

# HEADWAY

## IN WAR-TIME

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### THROUGH ADVERSITY TO VICTORY

Bad news from the war fronts has in the past few weeks heavily outweighed the good, and the immediate future holds the unpalatable prospect of more dark days to come. That, to be sure, is no novel experience for Great Britain in this war; but this fresh winter of disappointment strikes with a more bitter chill after brighter months which have done much to shatter the legend of German invincibility. Yet, as anxiety deepens, our duty is plain; and the whole nation will heed Mr. Churchill's call for new resolution, to draw from the heart of misfortune the vital impulse of victory. Complacency may have crept in to dull the sense of urgency which inspired our efforts after the fall of Dunkirk. Along with any suspicion of defeatism, it must be sternly relegated to the remotest depths of our consciousness. Our capacity for swallowing bitter pills must be demonstrated with a rebirth of that indomitable spirit which, when our position seemed far more hopeless than to-day, snatched salvation from disaster.

Taking, as the Prime Minister exhorts us, "the rough with the smooth, the good and the bad side by side," we can be certain that the vast moral and material resources of the Allies, if we fully mobilise them, will ultimately

prevail as surely as those of the Axis will dwindle. But that day is not yet, and meanwhile imminent perils call for not only faith in the future but fortitude and endeavour in the present. Our Union has pledged to the Prime Minister, its Honorary President, all support in its power to bring the war to a successful conclusion so that with the overthrow of Axis tyranny, the foundations of an enduring peace may be laid. In this testing time, both as a nation-wide organisation and as individuals, let us by our example play a valiant part in honouring that pledge.

#### **Ethiopia Restored**

In a month which has witnessed, side by side with critical developments in the war situation, a spurt of treaty-making between Britain and her Allies and friends, the signature of the long-awaited Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement deserves more than passing comment. That negotiations with the Emperor had been proceeding had been a matter of common knowledge. Unluckily, at a crucial stage, these seemed to be hanging fire. Official reticence, perhaps understandable in the circumstances, contributed to the growing anxiety felt by many staunch champions of Ethiopia's freedom, especially



as the tentative proposals put forward by the British Government in June of last year had been, from the Emperor's point of view, far from satisfactory. Not the least welcome result of the public announcement of the signature and terms of the Agreement is that many of the fears nurtured by doubt and uncertainty have been swept away.

Obviously a matter of this importance cannot be regarded from the standpoint of "a treaty's a treaty whatever's in it." As far as its main provisions go the Agreement has been generally well received. It can be seen that the Government have done substantially what the General Council of the League of Nations Union asked them to do last December. The Emperor's sovereignty and the freedom and independence of his country are recognised. Diplomatic relations between the two Governments are being re-established. So much for the positive points specifically urged in the General Council's resolution.

At the same time it would appear that certain clauses of the Agreement give grounds for legitimate criticism. Ethiopia's good friends will maintain, and rightly so, their vigilant watch over future developments.

On one of the more controversial issues, the thorny question of advisers for the Emperor, lingering suspicions which may have been left in some minds after Mr. Eden's statement in the House were dispelled the same evening by Mr. Richard Law's broadcast explanation of the Agreement. "There's not going to be any divided allegiance," the Under-Secretary emphasised. "They're his (the Emperor's) advisers, not ours."

Particularly welcome was Mr. Law's tribute to the "amazing tolerance" of the Ethiopians. In their hour of liberation, they might have had every excuse for emulating the hideous barbarities of the Italians. "Instead," said Mr.

Law, "they've shown discipline and self-control. They've shown that they're fit to be free."

### Our Ally China

"China, no longer alone, finds in her solidarity with the democratic front new inspiration and encouragement in her resolve to defeat Japan." These words from Dr. Wellington Koo, the Chinese Ambassador, at a large meeting in the Guildhall recently won spontaneous applause—another indication of the British people's appreciation of the magnificent struggle for freedom waged by the Chinese nation under the inspiring leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Promptly replying to Japan's treachery against her friends by declaring war on the three Axis Powers on December 9th, China took the initiative in entering the Allied camp. Up to that time, a trickle of aid had been reaching her from outside. America, in addition to sending help under the Lend-Lease Act, had already despatched a Military Mission to Chungking so that the Chinese should be able to make the best possible use of these facilities. In the all-important Burma Road area, 300 American pilots were helping to protect the 4,000 American lorries carrying vital supplies to Chungking. Part of the 25,000 tons of goods passing along the Road each month came from British sources. But all that was little enough. Now China, by her willingness to contribute to the common pool, has more than ever earned the right to receive something substantial in return.

But let us be clear about one thing. This is not charity, any more than the aid which is going to Russia is charity. The big loans to China which have been arranged by the American and British Governments, plus the masses of war material which are to be supplied on lease-lend principles, are tokens of the

now admitted community of interests. They are part of the inter-allied design for victory.

Like Russia, China has manpower in abundance—newly organised and unbeaten armies amounting, it is said, to 300 divisions or 5,000,000 men. For nearly five years, despite the handicap imposed upon them by lack of heavy equipment and fighter aircraft, Chinese forces have given an excellent account of themselves. Promptly and without stint, China's loyalty to the Allied cause has been demonstrated. It will not be forgotten how, by one well-planned diversion, she made a gallant though unavailing effort to ease the already hopeless position of our forces at Hong Kong. Chinese troops are mustering for the defence of Burma. All this, of course, is in addition to the task of keeping large Japanese armies—probably some 700,000 men, exclusive of the forces in Manchuria—bogged in China. Chinese victories over the Japanese—at Changsha, Tamshui and Waichow, for example—have provided slight but welcome rifts in the clouds overshadowing Eastern skies.

The Generalissimo's visit to New Delhi, following on that of General Wavell to Chungking at the end of last year, promises even more valuable and intensive collaboration in the future. China's latent strength may prove as solid and timely a bulwark as that of Russia. Both countries are reassuring factors to-day, when the Axis is striving desperately to put the mounting Allied war effort out of gear. There are, in fact, encouraging parallels between the respective positions of China and Russia. Geographical immensity and almost unlimited reserves of manpower both, of course, possess. To these must be added the remarkable fashion in which the two countries, by

skilful planning and reorganisation of their resources, have countered the occupation of so much of their territory by the enemy. Although Japan has established at least nominal control over the coast, the chief cities, communications and some of the richest provinces, China has built up vast new industries in the west to replace those lost in the east. Further, it is clear that the mass movements of populations have contributed in an amazing degree to that growing spirit of national unity at the back of Chinese resistance.

China, in short, is an Ally in the war well worthy of our respect and confidence. From her record as a good member of the League of Nations, we may also look to her to pull her weight on the side of sanity at the Peace Conference.

## WILLKIE ON THE LEAGUE

Mr. Wendell Willkie, President Roosevelt's opponent in the last presidential election and most probable successor, has been "looking ahead" in the *London Evening Standard* (February 17th, 1942). On the League of Nations, he writes:—

"As a people we (the Americans) have moved far in the last 20 years towards the Wilsonian dream. If that dream is presented to us now in a less formalised way, we shall, in my view, accept it."

He adds: "Whether you believe the League of Nations was a good idea or not; whether or not you believe that the United States should have chosen an international course in 1919 as in 1939, the fact remains that we have had to take an international course, anyway. But we have taken it late. We have taken it expensively. We have taken it at the cost of many lives."



## WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN A. RATTENBURY

On January 20th Mr. Parker asked the Secretary of State for War whether he will take steps to amend Par. 541 (a) of King's Regulations, which, as interpreted by the Privy Council, forbids officers and men to take an active part in the affairs of non-party organisations such as the League of Nations Union or Federal Union, in view of the fact that the educational work of such societies is essential to the formation of an informed electorate.

SIR E. GRIGG: *I do not think it would be desirable to amend King's Regulations in the sense suggested by my hon. friend; but there is nothing in King's Regulations to prevent serving officers and other ranks attending the meetings of these societies with a view to informing their own minds, providing they do not take an active part in their affairs.*

MR. MANDER: *Is my hon. friend aware that the Prime Minister is President of the League of Nations Union, which contains members of all parties?*

SIR E. GRIGG: *That may be true, but the regulations lay down that no officer or soldier may take an active part in the affairs of any political organisation or party until he has retired or been discharged. It is very hard to draw the line between party and non-party organisations.*

MR. MANDER: *It is not a party organisation.*

Mr. Mander's last comment escaped the notice of the Official Reporters, but it reached my ears in the part of the gallery in which I sit.

These questions and answers give one furiously to think. Yes, "furiously" is precisely the word for it. One cannot make this a personal idiosyncrasy of Sir Edward Grigg. He was no doubt expressing the military mind.

But what a mind! And what sort of morale is produced out of "this freedom"?

### The I.L.O.

Another matter specially interesting to the League of Nations Union was raised by Mr. Rhys Davies in his speech on the Restoration of Trade Practices Bill. He called attention to the fact that the I.L.O. in New York a few months ago "gave us one of the best outlines of the treatment of labour and kindred problems at the end of the war . . . called by the appropriate title the Social Mandate. . . . The I.L.O. has laid down several points for the consideration of all governments; the first of them in regard to the elimination of unemployment." Mr. Davies spoke of the throwing out of employment in his own constituency for eight years after 1914-1918 of 10,000 miners. In that constituency 22 pits were closed by the last war never to be opened again.

This document, he said, urges the establishment of machinery for vocational training and re-training, improvement of social conditions in all its fields and its extension to all classes of workers. "I am sure the right hon. gentleman is familiar with this very excellent document, which is trying to point the way to the reconstruction of society when this terrible conflict comes to an end." It is not often that the International Labour Office of the League of Nations is considered in Parliament. It is, however, one of the sidelines of the old League of Nations that might well, if it really got under way, be extremely important in

building up a civilization which by Labour's collaborative efforts between the nations may make future wars impossible.

### China's Future

Questions by Messrs. Mander and Purbrick brought from Mr. Eden a statement that seems stronger than previous official statements on the question of China's future. Mr. Mander asked for the restoration to China of all territories seized by Japan, including Manchuria; and Mr. Purbrick went back further and asked for the giving up by Japan of Korea and all their island possessions. Mr. Eden claimed that the Atlantic Charter's 3rd article covered it as it related to the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those who have been forcibly deprived of them, and pointed out that the Chinese Government are themselves a party to this declaration, and agreed with Mr. Noel-Baker's interjection that neither the British nor any of the allied Governments had ever recognised the conquest of Manchuria, so that their action is not compromised by past events.

### New Treaties

Two notable events have been the signing of the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement and the signing of the Anglo-Soviet-Persian Alliance.

The Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement restores our normal diplomatic relations with the Emperor, who has asked for technical advisers which H.M. Government are procuring for him, while they finance the Emperor with diminishing financial aid for four years—the design being to ensure that the Emperor's dependence on financial aid from a foreign country shall not be perpetuated. The Government is also asked to provide judges to sit on Ethiopian benches. Mr. Noel-Baker's question as to whether the Emperor would be

allowed to provide help from other nationalities than British was answered by Mr. Eden saying that at the end of the two-year period he could not conceive that there would be any objection. On the question of slavery in Abyssinia, the Emperor wishes to implement as soon as possible what was always his desire—the abolition of the practice.

The Anglo-Soviet-Persian Treaty (a correction of Mr. Mander's question which called it Anglo-Russian-Iranian), Mr. Eden said, was signed in Teheran on January 29th, coming into force on signature. It was approved by a large majority in the Persian Parliament on the 26th. This gaining of the free assent of the elected representatives of the Persian people Mr. Eden regarded as a justification of the patience with which the long and sometimes difficult negotiations had been conducted by all concerned. He extended a cordial welcome to our new allies. His Majesty's Government and the Soviet Government undertake to respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Persia. They have no designs or ambitions which would conflict with this principle.

Mr. Eden also, in reply to a question by Dr. Russell Thomas, welcomed the Agreement between Greece and Yugoslavia, which cements the friendly relations already existing between two Allied Governments, and forms a basis for a future Balkan Confederation.

All these treaties are important and valuable on one condition only. The war must be won by the anti-Nazi Powers. Otherwise those documents will not be worth the paper they are written on. However, the fact that so many countries are engaged in this treaty-making on the assumption of victory coming to our arms suggests that the Prime Minister's messages of confidence in the eventual result are well founded.



## “NEW ORDER” IN THE EAST

JAPAN'S KAMPF. By Jaya Deva. (Gollancz. 6s.)

Two and a-half years of war with Germany have produced a spate of popular books and pamphlets analysing the Nazi creed, and tracing its roots in German history. Nipponism escaped the same degree of exhaustive, critical treatment as long as Japan remained nominally at peace with the Allies, and while appeasing her was still popular in many quarters. Mr. Jaya Deva, therefore, has a comparatively uncrowded field. His book, in one sense, is as frankly propagandist as the writings of Lord Vansittart—but propaganda of the right sort is not a bad thing in war-time. That of Mr. Deva is at least well documented, and his book bristles with facts. What at first sight might seem an inextricable tangle of economic and political motives is shown in reality to make a pattern running through Japan's story of the past seventy years.

Fruitless to argue whether Hitlerism or Nipponism was first on the scene. There is evidence to support the claim of ardent Japanese patriots that the Fuehrer picked up a few tips from their methods, but perhaps one must seek earlier for the origin of both creeds of domination. The author makes no more than the claim of parallel development. This much, too, is certain, that the Mandarins of Modern Japan had their eye all the time on the West, ready both to graft modern technique on to parts of a semi-feudal structure, and to profit by the “Law of Combined Development” which enabled them to skip stages.

“Japan,” writes Mr. Deva, “is a classical example of how Fascism comes creeping by the back door, and strangles the unsuspecting stripling of democracy.” Demands for a Parliamentary system only temporarily checked the ancient sneaking preference for government by supermen. When Prince Ito set out on his tour “to learn of foreigners where they are strong and remedy our defects,” Bismarck most impressed him; and in due course the Emperor's “gift” of a Constitution was modelled on that of Prussia. From the beginning the influence of the Supreme War Council, which had direct

access to the Emperor, was preponderant.

All along the line the Japanese moderates—and with many “moderate” was only a comparative term—were outmanœuvred by the militarists. Compromised by manufactured incidents and *faits accomplis*, they found themselves travelling the same road.

Prince Konoye, in introducing Japan's “New Order” to the world in November, 1938, declared that the New National Structure Movement “now supersedes that of party politics postulated on liberalism . . . it aims at the concentration and unification of the nation's entire powers.” Among many similarities between Nipponism and Nazi-Fascism may be mentioned the emphasis upon war as necessary for realising the highest morality, preposterous racial theories, the suppression of Trade Unionism, and the reorganisation of religious life in Japan as in Germany.

Comparable to *Mein Kampf* there is, of course, the Tanaka Memorial, the significance of which was shown in an article in HEADWAY (June, 1941). It appears that this elaborate study of the various stages of Japan's struggle for world domination was secretly formulated by the Army and Navy leaders with the principal object of getting the seal of Imperial Will affixed to their aspirations.

In the opinion of the author of this book, Japan's “New Order” has little mass support among the ordinary people. The combined membership of the Patriotic Societies represents only six or seven per cent. of the total population. He is further convinced that, despite the Axis partnership, the rival aspirations of Germany and Japan are bound to clash—there is not room for both expanding systems on this limited globe. Hitler has more than once revealed his real feelings towards his Ally, as in his description of Japan as “the depository but never the creator of a culture.”

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

## BORROWED PLUMES

(FROM OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT)

Somewhere in Berlin, from a grandiose office with a highly specialist staff of two hundred, the Nazis are carrying out an elaborate deception with the object of bluffing the workers of many nations into acceptance of their New Order. This office calls itself the “Central Bureau for International Social Reconstruction.” Not only Germans but professional traitors of various nationalities—men and women of the kidney of Lord Haw-Haw—have been roped in to spread a particular brand of propaganda based on the deliberate distortion of economic and industrial intelligence.

The chief weapon in their armoury is a monthly publication entitled the *New International Labour Review*. Our readers will perceive that this designation, but for the trifling addition of the word “New,” is the same as that of the authoritative publication of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, now produced regularly at the I.L.O.'s war-time organising centre at Montreal, Canada.

Investigation shows this Nazi propaganda organ to be an ingenious imitation of the I.L.O. *Review*—clever enough to mislead many who have not been warned against it. Format and type are the same.

### ON RECOGNISING CHINA

(Continued from page 9.)

military position in that country is not materially different to-day from what it was then. In spite of all the losses China did not seem to be one man short. Her potential man-power is practically limitless. Her leaders are experienced and shrewd. The conviction grew and deepened that in these things might be the greatest hope of the world for the victory of freedom and that conviction abides.

China needs to be recognised as a full and equal partner, and not merely an auxiliary in this struggle.

There is an uneasy feeling that China's help is not realised and not

The I.L.O.'s method of presenting information has been unblushingly borrowed by the Nazis.

Only a closer examination of the contents reveals it to be anything but a genuine I.L.O. publication. On the contrary, it has two objects—to undermine the I.L.O. and to boost the Nazi New Order.

Berlin has made tremendous efforts, through the medium of special circulars to workers' organisations all over the world, and similar propaganda devices, to convince them that Great Britain, the United States and the other Allies were only too glad, when war came, to jump at the chance of liquidating the I.L.O. There is no longer any I.L.O., the workers are told; in their own interests they had better support Hitler's New Order.

The truth is, of course, that the I.L.O. has never ceased its activities. No more is needed than the recent International Labour Conference in New York, attended by governmental, employers' and workers' delegates from 35 countries, to give the lie to the baseless Nazi allegations.

The I.L.O. lives on, in spite of the Nazis. Hence their plot to usurp its authority and prestige.

utilised as it should be. It is regarded as a doubtful extra instead of perhaps a greater asset to the Allies than Japan is to the Axis.

The Burma Road needs to be kept open at all costs and the Chinese could do it. They are on the spot. The Burma Road is not only China's life-line but the link between the ABC of democracy and the road to the speedy winning of the struggle in the Far East. China should be frankly and fully recognised, not only as heroic in herself, but as a fellow counsellor and ally to be valued and the key to the triumph of liberty on the Pacific Front.

HAROLD B. RATTENBURY.



## ON RECOGNISING CHINA

By the REV. HAROLD B. RATTENBURY

*(The author, who is the Methodist Missionary Society's Secretary for China and Burma, spent 32 years in Central China doing educational and evangelistic work. Returning to China two years ago he embarked upon a 10,000-mile tour of China and Burma, which took him through war-infested regions, the districts occupied by the Japanese, and the regions safe in Chinese hands. He was recently chosen by the B.B.C. to broadcast on the Burma Road.)*

Ambassador Kuo Tai Chi, in his last broadcast to Britain, spoke of the A B C of democracy. It was a happy and characteristic use of the English language by a Chinese national. Since then other letters of the alphabet have been added; but at that date the Ambassador was content to link America, Britain and China as comrades in arms and in aims.

The forces of light and liberty would gain immensely from a full recognition of a claim so true.

Many friends of China have said, "What can we do to help her?" Fewer have had the insight to realise what China has done and can do to help her allies.

For four and a half years China has known that, if words mean anything at all, her cause and ours were one. Disappointed of help from America and Britain in her resistance to aggression, and fully aware of our embarrassing commitments elsewhere, China has been sure all along that the linking of the A B C powers into an Alliance could only be a question of time. There have always been sufficient strangers in her midst to let her know how America and Britain's hearts really beat. She realised the ugly thing that faced the world East and West and at last her faith has been rewarded. The A B C of democracy are now at work together. But do we yet understand? Do we still say, "How can we help?" Is that the only question that we ask? Is it not the way of truth

and wisdom to realise how much China brings to democracy?

### Recognition of the Past

Now that we have felt the weight of Japan's incursions into the Pacific we realise more clearly not only the length of China's resistance but its quality. China in five years has had enormous losses and endured awful sufferings against a nation that has, in a very brief space, caused embarrassment to all the other Pacific nations.

It was not the conquest of China but the fall of France and her colonies that paved the way to all that has followed. Had France remained erect China would still have Japanese aggression bogged and her help to the Axis would have remained neutralised.

Do the democratic nations realise quite fully that they thus owe an enormous debt to China that they will find it very hard to repay?

Through critical days and years China has succeeded in keeping Japan's military ambitions from seeking fulfilment further afield. How much weaker the present position of the Allies would have been but for that.

It is the geography of the land, as well as the sustained resistance of her government, people and soldiers, that explains the achievement. This matter of geography is one of the facts that demand recognition. Just as the English Channel has been and remains vital in the history of England and the British Isles, so the huge bulk of China, her mountains and rivers, as well as her

enormous population and her steady perseverance and faith, adds to her strength.

### Recognition in the Present

General Wavell went to Chungking and had more to ask, in all probability, than immediately to offer. He wanted troops for Burma and met with a ready and generous response. Some help in the air has gone to China which has already had effects on the situation there. Is the recognition of China's immediate power to help as clear to the politicians and the man in the street as it may be to the professional soldier?

After her first unanticipated onslaught on Pearl Harbour, Japan's further successes have been due to the fact that she has been able, thanks to her mastery of the seas, to face the defenders of Hong Kong, the Philippines and Malaya with overwhelming man power. She could afford great losses of men and still be undeterred. The Allies are scattered and their lines are necessarily thin. Reinforcements are bound to be slow in coming by sea, as they must. Apart altogether from armaments we are short of men.

The men we lack China possesses and is willing to offer. Some have come over the Burma Road. No one knows how many. It is said 200,000 have been offered. Half a million would give Japan something to think about and reverse the situation as regards man power.

People are apt to discount the Chinese as fighting men. The Chinese proverb that "You don't make nails out of good iron or soldiers out of good men" is quoted with some reason. A new China, however, came into being in 1911, at the first revolution, and was reborn in 1926, at the second revolution. Many of China's best sons are freely giving themselves for the salvation of their country. It is said that 50,000 cadets are constantly in training as officers. Chiang

Kai-shek knows something about such training. He himself came to eminence as Commandant of the Whampoa Academy.

At the very time that the A and B Powers have been suffering reverses China has been winning victories. This is partly due to the last four or five years of experience of Japanese warfare, and partly to China's overwhelming resources in man-power, trained, if insufficiently equipped. We have failed for want of men. China has succeeded because of men. Moreover the little aid in the air we have been able to offer her has been immediately effective. In the present the unity of the ABC Powers, as far as it has been achieved, has proved to be the secret of resistance to and victory over Japan.

### Recognition for the Future

By and by the Allies will reassert themselves at sea. The navies of all the world must necessarily be silent services and we cannot know how or when victory on the sea will come. It will be a long and protracted business for the navies alone to recover lost ground.

China is Japan's Achilles heel. Allied air force based on Shangtung and Hopei would be an immediate and grievous threat to the very heart of Japan. Those provinces, "occupied" as regards railways and cities, are very much disputed everywhere five miles from a garrison. The Chinese Eighth Route army is all the time harassing the invaders. Chinese Government and officials are functioning all through the villages of the north. Here are not only men but organised men, a potential threat right in the heart of "occupied" China. Is not China the gate-way to victory?

In the autumn of 1939 and the spring of 1940 I journeyed through most of "free" and "occupied" China. The

*(Continued on page 7.)*



## UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

During February Headquarters provided speakers for gatherings of Rotary Clubs, Brotherhoods, Women's Fellowships and other organisations, as well as for a large number of public meetings organised by L.N.U. Branches. Dr. B. Pepic, Dr. L. J. Sudjic and Dr. Bicanic—all from Yugoslavia—have addressed Rotary Clubs at PUTNEY, HORSHAM, MAIDENHEAD and WOOLWICH.

Branch Secretaries and others may like to know that speakers on Yugoslavia are available for meetings of Union Branches and other organisations without payment of fee. One of these speakers, Miss Olive Lodge, M.A., spent seven years in the country, and is the author of an important book on "Peasant Life in Yugoslavia," which is now in the press. She is ready to address L.N.U. Branch meetings, Women's Fellowships, Women's Institutes and similar gatherings; and has lantern slides as well as a 100-ft. (16.4 mm.) film on Yugoslavia. Applications should be made to the Secretary of the Union at 11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

Viscount Cecil addressed a Conference on "Collective Security," organised by the BRISTOL AND DISTRICT COUNCIL on February 12. The audience was composed largely of key people in Bristol—business men, bank managers, University professors, clergy and ministers, and the heads of all the important schools. Lord Cecil and his subject, "The Atlantic Charter," combined to attract an audience of 300 for the BEDFORD BRANCH'S recent meeting in the Modern School hall. The Mayor of Bedford was in the chair. Out of the collection, the sum of £5 5s. was sent to Head Office for transmission to the British Red Cross Fund.

"The Atlantic Charter" was also Miss K. D. Courtney's subject when she addressed the BRITISH LEAGUE OF UNITARIAN WOMEN on February 21.

So well are the numbers keeping up month by month that the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION has decided to continue its Sandwich Luncheons for some time to come. Mr. A. J. Howe, the Chairman, made this announcement at the February Luncheon, before introducing Mr. John T. Catterall to speak on "The Far

East." Mr. Catterall showed how the struggle for mastery in the East, far from beginning recently, had proceeded relentlessly since the beginning of the century. Even at the time of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Japanese sympathies had really been with the Bismarckian policy of "blood and iron." Fifth column activities had been going on in Siam, Indo-China and other countries. Our own procrastination, special pleading and anachronistic attitude at Geneva had all contributed to the difficult situation which we were now facing in the East. For a time we must be prepared for punishment and castigation. Undoubtedly Japan's intervention would extend the duration of the war. But, against that, Japan was calling in ever increasing degree upon her assets, and was adding to her liabilities. In the final result, her defeat along with Germany would improve the chances for getting a stabilised world.

At the next L.R.F. Luncheon, on Tuesday, March 17, at 1 p.m. (Y.W.C.A., Great Russell Street), Count Balinski will speak on "Poland."

Meetings at NORTHAMPTON, LANCING, EASTBOURNE, WEST HAM, GUILDFORD, CHARLBURY, NUNEATON, ST. ALBANS, ISLINGTON, KINGSTON and PLYMOUTH were among those addressed by Mr. John T. Catterall during February. CLEVEDON BRANCH, Somerset, sent a cheque for two guineas in recognition of his services at the Annual Meeting. One result of his visit to PORTISHEAD was the enrolling of eight new members. The ROTARY CLUB OF WESTON-SUPER-MARE thought him "undoubtedly one of the finest speakers that the Club has had for a long time." Both this Club and that at AYLESBURY asked for return dates.

The following were included in the Headquarters diary of speakers for meetings:—Mr. G. Le M. Mander, M.P., at READING; Dr. F. Y. Chai (of the Chinese Embassy) at BISHOP'S STORTFORD; Miss Helen Kirkpatrick (U.S.A.), and Dr. Wolfram Gottlieb (Russia) at OXFORD; Dr. Wolfram Gottlieb at BROMLEY; Dr. C. G. Kullman (the Refugee Problem) at WALLINGTON; the Rev. J. Ivory Cripps at LEAMINGTON; Miss Freda White at

REIGATE; Dr. F. M. Hnik at PADDINGTON and ST. JOHN'S WOOD; and Miss Ethel Waite to the "Good Companions" at the SYDENHAM CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

Miss Barbara Barclay-Carter spoke on "The Atlantic Charter" at the Textile Hall, BURY, with the Mayor of Bury in the chair. She also visited CHURCH STRETTON, and addressed a series of six meetings in LEEDS and district.

A most cheering report has been received from HURTWOOD. A rousing address by Mrs. Corbett Ashby a year ago drove home to the members their duties of keeping the principles of the League alive in order to prepare for a better new world order. The Discussion Society, which is holding regular weekly meetings under the able chairmanship of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, is flourishing exceedingly, and there is no dearth of excellent speakers to open the various topics. The Branch has also been fortunate enough to have Margery Fry, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, and the Rt. Hon. F. Pethick Lawrence, M.P., to speak at the General Meetings, which are held every three months. Altogether the Branch is going ahead, and learning, and thinking for itself.

OAKHAM BRANCH (Rutland) is one of our smaller branches, which are keeping going with encouraging results. Writing to outline plans for the annual meeting, the Hon. Secretary says: "My contact with the members has convinced me that support for the League idea is growing, and that when the time comes we shall have behind us a public opinion which will play its part in the making of a new world."

Under the inspiration of Miss Godwin Salt, O.B.E., our HANDSWORTH BRANCH has long helped to keep up interest in its main activities by means of a very useful sideshow—a working party to help good causes. This "long-sustained work" has won a paragraph of appreciation in *The World's Children*, the official organ of the Save the Children Fund. Three knitted cot blankets and some toys were the Branch's latest gift to the Selly Oak Hostel, which was equipped by the S.C.F. for bombed-out families from Birmingham.

The need for continuous effort by the Union to keep vital peace aims before the public is shown by the experience of the Chairman of one of our North London Branches. When told by the Editor of the

local newspaper that "the Atlantic Charter was already dead," he so strongly argued that the Charter was very much alive that the Editor finally agreed to publish an article on the subject.

The death of MR. R. C. DUXBURY, who for many years did valuable work for the Union in organising meetings and contributing to the Press, will leave a gap in our ranks in Carlisle and Cumberland. In local life, Mr. Duxbury had the reputation of building all his activities on principles from which he never wavered.

Blackpool Branch has also suffered a loss through the death of its Hon. Treasurer, MR. FRED NAYLOR, whose heart gave way under the strain of a relapse following pneumonia. Always a most loyal and devoted colleague, Mr. Naylor served the cause of the League splendidly for many years.

## RE-BUILDING EUROPE

Under the above general title, the *Sunday Times* has been publishing a valuable series of interviews with political heads of the seven Allied Governments now established in London. Although reasons of copyright debar us from quoting these articles, it may be said that the theme of collective security and a return to League principles (though not necessarily to the old pre-war structure of the League) runs through them like a *leitmotiv*. Specially interesting to our readers are the views expressed by Dr. Gerbrandy, Prime Minister of the Netherlands (18/1/42), Mr. J. Nygaardsvold, Prime Minister of Norway (8/2/42), and by Dr. Nintchitch, Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia (15/2/42). Best of all is Dr. Benes of Czechoslovakia (22/2/42). These articles are to be published in booklet form by Messrs. Cassells. Read them!

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## FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

## COLONIAL SETTLEMENT

(In view of the intense interest aroused by Mr. J. Arthur Watson's article on "Colonial Settlement" in last month's HEADWAY, we are allowing readers to express their views at much greater length than can generally be permitted under war-time conditions. Nevertheless, we would again emphasise that letters intended for publication should be short and to the point.—ED.)

SIR,—I particularly wanted a good copy of HEADWAY to pass on to a former member of L.N.U. to prove to him that our organisation was meeting the questions that the times have raised. However, the article "Colonial Settlement," by Arthur Watson, has made it completely unsuitable. If you had balanced this article by some of the facts relating to Land Tenure, Taxation, Reserved Occupations, Education, Representation on Government, Mineral Concessions, etc., it would have shown that you had these blind spots in view. Why even the question of the increase in the import of gin into West Africa against our declared policy is a very deep and present concern of most of your members in this area. Many of us have spent our working lives overseas in business and mission field, and have first-hand knowledge that all is not well and is not going to be amended while the system of irresponsible exploitation is pursued. That "they were acquired for humanity, for Christianity, for healing Africa" is unfortunately only part of the picture, and not the part that matters. Our Empire is tumbling about our ears not because we have run it on those lines, but because we have not. The Ottawa Agreements, which still stand, have declared that to the world.

GILBERT E. PEET (retired master mariner) Winscombe.

SIR,—Mr. J. Arthur Watson (HEADWAY, February, 1942) has seen colonial enterprise at work from the inside, and seems rather impatient of the conclusions reached by onlookers. And yet these enjoy, proverbially, some advantage in the matter. In the present case they do seem to bring to bear commonsense, which is not proved in error by being dubbed "essentially materialistic philosophy."

No one would now suggest that merchant venturers of the Middle Ages were seeking out backward peoples in order to carry to them the benefits of European civilisation and Christianity, and that it was a mere unforeseen misfortune of the native tribes and civilisations of America that the benefits conferred on them just didn't somehow agree with them. In modern times, I doubt whether the ideals of Livingstone and others were incorporated in the Charters of the companies entrusted with the colonisation of East Africa, and I suspect that the motives that prevented our Government of the time from securing to the Sultan of Zanzibar permanent sovereignty of his territories on the mainland were not dictated by the purely disinterested diffidence Mr. Watson assumes.

To get down to basic principles, what are colonies for? I suggest:

1. The exploitation of natural resources. (Note.—Exploitation is not intended to imply anything more inhumane or sinister than discovery and development for profit.)
2. The exploitation of native labour as one of the natural resources in so far as this was likely to cheapen man-power. (See note No. 1.)
3. Convenient stations for world traffic.
4. The establishment and equipment of points of strategic value.
5. The recruitment of man-power for military purposes.

It is not necessary to include the spread of religion and culture. These have not, as a general rule, been specifically encouraged and, on occasion, have been definitely forbidden by the Sovereign Government.

If this estimate is even roughly correct, it is reasonable to doubt whether the desires of pioneers such as Livingstone for

the infiltration of European civilisation into Africa would have had much effect in the absence of prospects of accompanying material advantages, and one may also doubt whether the possibility of these advantages being mutual as between the colonist and the native added appreciably to the enthusiasm of the former. The Rev. James Henderson, of Lovedale, in an appendix to the Select Committee Report on General Hertzog's Native Bills (1927) shows that in the period 1875-1925 the consuming power of a characteristic native area (the Ciskei) fell by more than 50 per cent. per head! (Barnes, "Empire or Democracy," 1939, p. 152). Recent investigations into labour conditions in Jamaica and the failure of the British Government to ratify, at the last moment, the territorial settlement of the native population in Kenya Colony form a similarly sorry commentary on the benefits to native races claimed by the colonial optimist.

It may be possible to find some explanation for these unfortunate episodes and to argue that the conferring of benefits on primitive and backward races is not always an easy problem to solve, and one which is made more difficult at times by the reluctance of the natives to accept gifts which they may suspect to have Hellenic attributes. In this respect it would be interesting to investigate the reported success of Russian Colonial policy. Here there seem to be good grounds for believing that the effect of colonial administration has been the successful exploitation of natural resources, including the human material, accompanied by a rise in twenty years of 400 to 500 per cent. in the standard of living of the natives and a rise in their culture level to parity with the standards of the sovereign countries accompanied by maintenance and development of native culture on native lines. One probable reason for this is that these were definite aims and not merely presumptive by-products of the enterprise. Another might be the inclusion of scientific anthropologists in the development organisation.

Given the necessary initiative from the centre, other empires can achieve similar success. It may be noted in passing that the present German Government is, for reasons it has gone to some trouble to make obvious, notoriously incapable of anything of the sort. The British people

and the French are, with right leadership, eminently capable of it. They have an accumulation of administrative experience and personnel of which Barnes (*ibid.*, p. 99) writes: ". . . the modern official . . . sees himself not as an Empire-builder, but as a builder and decorator of native societies. His strength lies in his courage, his endurance, his capacity for hard work, under exacting conditions, and his loyalty in honouring his bond by disinterested service in return for the remuneration he has accepted." The next sentence is, unfortunately, equally true. "His weakness is that he seldom grasps how that service is frustrated by the economic framework within which it is performed."

And there the matter stands.

W. RAMSAY SIBBALD.

Hoylelake, Wirral.

SIR,—J. Arthur Watson's article, "Colonial Settlement," demands a reply. He meets one "sweeping statement" with another equally sweeping; and when argument takes this form, reasonable men and women can well assume that "there is much to be said on both sides."

I am at the disadvantage of not having read the Report referred to, but agree that, stripped of its context, the statement that "all the Colonial Empires acquired their dependencies for gain or ambition, and in their earlier stages exploited them ruthlessly," appears rather sweeping; but who, after a study of the history of East Africa, could agree that our Empire there was acquired "for humanity, for Christianity, for healing Africa of her open sore?" Certainly I should not go so far as to lay the blame for "our present position in Kenya" entirely on the shoulders of "Exeter Hall and the great missionary societies." And who is the unnamed "authority most competent to judge" who declared in 1930 that "probably nowhere in the world were relations between employers and employed better than in Kenya?"

One cannot entirely dissociate a Government from those classes of society having the power to bring influence to bear on its policy. Our Colonial Government, never having had a settled or co-ordinated policy of administration of its colonies, and never having attempted to formulate a detailed plan to implement its policy of "trusteeship," has always shown a lack of con-



tinuity in its administration, the quality of which has reflected too much the peculiarities and deficiencies—and in some all too rare cases, the high qualities—of the governors and their staffs, so that colonies, often quite close together, have shown differences in their treatment of native problems, and have always been open to influence by people best able to bring influence to bear. This would no doubt be a good thing if those parties with the interests of the native populations at heart had been as politically minded as those with only their own interests uppermost. In the early days of the last century Exeter Hall and other bodies like the L.M.S. were politically minded, and did much to keep the policy of the Home Government reasonably fair, but the influence of these bodies waned with the growth of the century, with the consequent increase of the influence of the other classes just at the time when the scramble for Africa took place. And I find it difficult to see how anyone could think that Kenya was acquired except because of the pretty mess the Imperial British East Africa Company had landed itself in.

The interests of the natives were certainly borne in mind, but in no case can it ever be said that they have been the first charge on the Government. As one reads the correspondence and reports of the Colonial Office one recognises a rather blundering, well-intentioned desire to protect native interests, which time and again comes to nothing because the people on the spot have power of obstruction and influence which achieve more than a muddled-headed benevolence.

Will Mr. Watson answer this question: Why is it that in those parts of Africa where conditions are such that it is impossible for white men to make a permanent home, the interests of the natives receive more attention than in parts like Kenya?

Here are some facts taken from Government sources in 1937 that should be noted: In spite of the influence of the Home Government the legislature had steadily refused to impose income-tax; one-third of the Revenue was raised by taxes on the native population; 9,000 natives were imprisoned for failure to pay tax; infant mortality was 400 per thousand; educational facilities (of a very primitive kind) were provided for less than 15 per cent.

of the child population. Although from figures given it is impossible to arrive at definite conclusions it is difficult to resist the opinion that the very expensive education of the white children is partly provided for by the taxes on the natives.

Consider also the case of Northern Rhodesia, where the richest copper mines in the world, in 1937, out of a dividend of more than £5,000,000 paid income-tax of only £700,000; where a native with a gross annual income of £26 was expected to pay a tax ranging from 7s. 6d. to 15s. whereas a married European with one child and an income of £700 went tax-free. Conditions in Northern Rhodesia for mine workers are immeasurably superior to those in other parts of the continent, but one can hardly say that the mineral resources of the Colony are being used for the interests of the native population. A good dividend by any reasonable standards could be paid on these mines, and still leave plenty to carry on first-class work for the natives: to develop their all too meagre education and health facilities. Education of the native population is a difficult matter, and for many years must continue to be different in content from that given to the white population, but there is little justification for the different *qualities*.

Some idea of this difference is shown by these figures for Cape Colony in 1926 (and it must be remembered that Cape Colony is quite progressive by some standards—it established a Native College as early as 1914):

Average cost per European scholar, £18 18s. 7d.

Average cost per non-European scholar, £2 14s. 1d.

And although the non-European population made up more than three-fourths of the population, European scholars outnumbered non-European by 7: 6.

I am also surprised that Mr. Watson should take exception to the statement that European agricultural settlement in Central Africa "has never been economic." By this I understand that the returns in the form of dividends have never been sufficient to justify the amount of capital invested. This is obvious to anyone who has studied the finances of such companies as the Imperial British East African Company or the British

(Continued on page 15.)

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

**THE CHOICE BEFORE INDIA.** By J. Chinna Durai. (Cape, 8s. 6d.) This book reviews the Indian situation from the angle of experienced Liberal Moderates. It should be read in conjunction with the books recommended in *Headway*, November, 1941. There is no lack of courage in bringing some of the material facts of to-day out into the open light, away from the hoodoos and jujus of nationalist extremism. For example: how much of India is really represented by Congress and what has been the latter's administrative record; the Fascist (or Communist) tendency of some of the leaders and, above all, of much of the Congress "tactics and system"; patriotic politics as a career; the "bunkum" of the argument that the British Raj has ruined India. India herself, declares the author, must get together—Hindus, Mohammedans, the Minorities, the Princes; but it must be for the common good of India, not for the glamour of a single, highly organised party. Two choices face the country. She can remain in the Commonwealth as an equal partner, or she can cut herself adrift in a world of aggressive Powers centuries ahead of her in scientific weapons of destruction and the united will to use them.

**PATTERN OF CONQUEST.** By J. C. Harsch (Heinemann, 8s. 6d.). The third of the American trilogy on Germany and the Nazi system, the other two contributors

being Ambassador Dodd and Mr. Shirer (reviewed in earlier *Headways*). In an extremely interesting and well-informed book we are struck by what Mr. Harsch, from his observations as correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, has to say about German morale and German ignorance of national psychology. Germany's morale—the people as well as the army—is not going to collapse until the German military machine receives a first-class defeat. (Mr. Harsch, writing before Russia made her mark in the war, was poorly informed on Russia.) In his view, Germany has already ruined her chance of successfully dominating Europe, even a Europe ready in many ways for treatment as a unit. It is the old story of German inability to understand the psychology of other peoples and Germany's inveterate habit of relapsing into barbarism and cruelty if things go wrong. To-day, Germany's overlordship of Poland and Czechoslovakia and elsewhere is the latest proof: it has made her earlier treatment of the Hereros, comparatively, a Victorian tea-party. No; one thing is certain—the German solution for Europe is the wrong one.

**THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE POST-WAR WORLD.** By various authors. (National Peace Council, 1s.) The N.P.C. is to be warmly congratulated on this very able (Continued on page 16.)

## HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

(Continued from page 14.)

South Africa Company. In the case of the latter much money was sunk in Rhodesia by Cecil Rhodes of which there is little record, and the British taxpayer had to find much more for purposes of defence and administration. But in spite of this the company failed to pay a dividend for many years, and most of the settlers suffered very considerable hardships and financial losses because the hopes of good farming land were not justified.

It has taken a long time for people in this country to realise (and to judge by Mr. Watson's article they still don't realise it) that Africa, except for the Nile

Valley and parts of West Africa, is a poor continent so far as its agricultural resources are concerned. When it has become possible to combat diseases of many kinds, to improve fertility of infertile soil and to control irrigation of the many parts where rainfall is capricious or non-existent, then only will Africa be an economic proposition for farmers; and it is extremely doubtful whether it will ever compare with, say, the Netherlands Indies. The only factor to relieve the difficulties of the farmer is the possibility of cheap native labour, and while that is so the prospects of native advancement are certain to suffer.

A. W. CHAPMAN.  
Colchester.



## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

(Continued from page 15.)

and helpful discussion of one of the key-problems of to-morrow. Though it is almost invidious to select from a galaxy of talent, three of the talks here reproduced claim perhaps first attention. *Professor Goodhart* gives a remarkably clear analysis of the advantages and disadvantages, both for Britain and the U.S.A., of Federation (the chief of the latter for the U.S.A. being that it involves an entire alteration of their beloved Constitution) and drives home, in trenchant fashion, the post-war case for the International Committee form of government or control. The experience of the League here has been invaluable, both in technique and scientific methods. Developing our joint international committees may not be grandiose, but it promises solid and permanent results. *Professor Saurat* throws a different light on the problem in a warning that is clearly needed. The reaction, he says, of a good deal of Europe to Anglo-American co-operation is likely to be unfavourable, at first. Totalitarian war is a begetter of hatreds. Germany has not persuaded France to like her, but she has made some headway in making Frenchmen anti-British and anti-American. Here is the key field for our propaganda, which should be very definite in its promises of material help and its insistence that the overwhelming weight of two-thirds of the world's industry can be literally counted on to drive the Germans out once and for all. Lastly, we are vastly pleased with *Miss Vera Brittain's* infectious interpretation of American psychology and American culture, and her warm plea for more

teaching of American history over here, more publishing of American books, better popular lectures through the B.B.C. and other organs on the American standpoint. Let us teach and learn about America in a new spirit, turning to our own profit a truer knowledge of "the unique and individual way that is the shape and spirit of the land."

Help for the solution of post-war difficulties will be found in a number of smaller publications. *Dr. A. D. Lindsay*, in *TOLERATION AND DEMOCRACY* (Oxford University Press, 1s.), declares the duty of Democracy is to maintain rights which are liberties. Democracy may be tolerant; it cannot be indifferent. After all, toleration belongs to one of our finest hours, the Elizabethan. It is wise to cherish differences as well as unity.

*CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL ORDER*. By *William Temple*. (Penguin Special, 6d.) With his usual forthright vigour, the Archbishop of York urges that it is not only the right but the duty of the Church to concern itself with the broad human principles underlying political and economic reconstruction, though this is not to say that it is entitled to assume special authority on the scientific or technical side regarding means or commit itself to any particular policy. Dr. Temple has some specially interesting ideas about "order" and "freedom." An appendix contains a suggested programme of post-war planning. He makes the point that, if we are to establish effectively minimum standards of life and work, we must be prepared for a bold policy of international action. The valuable work of the International Labour Office, in particular, should be greatly extended.

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