

JUL 1942
OF POLITICAL
ECONOMY
SCIENCE

HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

The Journal of the League of Nations Union

No. 33

JUNE 1942

PRICE 3d

EDITORIAL

LOOKING BEYOND VICTORY

MR. CHURCHILL'S latest surveys of the war, with their infectious note of sturdy confidence for the future, have confirmed the growing conviction among the Allied peoples that our feet are now firmly planted on the road to victory, though to be sure that road will still be hard and its end will not come in sight until we have topped that ridge ahead of which Mr. Churchill spoke. Still, it is worth remarking that, within the past few weeks, four of the Prime Minister's colleagues have been making public reference to the task of the United Nations after victory has been won. Their complementary views on the problem of post-war settlement form a symposium as interesting as it is important.

Hitler's recent speech, as MR. EDEN pointed out, has sounded the death knell of the much vaunted "New Order." All the more incumbent is it upon the United Nations to have some constructive system of their own to put in place of the disintegrating corpse—something "to re-establish in the world the basis of a free civilisation and that respect for international engagements without which there can be no lasting peace."

Speaking as Foreign Secretary with

all the authority which that implies, Mr. Eden tells us that, when he thinks of the world after the war, he is thinking primarily of how we shall be able to keep the peace. "Without peace, without stability in international relationships, without active co-operation between the peoples of the world, without the removal of the constant threat of war, there is no hope for us anywhere. Without peace we cannot rid ourselves of the recurring scourge of unemployment. Without peace we must look forward to ever-falling standards of living, to ever-increasing social stress. The winning of victory, the best peace treaty which could be devised, are but "the bones, the skeleton of peace." "Only human will and perseverance can give them flesh and blood."

Our readiness in the post-war years to make sacrifices for peace and to pay the price of peace, our direct and inescapable responsibility for peace at all times—this was the keynote of Mr. Eden's address. Peace must be upheld by force and will.

In brief, while the Foreign Secretary did not overlook the need for an economic system in which men and women who were willing to work would be able to work and find the reward of

their labours, he claimed with reason that a reign of law among the nations was a prerequisite of social advancement.

MR. MORRISON, the Home Secretary, linked together the promotion of political and economic co-operation for the good of all peoples. Pending the firm establishment of a new and effective international organisation, it would have to be the task of the Allies to police the world. Let this international organisation, urged Mr. Morrison, wield such decisive military and economic power as would enable it or its constituent peaceful nations to veto the very beginnings of warlike policies on the part of Germany or any other State.

The Lord Privy Seal and the Minister of Production, in their broadcasts, dealt rather more specifically with the social and economic aspects of post-war settlement.

"Fight not only *against* Nazi and Fascist power, but also *for* the things which are the very opposite of the Nazi and Fascist aims," was the theme of SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS. It is not enough to get rid of the cruel brutality of Hitlerism unless we also create after the war a better and happier world for all. Nationally and internationally, the world must be consciously planned for better standards of living for the great masses of the people. The new spirit

THE EVIDENCE

In the Union's popular leaflet, *Falsehoods and Facts*, a number of statements are made refuting accusations sometimes heard concerning the Union's pre-war policy. All these statements can be substantiated by "evidence." This evidence is now being printed as an Appendix, which can be used to supplement the leaflet. Copies will be available at the General Council Meeting, to be held in the Conway Hall, June 19 to 21; and will shortly be obtainable on application to Head Office, 11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C. 2.

must find practical expression in our international relations and in the economic and social field at home. As examples of evils which will no longer be tolerated Sir Stafford instanced the scourges of unemployment, malnutrition and unnecessary ill-health—in all of which matters valuable work has been done, and is still being done, by the appropriate organs of the League and the I.L.O. As comrades, said Sir Stafford, we must build a happier and more abiding peace.

MR. OLIVER LYTTTELTON, after touching upon the immediate post-war tasks of transferring the life of nations from a war-time to a peace-time basis, stated the long-range problem—to find a permanent balance in our economic, and indeed in our whole national, life. "Let us agree," he said, "about the common foundations upon which we wish to build, and we *shall* build it." Statesmen and ministers could not guarantee a new world, it was in the hands of the peoples.

All these Cabinet Ministers, it will be seen, have reached broad conclusions very much the same as those set out in the Union's Statement of Policy. That in itself must be an encouragement to us to proceed with our work. Every branch and every member could not do better than adopt the concluding advice of Mr. Lyttelton: "to exercise the greatest of all human privileges—the right to hope, to foresee and to plan the course ahead, for by this means the world advances."

KENSINGTON BRANCH

Dr. G. P. GOOCH, C.H.

on

"How to Deal with Germany after the War."

At Essex Unitarian Church Hall,
Palace Gardens Terrace, W.8.

On June 10, at 5.30 p.m.

Members of Other Branches Welcome.

GREAT BRITAIN'S DISARMAMENT

By MAURICE FANSHAWE

It is only natural for special interest to be felt in the Armaments of and the measures of Disarmament carried out by one's own country. In the case of Great Britain, very complete figures for Armaments expenditure over the whole period between the two wars are available; notably the Official Report relating to the Services (Hansard, July 31, 1936) covering the years 1912-1936 (obtainable from L.N.U. Head Office).

"No political party," Lord Hankey rightly points out, "and no section of the community can disclaim responsibility" for British reductions in Armaments. And the general democratic background in Great Britain after the last Great War was demonstrably in favour of cutting down armaments.

Nevertheless, there is such a thing as degrees of political responsibility, and in this respect the evidence of the statistics quoted in the above-mentioned Report seems to warrant the following broad conclusions.

Between 1922 and 1934, British expenditure on Armaments never rose above £116.4 millions (1927) or fell below £102.7 millions (1932): both extremes occurring when Conservative or predominantly Conservative Governments were in office. Here the continuity of the process, that is to say the length of time a Government is in office, produces more effect than the relatively small variations of the total expenditure.

In 1924, when a Labour Government first took office, the total expenditure on all the Services was £113.3 millions, an increase of nearly £3 millions on that of the previous year when a Conservative Government was in office, hitherto the lowest total since the War. Next year, 1925, when a Conservative Government was in office, expenditure fell to £109.5 millions, a new low record till 1930.

In 1930 and 1931 (in fairness, it must not be forgotten that these and following years were the period of the Great Depression) when next a Labour Government was in office, the total expenditures were

£109.5 millions and £106.8 millions respectively, both decreases on the total of 1929. And in the following two years, when a Coalition Government (in which the Conservative Party predominated) was in office, the respective totals fell further to £102.7 millions and £107.3 millions. The former figure (£102.7 millions) remains the lowest Armaments expenditure for any year of the period under review.

The lowest expenditure on the Army was £35.9 millions in 1932, on the Navy £50.0 millions in 1925, and on the Air Force £8.6 millions in 1922, at all of which dates a Conservative Government was in office or predominated.

It was no doubt with such figures in mind that Lord Baldwin, when Prime Minister, wrote to the Conservative candidate at the Skipton By-Election, November 1933:—

"We as a nation have set an example to the world by disarming to the utmost length compatible with security, and I would point out that this disarmament was carried out almost entirely by the Conservative Government and the Coalition Government in which the Conservative Party predominated."

One final point: It is noticeable—partly, maybe, as a result of a long drawn out period of reduction of armaments and even more of non-replacement—that it was not till 1937, or four years after Hitler came to power and Germany plunged into nation-wide re-armament, that British re-armament, under a Coalition Government, got anywhere near into its stride. Russian alarm at the ascertainable facts of the German menace was very different, even in 1934, and expressed itself in a very large increase of expenditure on armaments.

HEADWAY

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION,
11, MAIDEN LANE, W.C.2.

PEACE AND PROGRESS—A TEST CASE

By VISCOUNT CECIL

THE NEW FREEDOM OF THE SEAS. By W. Arnold-Forster. (Methuen. 6s.)

This is an excellent book. It should be read by everyone who takes an interest—and who does not?—in the nature of World Settlement at which British policy should aim after the war. It is written with a mixture of force and fairness which is as valuable as it is rare.

The scheme of the book is to take the Freedom of the Seas as a kind of test case on the question: how far can peace and progress be secured by international co-operation? The author examines first the meaning of the phrase, and points out that it has radically changed. At first it meant only such a limitation of belligerent rights as would be just to neutrals, and would disturb the world as little as possible. All ideas of this kind have been swept away by total war, in which all the citizens of the belligerent nations, with all their property, are at war with one another. The result has been to make the old interpretation of the Freedom of the Seas practically meaningless. The object of a belligerent is not only to destroy enemy trade, but all trade which may possibly benefit the enemy. We no longer talk of Blockade, but rather of Economic Warfare. In the first World War, victory was determined as much by economic pressure as by actual fighting, and it is probable that that will be so in the present contest. It is undoubtedly a powerful weapon, and cannot be dispensed with in such a struggle as is now going on. Freedom of the seas has therefore become impossible in war-time, and if it is to be restored war must be prevented.

This conclusion leads to a consideration by our author of how peace can be maintained, and basing himself on the articles of the Atlantic Charter he urges that that can only be done by a great effort of the peace-loving nations led by America, Russia, China and the British Empire. He states the problem with great force at pp. 112, 113.

The great choice ahead is, "Are we

going to accept war as the ultimate arbiter in international relations?" and after pointing out what that means, he goes on: "Or shall we, on the contrary, assume that it is worth trying to build up an international order, so protected and so developed by collective action that all peoples will come to prefer to maintain it rather than destroy it? Shall we assume that war has now become something so monstrous morally, and so deadly to civilised life, that a supreme effort must be made to suppress the war system, and to create the necessary machinery and motive power of world government for certain purposes?"

He then proposes the creation of a world organisation which he calls the World Commonwealth, working on the lines of the League of Nations, which he believes, in spite of its critics, to have been a great step forward, and to have come very near complete success. He therefore stands for an Association of Nations which should meet in regular conference with a permanent secretariat and means of publicity. Its agreed basis should include complete renunciation of force as an instrument of national policy, coupled with machinery for the suppression of aggression. He insists on the necessity for the development of the Services of Peace in the direction of economic and social reform, and he provides for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the changes, where necessary, of existing international rights. As for Security and Disarmament, he believes that they are closely interlocked, and both are ultimately essential. But he insists that the time within which they can be established must depend on circumstances. Indeed, he is much more conscious than some writers on the subject that, if too large a demand is put forward at first, the whole scheme may be rejected.

Altogether, this is a very sane and useful contribution to the subject. One of its chief merits is that it does not underrate

(Continued on page 5)

FOUR DUTIES

Mr. Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President of the United States, in the course of a remarkable address to the Free World Association, referred to President Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms."

"These four freedoms," he said, "are the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand. We who live in the United States may think there is nothing very revolutionary about freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and freedom from the fear of secret police. But when we begin to think about the significance of *freedom from want* for the average man, then we know that the revolution of the past 150 years has not been completed, either here in the United States or in any other nation in the world. We know that this revolution cannot stop until freedom from want has actually been attained.

"And now, as we move forward toward realising the four freedoms of this people's revolution, I would like to speak about four duties. The four duties of the people's revolution, as I see them to-day, are these:—

- (1) The duty to produce to the limit.
- (2) The duty to transport as rapidly as possible to the field of battle.

PEACE AND PROGRESS

(Continued from page 4)

the complexity of the problem. Peace, as Clemenceau said, is more difficult than war; and that will be abundantly true in the present case. The Germans, using the vast powers given by modern mechanical developments, have shattered not only the actual governments of half Europe, but even the fundamental conceptions on which they depend. Murder and rapine have become patriotic duties in the occupied countries. Pity and mercy have been discredited by German ferocity, and truth has been destroyed by German treachery. To set all this right, to reinstate order and justice, and re-establish Christian civilisation, will be a labour of immense extent in which our country will have to bear a leading part. It is to be hoped that our best brains, official and unofficial, are concentrating upon preparations for the prodigious task before us.

(3) The duty to fight with all that is in us.

(4) The duty to build a peace—just, charitable and enduring.

"The fourth duty is that which inspires the other three. We failed in our job after World War No. 1. We did not know how to go about it to build an enduring world-wide peace. We did not have the nerve to follow through and prevent Germany from re-arming. We did not insist that she 'learn war no more.' We did not build a peace treaty on the fundamental doctrine of the people's revolution. We did not strive wholeheartedly to create a world where there could be freedom from want for all the peoples. But by our very errors we learned much, and after this war we shall be in a position to utilise our knowledge in building a world which is economically, politically, and, I hope, spiritually sound."

We learn that Mr. Wallace has for many years been President of his hometown Branch of the American League of Nations Association.

INSANITY ABOUNDING.—By Francis Weiss. (Blandford Press. 3s. 6d.)

"A foreigner with a British passport" gives a personal impression of the familiar story of Europe's timidity and blindness between two wars. First in Admiral Horthy's Hungary, later in Hitler's Germany, he saw the insidious beginnings of totalitarian persecution at home which was to culminate in open aggression abroad. After he had settled in Britain, his business journeys over a large part of Europe gave him exceptional opportunities of watching the unheeded tragedy developing. When war came, because of his original nationality, all his efforts to be given a job to do to help in defeating Hitler were thwarted. He pleads for better use to be made of the skill and special knowledge of refugees. Nazism or Fascism, he argues, is not a nationality but a state of mind. The light, slightly cynical conversational style, with a not quite English flavour, conceals shafts which are meant to hurt the complacent, and do.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN A. RATTENBURY

Many Members of Parliament, to my knowledge, are regular readers of HEADWAY, and it would be surprising if they had not seen Mr. Arnold-Forster's valuable article in the last issue on the first three points of the Atlantic Charter. At all events, in the past few weeks, a healthy interest in the Charter has been apparent. Mr. Ellis Smith, for example, asked the Prime Minister on May 6th what steps had been taken to put the Charter into operation; to prepare plans for post-war economic rebuilding of Britain in co-operation with the other United Nations; and whether he had considered setting up a national resources planning board so that plans may be ready at the cessation of hostilities. Mr. Attlee replied that the Charter was a declaration of principles rather than a statement of action. Plans for post-war reconstruction were being actively prepared by Sir William Jowitt, who, of course, had in mind international co-operation. He had drawn Sir William's attention to the suggestion of a national resources planning board.

Mr. Stokes, on May 12, asked for a clarification of the Atlantic Charter, so that enemy countries may be aware that we do not want their destruction and that a decent peace awaits them as soon as they rise against their persecutors. To this Mr. Attlee gave the answer that the terms of the Charter were clear already. Calling attention to Clauses 4 and 8, Mr. Stokes asked whether they did not need some clarification; indeed, had not Sir Stafford Cripps said as much? Sir Herbert Williams intervened to suggest that every delegate at the recent Allied Conference had interpreted the Charter differently, and therefore it would be better to drop it. Mr. Attlee strongly contested the correctness of this statement; and Mr. Shinwell asked if the members of the

Government were not continually clarifying the Charter. No doubt the discussion in Parliament will continue. That is all to the good, for the Atlantic Charter certainly needs greater publicity, and even in Parliament there is room for its provisions to become more generally known.

More About the I.L.O.

A lead from Mr. Mander drew from Mr. Bevin more details about the recent I.L.O. meeting in London. This meeting of the Emergency Committee was composed of six Governmental representatives, three employers' representatives and three workers' representatives. As reported in HEADWAY, the Emergency Committee decided to set up a body consisting of persons who have had experience of translating economic facts into terms of policy, to serve as a bridge between the I.L.O. and governments and responsible agencies who are forming economic plans for post-war reconstruction. To enable the I.L.O. to carry out the work resulting from the New York Conference, arrangements for a supplementary credit were approved. Proposals concerning the International Labour Office's programme of studies, with special reference to Public Works policy, migration, agriculture and textiles were also sanctioned. The normal work of the I.L.O. on other questions is being continued as far as possible, and it is expected that a meeting of the joint Maritime Commission to consider matters of war-time interest relating to seamen will be held in London in the near future.

Japan and the Vatican

Naturally there has been much concern about the Vatican's relations with Japan. Sir William Davison was told by Mr. Law that, before the decision to receive a Japanese Envoy was announced

by the Holy See, H.M. Government had pointed out to the Vatican that the appointment would be widely interpreted as being the result of Axis pressure. In reply, the Vatican said that negotiations on this subject had been opened in 1922, and diplomatic relations were being established with Japan to safeguard the spiritual interests of the Roman Catholic Church. The decision was not connected with temporal interests, nor was it due to outside pressure. In further reply to Sir William, Mr. Law added that the attention of the Vatican had certainly been drawn to the action of Japan in making war on America while peace negotiations were actually in progress, and also to Japanese barbarities. At a later date, Sir William asked whether any action had been taken by the Vatican with regard to the refusal of the Japanese Government to allow the International Red Cross to function, and also its treatment of prisoners contrary to international law. Mr. Law answered that the Vatican was being of material assistance in the providing of supplies for the camps at Hong Kong and Singapore.

Mr. Eden, too, made a long statement about the protection of British interests. The Argentine Government as the Protecting Power in charge of our interests in Japan, he said, had shown admirable perseverance and had made some progress in its endeavours on behalf of British prisoners. The Swiss Government had also been asked to take the matter in hand. The Japanese Government had promised to send lists of the British prisoners in their hands, but had not fulfilled their undertaking.

Rations in Europe

Mr. Dingle Foot supplied the House with a table of rations of bread, meat and fats in the enemy occupied countries of Europe as compared with Britain. It shows Italy on a level with Greece as the lowest in bread supply, at a figure of 37 ozs. per week as

compared with 70 in Germany, 68 France, 64 Norway, 63 Holland, 55 Belgium. Roumania (73), Bulgaria (74) and Denmark (85) are in this respect better off than Germany. Meat is not rationed in Denmark; and fats (at 11 ozs.) are higher than in Britain (8 ozs.). Again Italy is low with 3½ to 5½ ozs. of meat and 3½ ozs. of fats, as against Germany's 10½ ozs. and 7½ ozs. respectively, which compares with Britain's rations of 16 ozs. of meat and 4 ozs. of bacon in addition to 6 ozs. of fats. France, again, is slightly better than Italy. Poland and Finland are allowed only 1½ ozs. and 1 oz. of fats respectively. Poland's meat stands at only 1½ ozs.—one quarter of Finland's ration. The Polish figures are for Warsaw, and probably the rations for the rest of the country are much worse. Norway's meat allowance is only 3½ ozs. but fats stand at 7½ ozs.; and presumably these foods can be supplemented with fish.

BROADCASTING FOR DEMOCRACY. By Otto Friedmann. (Allen and Unwin. 2s. 6d.)

This slender, paper-covered volume by a Czech social psychologist on the important subject of democratic propaganda, especially broadcasting to the enslaved peoples of Europe, deserves the Master of Balliol's introductory commendation. Its shrewd analysis of Nazi propaganda shows both what should be avoided and what adapted by the Allies in their political warfare. Although, in a sense, our task is harder than that of Dr. Goebbels, we have the advantage of a real enemy, the Nazis, whereas they had to invent an imaginary one. The truer our reports about Nazi activities are, the more effective will our propaganda be. One point stressed by the author is that, whilst there must be an emotional appeal in short-term propaganda, from the long-term point of view it is important to advocate sets of ideas. If we want our New Order to take root, education for it must begin now; even in Nazi propaganda there is an element of education, perverted though it is. The author outlines the main guiding ideas which, in his opinion, can be put over, and how they can be presented most effectively.

FOUR WEEKS IN NEUTRAL SWEDEN

By MRS. CORBETT ASHBY

It was an exciting experience to be invited to lecture in a neutral country during the war, and most interesting to see the world struggle through neutral newspapers. Sometimes the Allies' communiques headed the page—sometimes those of the Axis.

Sweden has close and continuous contact with Germany and Italy, since most of her export trade formerly was, and now almost exclusively is, done with Germany. Only five ships a month are allowed by us and Germany to reach the great Port of Gothenburg, and, since several of the South American Republics have decided to help the U.S.A., Sweden's opportunities for export in payment of goods received are rapidly shrinking.

The result is more severe rationing than here. Working-class houses and homes with growing boys and girls suffer from the acute shortage of bread. Hardly any coffee—which is three-quarters rye flour—will be available this summer, although it is the nation's main drink. Woollen and cotton clothing is heavily rationed. One effect of the war is that all cars are driven by coal and wood; they carry small cylindrical stoves fore and aft, and the stoking up is somewhat alarming as flames shoot up when the lid is lifted.

Swedish Opinion

It is difficult for a foreigner to estimate people's views. I, for instance, would chiefly meet the English-speaking and pro-British Swedes. I should say that they are completely united behind the national Government in determining to keep Sweden out of the war if pos-

sible. But they are completely prepared to defend their liberties and their democracy. All men are mobilised for seven months of the year. The W.V.S. have a register of women and have supplied women to replace men in factories, in offices and on the land. In addition, many women have gone into the expanded munition works. Deep shelters are in existence. Sirens and black-out have been tested. The country has had to recast its strategy and defend the long Norwegian frontier as well as the south against Germany, and the north-east against Russia. German propaganda spread rumours of a possible British invasion from the north-west.

Fears and Sympathies

The country is democratic—and less "neutral minded" perhaps than the Government. The German brutalities in Norway have deeply shocked the people and greatly reduced the small numbers of Nazi-inclined folk. Belief in German competency to install a New Order has also been shaken. Unfortunately, the main factor in the general political feeling is the deep-seated, inherited fear of Russia. The fear of Germany is new, but that of Russia very old. Their sympathies go out equally to the Finns battling against Russia and to the Norwegians in their heroic stand against Germany. Quisling will not allow the starving Norwegian children to go to Sweden unless Sweden recognises him as the legal Government—a cold brutality typical of his masters. I must add that I found sympathy with Finland had cooled off a little in some quarters, since she had marched beyond her old frontiers.

To sum up: I think most Swedes want us to win but to win quickly. A long war, they realise, will mean devastating

ruin and moral, as well as material, chaos in Europe.

Interest in Post-War Problems

As regards post-war problems, I am sure we should be wise, now that postal facilities are restored, to keep in closest touch with our Swedish "opposite numbers"—the League of Nations Union, the I.P.C., the Women's Organisations, the Co-operative Movement and the Trade Unions, which are immensely powerful in the political and social life of the country. We should remember that Sweden recovered foremost of all countries from the last post-war crisis of unemployment and depression; and that, after this war, she can give Europe invaluable help.

The Women's Organisations are very active and busy on most of the problems we know so well. The Frederika Bremer Association at its annual meeting passed a resolution calling for compulsory six months' service for girls and young women. It was felt that such service on the land, in hospitals and in other social institutions would deepen their sense of responsibility as citizens. They were deeply interested in accounts of our conscription of women, with its wide range of alternative occupations. Discussions ranged from girls' clubs to peace work, from juvenile of-

AUSTRALIA'S FAITH

Mr. Curtin, the Australian Prime Minister, in announcing that his Government were continuing their support of the League of Nations, and would this year pay £A34,000 towards its budget, stressed that the League ought to be kept intact so that the experience of twenty years of international co-operation and administration should not be lost. The League could discharge useful duties in war-time, particularly with regard to social and economic problems. These should be encouraged, particularly those of the International Labour Office.

fenders and sex morality to the part women should play in defence.

Swedish L.N.U.

The League of Nations Union has reformed into a Union for a new League of Nations, under the spirited guidance of Miss Kerstin Hesselgren and Mr. Allan Degerman. I was privileged to address their annual meeting in Stockholm on post-war reconstruction, and found the liveliest interest in our League of Nations Union policy and draft reports.

I addressed meetings in seven other towns. Everywhere was the same intense interest in our plans for post-war relief and reconstruction; regional grouping for defence and an all-embracing League.

It was an immense pleasure to meet such stalwart defenders of the League ideas as Mr. Ekstrand of the League Secretariat and Mr. Torsin of the I.L.O. The publishing house *Natur og Kultur* has issued books on the United Northern States and I am sure its director, Mr. Hausson, would welcome any material we could send him.

It was a great stimulus to step out of a beleaguered castle into a neutral country of lights. But the war strain was there—and also the realisation that, although the material gains were obvious, there was a certain spiritual loss in being outside the circle of those suffering in the defence of the great ideals of reverence for life and truth, for liberty and democracy.

L. R. F. BUFFET LUNCH.

Mrs. CORBETT ASHBY

on
"Four Weeks in Neutral
Sweden"

Wednesday, June 17.

1.0 p.m. Refreshments at Plane Tree
Restaurant, 106 Gt. Russell Street, W.C.1.
1.25 p.m. Address in Y.W.C.A. Lounge
(opposite).

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

Dr. Wellington Koo's visit to BIRMINGHAM surpassed even his recent visit to TORQUAY—which is saying a great deal. A week before the meeting, as it was clear that the main hall of the Midland Institute would be full to overflowing, an adjacent hall holding 300 was also engaged. The Lord Mayor met His Excellency at the station, and there was a guard of honour composed of the Home Guard. A correspondent writes of the remarkable sense of enthusiasm and success which prevailed at both the main meeting and the overflow. The Chinese Ambassador said that, if a calm survey were made of the situation, he saw no cause for despondency. "I am confident of the successful outcome of our common struggle for freedom, and I am certain after we have achieved that we shall be able to construct a new order."

An appeal prior to the meeting raised £143, and the collection was £124. As the sale of reserved tickets more than met the expenses, a substantial cheque will go to the China Medical Aid Committee.

Viscount Cecil, speaking in BIRMINGHAM as Chancellor of the University on the same day as Dr. Koo, addressed the Guild of Undergraduates in the Union on "The Future." The *Birmingham Post*, commenting in a leading article on Lord Cecil's desire for a reconstituted and regenerated League of Nations, expressed the opinion that this was at least possible on two conditions. One was that the new League should retain the support which was so early withdrawn from the old one with positively disastrous consequences. The other was that League members of the future must start with a clearer understanding of the nature and extent of their responsibilities, and with a firmer intention to abide by them.

We learn that the collection taken at Dr. Wellington Koo's meeting at Torquay amounted to £45 and not £34 as reported in our last issue. Ten new members were enrolled as a result of the meeting.

More Annual Meetings have been held up and down the country, and Annual Reports continue to come in from Branches.

The HALLAM Annual Report constitutes a record of activity and determination of

which any Branch might be proud. Three months after the Blitz on Sheffield, which temporarily made any but humanitarian work impossible, a drive was begun to retrieve lapsed subscriptions. This was so effective that, by May last year, almost as many subscriptions had been collected as during the whole of 1940. By the end of 1941, the total paid-up membership was 670, as against 471 the previous year. That included 34 entirely new recruits. The recent annual meeting was addressed by Dr. Liba Ambrosova of Czechoslovakia.

CROUCH END BRANCH'S Annual Business Meeting was followed by a crowded public meeting at which Count Balinski (Poland) and Captain L. D. Gammans, M.P., spoke respectively on the two parts of the subject "Hitler's New Order—and Ours." The Mayor of Hornsey was in the chair.

Despite a number of deaths and removals, ABERYSTWYTH BRANCH collected 647 subscriptions during the first eleven weeks of 1942, compared with 650 in the corresponding period of 1941. Actually the amount collected was greater, thanks to a dozen members increasing their subscriptions without being asked to do so.

KESWICK'S faithful army of collectors and *News Sheet* distributors, by their constant work month by month, have kept the paid-up membership well above the 500 mark. In addition to its own monthly discussion meetings, the Branch has given all possible support when Ministry of Information speakers have visited the district.

The Annual Report from our LEAMINGTON BRANCH shows that, thanks to the devoted work of the membership secretary and the collectors, there has been no falling off in the number of subscriptions paid, which is just over 400. The principal activity during recent months has been the holding of a series of afternoon meetings under the general title of "Planning for the Future", with several exceptionally able speakers. All the secondary schools in Leamington and Warwick and two of the senior elementary schools took part in the annual Essay Competition, and the record number of entries in the second and third classes is commented on as evidence of the interest in international affairs among the rising generation.

HOPE FULFILLED

At the May Luncheon Talk organised by the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION, Mr. Emmanuel Abraham mingled dignity with humour when he spoke on Ethiopia.

The German Refugee, who goes by the name of Dr. Dawson, spoke at BURY, BISHOP AUCKLAND and WEST HARTLEPOOL.

WEST HARTLEPOOL BRANCH reports that the largest L.N.U. audience there since the outbreak of war flocked to hear Phyllis Bottome, the well-known writer and lecturer provided by the Ministry of Information, speak on "Our New Order—and Hitler's." Some new members were enrolled, and two former members rejoined.

Summing up at the end of a series of NORWICH ROTARY CLUB meetings on the merits and demerits of federal union, Rotarian R. W. Jackson (Headmaster of the City of Norwich School) put forward this broad conclusion: It would be better to make use of an improved League of Nations with known methods and machinery than to experiment along entirely new lines.

Dr. Viorel Tilea, formerly Rumanian Minister in London, addressed a lunch-hour meeting at the MONTAGUE BURTON BRANCH in Leeds, and also the Annual Meeting of the WARWICKSHIRE FEDERAL COUNCIL in Leamington.

Mr. John T. Catterall has visited SUFFOLK and NORFOLK during May, and has also addressed numerous meetings in LONDON and the HOME COUNTIES. Branches wishing to have Mr. Catterall in the next few months are asked to make early application to Headquarters.

The HURTWOOD BRANCH Committee has arranged an attractive programme to take the Discussion Group to the autumn. On June 5 Miss Agatha Harrison will speak on "India"; on July 3 Mr. Hsieh on "China"; on August 5 there will be a garden meeting, with Mr. Catterall on "Foundations of World Co-operation" and music by a vocal quartette; on September 4 Miss M. Perham on "Our Colonies"; and on October 2 Mrs. Begg on "The Dutch East Indies."

Open-air meetings have been held in HYDE PARK on Saturday evenings during May, and have attracted audiences of between 500 and 700 people.

Following the success of the L.N.U. week-end conference at Longshaw last autumn, another was held on April 25th and 26th, this time at a C.H.A. Guest House at Hope, in the Peak District of Derbyshire.

The 36 members of our party came from Sheffield, Manchester and Cheshire, Chesterfield and York. We were fortunate in that our three speakers, the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Liba Ambrosova and Councillor C. H. Burden, were all able to stay the whole week-end with us, and we were lucky too in having Mr. L. F. Behrens as our genial and capable chairman.

The serious work of the week-end was started by the Dean with a thoughtful and stimulating talk on "The Spirit of Co-operation." "The whole ultimate meaning of the peace movement is spiritual," he said, and emphasized that the peoples of all countries must learn that they have a responsibility towards each other. He was followed in the evening by Dr. Ambrosova, who in a moving speech affirmed her faith in the true democratic spirit of Czechoslovakia and the contribution her country will make to the future of the world. But after the war, Czechoslovakia will need physical, political and spiritual first aid, and we must see that she gets it. Both these sessions were followed by lively discussions, which were continued in small groups long after the meetings broke up.

On Sunday morning the more energetic of us climbed Lose Hill in the teeth of a 70 mile-an-hour gale (at any rate it felt like that), but it was worth it when we reached the top. On the one side, Edale and the High Peak looked less sombre but no less grand than usual in the bright sunlight, and on the other the view of the Hope Valley, supposed to be one of the finest in England, lived up to its reputation.

The last session, a very racy one, was devoted to consideration of "the secrets of success." Councillor Burden provided us with light relief well mixed with sound common sense and practical instructions for carrying on our vitally important work. So our conference came to a close, and we returned home with fresh ideas and renewed inspiration.

H. M. D.

ATLANTIC CHARTER

THE ECONOMIC POINTS

By W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

In last month's HEADWAY I dealt with the first three points of the Charter, the political ones. Now consider Points IV and V, the economic ones.

Point IV says: "They" (the signatories) "will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity."

Point V says: "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."

Here is the most contentious part of the Charter. Planners, Protectionists, Free Traders can all find in the vague formula of Point IV something to shoot at. Any unofficial comment on what its authors meant or what its application would imply may be condemned as an attempt to read into the text a personal view. And it may well be that Allied Governments, including our own, are shy of making official comment because some of them have not made up their minds about what meaning they do attach to these phrases. But here, for what it is worth, is my layman's reading of what these points imply.

1. ECONOMIC COMMONWEALTH. The United Nations intend that a certain "equality of economic opportunity" should be open to "all States, great or small." Unlike the Axis Powers, they stand for an economic commonwealth in which all members, irrespective of their strength, shall enjoy a certain equality of rights.

If we are going to make a reality of this equality of rights in the economic field, we shall have to accept far-reaching changes, e.g. in the colonial system; and the equal rights will have to be supervised and protected by the power and impartiality of a widely representative international authority.

2. NO TRADE WAR AFTER THE WAR. The United Nations offer this equality of

rights in the economic field to "victor and vanquished" alike, subject always to "the final destruction of Nazi tyranny". They repudiate the policy of trade war after the war, such as was threatened by the Allies in 1917: as Mr. Churchill said when he brought the Charter home, "it is not in the interests of the world, and of our two countries" (Britain and U.S.) "that any large nation should be unprosperous or shut out from the means of making a decent living for itself and its people by its industry and enterprise."

I think this is perfectly sound and that, if we mean it sincerely, we ought to emphasise it now. To give hope of a decent future to a Germany which throws over all that Hitler stands for is sound policy, for strategic not less than for moral reasons. But much controversy is likely to arise over applying the principle. If we are not prepared, immediately after the war, to allow equality of rights to the Germans as regards armaments, shall we be prepared to accord such equality as regards the rebuilding of economic strength? If we remain burdened with huge armament costs after the war, whilst Germany is one-sidedly disarmed, will not Germany's economic competitors complain that she is being helped by this handicap to "win the peace"? The Anglo-American Agreement of Feb. 23, 1942, which provides for working out the economic aims of the Charter, says that the action taken to achieve these aims should be "open to participation by all other countries of like mind." But after what has happened, it will take more than the fall of Hitler, more than a cleansing revolution in Germany, before the rest of the world will credit their German neighbours with "like-mindedness": besides revolution, time and much healing statesmanship on both sides will be needed.

3. EXPANSION OF TRADE. The Charter's policy of "fullest collaboration in the economic field" implies, above all, expansion of world trade. The aim is defined in the Anglo-American Agreement as "expansion, by appropriate international and

domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods." Expand *production*. For the world, far from being a world of actual plenty, is only a world in which an approximation of plenty could be achieved if we took the steps necessary to "render available to human needs the whole productive capacity of the globe" (L.N.U. Statement on "World Settlement"). Expand *employment*. For the war should have taught us, even if the Russians haven't, that it is the worst kind of waste to leave our people's energy unused, and that this waste is avoidable if only the community will organise its resources without being paralysed by obsolete ideas of what is "profitable." Above all, expand *consumption*. Producers have organised powerful collective defences for their sectional interests; but the interests of consumers are too often undefended. To enable the hungry and ill-fed to get what they need for a balanced diet is to solve the greater part of the food-producer's problem. To enable those who need raw materials to pay for their requirements by selling their goods and services is to solve the greater part of the problem of "access to raw materials."

As soon as the world tackles this problem of enabling consumers to get what they need, the problem of priorities will have to be faced. As the L.N.U. Statement on "World Settlement" recognised, "the whole productive capacity of the globe" will only be made "available to human needs" if a "World Planning Authority" of some kind has a hand in the job. For reasons of prudence as well as of mercy after this war, some one—an international authority—will have to see to it that there is "bread for all before there is cake for any"; and that will mean a continuance of certain controls and rationings. And when the post-war transition is over, it will still be necessary to plan the allocation of a large slice of the capital and brains available to the more privileged, "advanced," peoples, for creative use by the under-privileged, "backward," peoples. If the United Nations mean business about that Commonwealth which the Atlantic Charter points to, they will not think it good business to let their customers, their suppliers, their fellows, be beggared or starved or infected.

4. REDUCTION OF TRADE BARRIERS. Another aim, as the Anglo-American

Agreement says, is "reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers." There is an important general truth in the "Free Trade" principle. To get rid of barriers that needlessly impede the flow of world trade, and to reduce uncertainty about what barriers will be encountered, is to promote expansion of trade, and to reduce the danger of war. Evidently, much of the labyrinth of quotas, tariffs, currency-restrictions, etc., built shortsightedly to favour sectional interests, should be pulled down.

But if every restraint which canalises the flow of trade were suddenly demolished, the result would be disastrous; many communities, socially healthy and well-balanced, would wither in face of the full blast of competition by the mightiest economic units.

What is needed for the commonwealth is, not anarchic national protectionism, not anarchic free trade, but a system which provides collective safeguards against any anti-social departures from the broad free-trade principle. The power of nations, and federations of nations, to restrict and canalise trade must not be left absolute, but must be treated as a matter of international concern. I think the Commonwealth will need an International Commerce Board, empowered to review all tariffs, quotas and other such restrictions, so that they may not be imposed *arbitrarily*, simply as instruments of self-judged national policy, but shall make due allowance for the interests of the other peoples affected.

5. NO DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES. Another aim is (to quote the Anglo-American Agreement again) "elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce." "Access on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world" should not be denied *arbitrarily*, as an instrument of private war in peace-time or as an instrument of monopoly in colonial empire. Plenty of dynamite here. Strictly applied, this means the end of imperial preference, and the transformation of the colonial system.

One qualification is needed. Discrimination generally involves dangers for the community but on occasion, *authorised* discrimination is a social duty. To dis-

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VENGEANCE AND HATRED, OR JUSTICE AND GOODWILL?

By NOWELL C. SMITH

At the meeting of the General Council on June 19th, the following Resolution will be moved on behalf of the Executive Committee:—

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Sharing with all humane persons their detestation of the cruelties practised by Germans and Japanese at the instigation and with the connivance of their leaders; and

Remembering the declared objects for which we are waging war;

Approves all practicable measures for the trial and punishment of such cruelties, with the object of preventing their future commission and avoiding acts of indiscriminate vengeance by the compatriots of the victims; and

At the same time earnestly deprecates all utterances tending to inflame the spirit of mere vengeance and of racial or national hatred.

No sincere supporter of the aims of the L.N.U. can fail to loathe cruelty or to desire its extirpation. The spirits of vengeance and hatred are equally incompatible with those aims. But it is one thing to assent to a truth and another to uphold it in the tide of one's own anger or in the face of misrepresentation.

The cruelty of German policy and the atrocities committed by Germans on Poles, Czechs, Russians and other foreigners as well as on their own Jews and fellow-Germans during recent years and at the present time are notorious and well-authenticated facts. So are the atrocities committed by the Japanese. Warnings have already been given by our own and other allied Governments of the intention to bring to justice, where possible, the perpetrators of these cruelties. But we must not expect too much from any legal proceedings that may be instituted, or sentences that may be pronounced or even executed. By far the greatest share of the responsibility for the crimes perpetrated in wars and persecutions rests with the wielders of power—power of authority, power of wealth, of speech, of pen,—who directly or indirectly

unleash the passions and appetites of unenlightened and misgoverned men. And history shows how impracticable it is to apply the canon of pure justice to the mixed facts of such catastrophes as war and revolution.

Inevitably the victims, the witnesses, and even those who only hear of such cruelties are stirred to horror, anger, hatred, vengeance, against the perpetrators and their abettors and even against a people as a whole. Deeds of vengeance occur and will occur without regard to the guilt or innocence of the persons on whom vengeance is taken. But it is the duty of everyone sincerely desirous of promoting human welfare to resist injustice in his own thoughts and acts, and passionate outcry of others for mere vengeance, and still more any propaganda for national hatred.

No reasonable person would in cold blood deny the above statements. But truth may be blurred by indignation and by a passionate desire to avert the repetition of these horrible cruelties from ourselves and those we love. It is therefore all the more necessary to keep before our minds our claim to be fighting *against* cruelty, *against* injustice, *against* lawlessness and unbridled lust of power, and to allow no specious pleas of retribution, no taunts of wanting firmness or patriotism, no fiery incitements to revenge, to deflect us from our master-purpose.

Associated with the question of vengeance is that of the blood-guiltiness and appetite for world-domination of the whole or only a part of the German people. On this question, both for shortening the war and for making peace with any reasonable hope of its durability, our judgment must be sober.

The doctrine that the Germans are racially the enemies of the rest of mankind is as fantastic as the Nazi doctrine of the *Herrenvolk*. Nations undoubtedly acquire distinctive traits which, though not

“BOOKS ACROSS THE SEA”

From small beginnings as the Book Section of the American Outpost, “Books Across the Sea” has developed. It is a society of American and British friends of books, acting as one group to promote mutual understanding between the English-reading peoples. Although the lending library stage has not yet been reached, more than 500 books and pamphlets from the U.S.A. can be seen in the Reading Room at Aldwych House, London, W.C.2. Readers will be interested to know that one of the objects of “Books Across the Sea” is to help study circles with reading lists, programmes and loans of books.

The National Peace Council (39, Victoria Street, S.W.1) announces four new titles in its series of *Peace Aims Pamphlets*. The first has already reached us, and the others will be ready shortly.

FREEDOM FOR COLONIAL PEOPLES considers what positive contributions could be made by and within the British Commonwealth and Empire towards the realisation of the four freedoms of which President Roosevelt spoke. *Dr. Rita Hinden* and *Dr. W. Arthur Lewis* discuss the economic issues, and *Professor Norman Bentwich* and *Mr. A. Creech Jones, M.P.*, the political and constitutional issues. Recognising the value of the Mandate System during the past twenty years, Mr. Creech Jones wants to see the system improved and extended, with more inspection, closer supervision, better facilities for appeal, wider publicity, and the Mandates Commission given a more dynamic conception of colonial well-being. (Post free 10d.)

BRITAIN AND RUSSIA: THE FUTURE. By *Professor H. J. Laski*, *Professor John Macmurray*, *J. Middleton Murry*, *Maurice Dobb*, *Dr. Evgheny Lampert*, *Professor S. Konovalov* and others. (Post free 1s. 4½d.)

FOOD RELIEF FOR OCCUPIED EUROPE? By *Dingle Foot, M.P.*, *Miss Edith M. Pye* and *Roy Walker*. (Post free 10d.)

INDIA, 1939-42. A survey of the chief landmarks in the Indian problem since the outbreak of war, prepared by *Miss Agatha Harrison* and *Gerald Bailey*. (Post free 7d.)

immutable, may last through generations. It may be true that the Germans are more easily regimented and more prone to a sentimental self-importance than, for example, ourselves. It is certainly true that the power and policy of Germany have been for eighty years a growing danger to a world precariously balanced on national and economic competition; and that this danger has now become an assault upon the freedom of millions of mankind. It follows that this power and policy of Germany must be destroyed.

But it will not be destroyed by indiscriminate denunciations. That does more harm than good to our own unity of effort. We are united to defeat the Axis Powers. We need no hymns of hate; and acrimonious disputes about past history are not useful war-work.

It is plain to common sense, and to the realist Russians, that the Germans are not a united nation. The Gestapo and the concentration camps are proof of this. It is our duty, if we are fighting for freedom and justice, to remember the German victims and opponents of German misrule. It is also our interest to make the best use of these enemies of the Hitler and militarist regime, and to sap the endurance of the population of Germany. Such propaganda is no substitute for military overthrow; but if used with sincerity and persistence it can be of great value both for shortening the war and for “winning the peace.”

For besides winning the war we have to prepare for peaceful relations with some eighty or ninety millions, and more, of Germans. Not even the most implacable judge of the German race hopes to exterminate or “sterilise the lot” (in spite of whirling words). Not even the least imaginative suppose that Germany can be permanently held down by military occupation. This is not the place to discuss occupation, disarmament, and other precautions, which all agree will be necessary and which should certainly be thorough. But if in the long run we hope to see Germans as well as Frenchmen and Russians and the rest of us living peaceably with free institutions in a world that has learned to co-operate for well-being rather than to fight for self-assertion, it stands to reason that we must not begin by assuming that all Germans are incapable of even starting on that long run.

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

Colonial Settlement

SIR,—Mr. Watson drags my name into his letter on colonial policy. He should state facts. I did not attack the settlers; I criticised the industrial conscription of Africans for private employment and profit on European farms in Kenya. Incidentally, there are journals sounder on colonial policy than the one he names.

A. CREECH JONES.

House of Commons.

Hyde Park Meetings

SIR,—As I listened to one of your speakers in Hyde Park last Saturday evening, skilfully arguing the case for the League and the Union, I thought how much the tone of the oratory in the Park might be improved if we had more reasoned argument of the kind. There is much ignorant and mischievous spouting in the Park, and though it may not do a great deal of harm, it should certainly be offset by competent individuals, or organisations. Intelligent American visitors—and there are many in the neighbourhood to-day—deplore the falsity of it all and the waste of words, when so much real educative effort, such as your speakers provide, is required. Usually there are thousands of people on the chairs who would be drawn by the right kind of constructive propaganda. On the occasion I speak of

I noticed that while the crowd steadily augmented, no one moved away for a solid hour and a half.

My surprise is that so few representative bodies make their appeal to popular sentiment in Hyde Park. No doubt the tone has fallen, but that is the greater reason for a revival when so many people are developing new political conceptions and should be versed in the best of the old.

At any rate, your organisation is keeping the flag flying and its efforts may lead other bodies to use the Park regularly as a ready means of direct contact with all shades of popular thought.

JOHN S. MACGREGOR.

London, W. 1.

ATLANTIC CHARTER

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criminate between an aggressor and his victim should be an obligation.

6. "FULLEST COLLABORATION." I have no space left for discussing the vast implications of the phrase about collaboration. "Collaboration" will not be effective if it does not lead to what amounts to a growth of world government for certain purposes. And partnership for economic and social peacemaking will be frustrated unless coupled with full partnership for political peacemaking.

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