looked upon as a thing unexpected.

J. B. WALLIS CHAPMAN.

Loughborough.

SIR,—There are, broadly speaking, two conceptions of Utopia. On the one hand are those, like Nazis and some Communists, who dream of a world in which their own race or class shall dominate other races or classes. On the other hand are those who believe in the Christian doctrine of a universal brotherhood in which dominance can have no place. Most of your readers will agree that the

present war is fundamentally a conflict between those two ideas.

The acid test of a man's belief in the second doctrine is his willingness to acquiesce in the surrender by his own nation or class of the power to dominate. The Union has at last agreed, in its latest statement of policy, to the unconditional surrender of national air power to a non-national authority. That vital decision will be a source of great satisfaction to those members who have for long been urging such a step.

But air power is not the only weapon of dominance, and it is to be hoped that the Union will not hesitate so long before agreeing to the surrender of the military, naval, economic and financial weapons, too.

W. L. ROSEVEARE (Major).

Prestatyn.

SIR,—The present state of the military effort in Britain, with all the overruled nations fighting at our side, may be a try-out of "Collective Security," and when the time comes to make a new, stronger and more efficient League, an example of the power for peace it might be if enforced in time.

(Mrs.) E. G. AYRTON.

Co. Down.

If you like this copy of HEADWAY and are not a member of the Union, you should be. An annual subscription of 3s. 6d. or more will ensure your receiving HEADWAY regularly each month.