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EDITORIAL

THE WORLD AT WAR

Mr. Churchill's mission to Washington and Mr. Eden's to Moscow are the best possible evidence that the Allies are acting up to M. Litvinov's latest dictum that "War is indivisible." This, of course, is a revised version of the historic phrase which the present Soviet Ambassador in Washington coined in his Geneva days. With it he drives home two lessons. First, neutrality for any nation is a flimsy barrier against the dark tides of war. Secondly, although collective security did not prevent this war because it was never honestly tried, its wartime counterpart is essential to the Allies if the cause of Freedom and Justice is to prevail over Axis tyranny.

Now at length virtually the whole world is the battlefield, and great rival forces are massing for the decisive clash of arms. The extension of the war to the Pacific means that the area of combat has become bewilderingly vast, compared with the compact battle zones in Europe which gave Hitler his earlier *Blitzkrieg* triumphs. Our intelligences now have to take in distances of thousands of miles, against the hundreds of even the Russian front. There is scope for swift assaults, for shocks and sur-

prises, for setbacks and successes which may come to one side or both sides, simultaneously or in turn. Already we have seen something of what we may expect in this latest phase of the war. Like Nazi Germany before, the Japanese aggressor is reaping a quick harvest from treachery. All the more important is it to keep our sense of perspective, to see the war situation as a whole, and above all not to lose sight of our long-term objectives.

The shrewd initial blows against the British and American Fleets by the unscrupulous aggressor were, in fact, the best guarantee that the wise warning of our Prime Minister that "there should be no under-rating of the gravity of the new dangers we have to meet" would be heeded on both sides of the Atlantic. The immediate effect of the losses is serious, although "in the case of the American Fleet not so damaging as was at first feared; but in the long run they may prove a blessing in disguise. Our American Allies have had early cause to realise—as we had scarcely begun to realise until Dunkirk—that total war demands a total answer; and they are unlikely to waste precious months com-

placently waiting for victory to come in its own good time.

The Axis Design

If anything else was needed to convince the American nation that Japan's treachery was part of the Axis design of world domination, it was Germany's declaration of war dutifully echoed by Italy. Thus did Hitler extinguish the last dying embers of Isolationism in the United States. President Roosevelt, his position unassailable, treated the gesture with the contempt which it deserved.

But, whatever were Hitler's reasons for demonstrating solidarity with the Eastern partner in the Axis, Japan has shown no similar alacrity to embark upon war with Russia. It is possible indeed that Germany, despite her Russian headache, feels that Japan's most useful part is to engage the attention of Britain and the United States in the East. Already, however, one hears the question asked in this country: will Russia reciprocate the British gesture in breaking off relations with Finland, Rumania and Hungary by herself declaring war on Japan?

Russia's Part

Perhaps it is best to let Russia decide that problem in the light of all the circumstances. Naturally, to us, the Russian bases round Vladivostok conjure up tantalising prospects of directly attacking Japan. Against that must be put the indisputable fact that, for long bitter months, Russia has been bearing the brunt of German offensives on an unparalleled scale. Although Soviet forces in the East have been kept intact, the economic strain on the whole Soviet Union has been colossal. Again, it is a matter of getting all the war in perspective. Can Russia contribute a

bigger service to the common cause than by continuing to engage Hitler's armies and, now that they are in retreat, giving them no respite?

In recent weeks, the Far East has naturally loomed large on our mental horizons, and eventually a fierce trial of strength may be decided there by a combination of naval and air supremacy. Nevertheless, there are still good grounds for the theory that this war cannot be won until Germany's military machine has been decisively beaten on land.

Portents for the Future

Despite hard knocks which the Allies have sustained, on balance the latest engagements in all theatres of war have by no means been to the advantage of the enemy. "In war," said Napoleon, "you see your own troubles, those of the enemy you cannot see." If that is even moderately true, the erstwhile Austrian Corporal in the German Army, like his Corsican predecessor, must be "growing old quickly on his battlefields." Along almost the whole Russian front his dreams of conquest are fading, and even the rash expenditure of crack troops is not preventing his "straightened" line from bulging (for him) the wrong way. In Libya, Rommel's only hope seems to be to save something of the shattered remnants of his armies. From all parts of occupied Europe come reports of opposition to German and Italian rule—sometimes, as in Yugoslavia or Greece, active guerilla fighting; elsewhere stubborn resistance in the form of sabotage or non-co-operation. Increasingly, too, comes evidence that all is not well in Germany itself. There may be an element of wishful thinking in many of the rumours, as when a correspondent in the *Neu Beginnen* writes that only the fear of

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"INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS" IN PARLIAMENT

A MONTHLY SURVEY

By "HEADWAY'S" Parliamentary Correspondent, OWEN A. RATTENBURY

Everything is dwarfed by the new issue.

It was to a well-attended House of Commons that Mr. Churchill spoke of Japan's declaration of war against the United States and Britain. The story was brief and it was repeated with very few additions in the Radio Broadcast at night. Three brief speeches of support from the late Mr. H. B. Lees-Smith, Sir Percy Harris and Mr. Hore-Belisha completed that session. The full meaning of it emerged on Tuesday the 9th and Wednesday the 10th, as disaster to America's navy and Britain's battleships was told.

The reception of the news was grim and undemonstrative. It was but another series of preludes to final victory. That was the Premier's obvious message, and the House took it in that way. There has ceased to be any pos-

sible complication of an Axis that would not work unitedly. All are now recognised as outlaws.

A Significant Debate

Earlier happenings seem very remote in face of this major act of war; but, since the minor as well as the major events of international significance in Parliament must be recorded, I must hark back to something that was really interesting when it occurred. Perhaps that situation is best summed up in a quotation from Mr. Eden's reply to the debate on the I.L.P. amendment to the Address:—

"The Hon. Member for Bridgeton (Mr. Maxton) is perhaps the most deft and attractive debater in the House. When I listened to him, in common with many of my hon. Friends, I became pleasantly mesmerised, until I really began to wonder whether the cause he was pleading was one to which we should respond. But I think my hon. Friend himself understands that

(Continued from page 2.)

Europe's revenge is to-day holding Nazi Germany together. The Allies cannot afford to relax their war effort in the hope that Germany will crack suddenly. Nevertheless the portents for the future are there.

Joint Planning

In the midst of a life-and-death struggle, nobody can point with certainty to the turning-point. Have we passed it already with the German failure to win the Battle of Britain, or the Battle of the Atlantic, or the Battle

of Moscow? Or will future historians single out the direct entry of the United States into the war—not in the Sir Galahad mood of 1917 but fighting alongside Britain and Russia for liberty and life itself? The news of joint planning between the Allies, the first announcement of which from the White House was so speedily followed by the latest meeting between the Prime Minister and President Roosevelt, is good. Co-operation of that kind will assuredly win the war; after, it must be continued to win the peace.

there is a fundamental unreality underlying all that argument. He told us . . . that he and his friends were soon going to arrange a campaign . . . He told us of the conferences that would take place and the speeches that would be made, and he told us of their hatred of force. He must now know that none of those conferences and none of those speeches could possibly take place but for the action, the brilliant action, of the Royal Air Force in the summer of last year."

It was significant, too, that the debate in question could take place at all. Three members of the House form a party. They think for themselves. In principle they are opposed to practically the whole of the other members. They are not pacifists, they say, but have never found a cause for which they could fight. They prefer reason to force. So, say their opponents, do they. But where is the evidence that the Axis will listen to reason, or ever would do? Was not that method tried *ad nauseam* by Mr. Chamberlain?

Ribbentrop Answered

It is one of the triumphs of the British Parliament that over 600 members are prepared to allow a whole day of precious Parliamentary time to be occupied by a debate initiated by an amendment sponsored by these three men. Perhaps greater still is the fact that the Foreign Minister not only attends the debate throughout, but answers carefully the speeches made by these members. In this Mr. Eden is an exceptional minister. It is one of the things that may account for his popularity in the Gallup poll. Incidentally one positive answer to Ribbentrop was very important. Ribbentrop had said that in 1940 we had received assurances that Soviet Russia would come into the war on the side of Britain. "We never,

of course, received any such assurance at all. He went on to say that the aim of the Anglo-Russian plans was to attack German troops in the Balkans from as many sides as possible. I deeply regret to have to say it, but there never were any such plans. Had there been, it would be obvious to anyone that the whole strategy of the Balkan campaign would have been very different, and let me add, its outcome would have been different, too."

Absurd Comparisons

Mr. Eden also pointed out the absurdity of comparing the rule in India and the slavery of Europe under Hitler. In India there are States where a white man is seldom seen. Over 80,000,000 people living in these Native States! But there is no movement of the population of British India to these Native States. Why not? Because there are many Indians who do not want to be governed by other Indians. That provided a contrast with the figures he gave of 332 executions and 1,308 handed to the Gestapo in a month in Czecho-Slovakia, 1,132 executions in Yugoslavia since the occupation, in France since August 13th 250 executions, 100 Serbs executed for the assassination of two German soldiers.

The position in India, however, has been the occasion of questions in the House. From Mr. Amery's replies it was impossible to tell what the Government were doing. He has the same quality that brought Miss Helen Wills the appreciative name of "poker-face"—a considerable element in her successful appearances on the tennis courts of

the world. Thousands of prisoners seemed to mean very little to the questioners or to the Minister, but the imprisonment of Nehru on a four-year sentence was a different matter. He had been in this country and had impressed a very large number of people by his genius and idealism. It is therefore not surprising that his release has had a distinct effect on the tone of questions about India. Mr. Sorensen and Mr. Gordon Macdonald, who are inquisitive about India, appear to have a more hopeful outlook. Mr. Amery told Mr. Sorensen on December 11th that the releases of all these prisoners were unconditional.

Many questions were asked at different times about the request of Russia that Britain should declare war on Finland, Hungary and Roumania. Many members were much more anxious to break off relations with these countries than the Government appeared to be. However, again, time has solved the difficulty and Britain is undoubtedly in a stronger position as against these countries because of its last moment attempts to find a way short of war to separate them from Axis military associations.

The Cairo Voice

On December 9th Captain Gammans asked a question about the undue optimism of the Cairo spokesman. An attempt was then made to find out who this spokesman was, and Capt. Margesson suggested it might be more than one. Then on December 11th the Prime Minister surprised the House by his spirited defence of the Cairo voice, and immediately hints and definite state-

ments were made in the Press to the effect that the spokesman in question was a near and dear relative of the Premier, and a member of the House stationed in Egypt. Apparently the mentioning of this name inaccurately effected what ordinary question and answer had failed to do. In justice to the man wrongly named, it was necessary that the real names should be given, and so in answer to another question their names have been revealed. And nobody is much the wiser. The later stages of the campaign in Cyrenaica seem to be justifying the optimism which at first seemed so foolish.

Colonial Conditions

Several questions have been asked about social conditions in the Colonies. The general trend of the answers is that conditions are not ideal. The Government wish to improve them and to develop in all cases towards self-government, but present war conditions make it difficult or impossible to do much in that direction.

The Government wisely agreed to the earlier reassembly of Parliament than they at first proposed. Undoubtedly so long a recess as they proposed at this time—although, in fact, they had good reasons for it—would have created a very bad impression both at home and abroad.

ELECTIONS

At the General Council Lord Lytton gave a report on the decisions reached by the Executive in regard to Union action at elections. For reasons of space the summary which he said would be published in HEADWAY is held over until the next issue.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

Lord Lytton's visit to BOURNEMOUTH, where he addressed a Conference of Union workers and others, showed the value of organising such meetings to attract an audience from a large area centred round a big town. The first Labour Mayor of Bournemouth, who has been a supporter of the Union from the beginning, was in the chair.

Lord Cecil's visit to OXTED, where he spoke on "World Settlement After the War," inaugurated a series of three meetings jointly sponsored by the L.N.U. Branch, Federal Union, and the Oxted and Limsfield Rotary Club. "It will be specially our fault," said Lord Cecil, "if again after all our experience we allow the world to drift into war. It will depend upon the action of the individual whether peace can be established on a firm foundation."

Mrs. Corbett Ashby's recent tour in Yorkshire produced a series of successful and well-attended meetings which delighted our branches in all the towns visited. At HUDDERSFIELD, where she took as her subject "Empire, Republic and Soviet," she discussed the contributions which the British Commonwealth, the United States and Russia could each make to the new World Order outlined in the Atlantic Charter. An excellent report in the *Huddersfield Examiner* gave the meeting wide publicity. At HALIFAX over a hundred members and friends heard a similar address—this despite the black-out and the fact that there had been earlier opportunities to hear Mrs. Corbett Ashby at the Luncheon Club and the Women's Liberal Association. The Mayor presided at this meeting, and good work was done in collecting subscriptions and roping in new members. The programme at NELSON included five schools and a junior evening institute. "Mrs. Corbett Ashby's pleasant, unaffected manner and interesting talk," reported one school mis-

tress, "held the children's attention from start to finish."

Dr. Gilbert Murray's eagerly awaited visit to STREATHAM attracted a capacity audience. Speaking on "The Recovery of Civilisation," Dr. Murray urged that international co-operation was the real need, and that, if we mustered sufficient strength of will, civilisation could survive. Writing to congratulate the organiser on "a very wonderful meeting," Mr. David Robertson, M.P. (who presided) said: "I thought Dr. Gilbert Murray's address was superb. I could have listened to him for hours."

Mr. A. G. Elliot-Smith, Headmaster of Cheltenham College, addressing the CHELTENHAM BRANCH of the Union in the Big Classical at the College, stressed the need for the people of this country to have plans for peace after this war if the mistakes of the last post-war period were not to be repeated. Mr. D. L. Lipson, M.P., presided.

More than 500 people provided Dr. Vaclav Benes with an attentive audience when he spoke at WEST HAM on "Czechoslovakia's Future." Miss Ethel Waite followed with a short speech on "The League's Future."

During December Mr. John A. F. Ennals addressed Branch meetings at NORTHAMPTON, LETCHWORTH, GOATHLAND, PICKERING and HARROGATE on his recent experiences in some of the occupied countries of Europe. He also visited many Rotary Clubs, and spoke to the Day Continuation School and a Staff Luncheon at Messrs. Rowntree's factory.

WATERLOO, CROSBY, SEAFORTH and LITHERLAND BRANCH, although the area which it covers has been repeatedly "blitzed," is maintaining a sturdy programme of activities. At the Annual Service, Mr. James Macdonald, J.P., preached on "Character and Courage," relating his remarks to the Atlantic Charter. A conference on "Social and Economic

Reconstruction" was held in the Crosby Congregational Church. The speakers included the Rev. C. C. Dicks, who presided and opened the discussion, Mr. Macdonald, Dr. G. T. P. Tarrant (Headmaster of the Grammar School) and Mrs. Tarrant. There are to be further discussions on this subject.

A discussion meeting on the Atlantic Charter, arranged by the DORKING AND DISTRICT BRANCH, attracted a large audience, the members of which expressed views as interesting as they were varied as to how the clauses of the Charter could be carried out.

HEADINGLEY BRANCH has arranged a meeting with Leeds Federal Union on January 10. By mid-November this Branch had collected over 100 more subscriptions in 1941 than during the whole of 1940.

At the L.R.F. Sandwich Luncheon for December, Mr. S. L. Hourmouziou told such a moving story of the privations which the gallant Greek people were undergoing that the audience unanimously decided to urge the Government to do anything which could be done to relieve starvation in Greece to-day. Dr. Vaclav Benes will be the speaker at the next lunch at 1 p.m. on Wednesday, January 14, at the Y.W.C.A., Great Russell Street.

KENSINGTON BRANCH is pressing the claims of "Bun Teas" against those of lunch meetings. Recently, with Professor and Mrs. Basil Williams as host and

hostess, some forty people came together and stayed for a two hours' discussion—after which four new members joined the Union.

"The problem of world peace is not an impossible one," declared Mr. E. G. G. Lyon, hon. secretary of our SHEFFIELD BRANCH, speaking on "International Aspects of Post-War Reconstruction," at the Sheffield Rotary Club's weekly luncheon. The chief reason for the failure of the first League experiment was that not enough energy had been put into the business of building peace. In future the nations must have a bigger conception of the work of any International Authority than they had hitherto had of the work of the League.

In sending membership returns, the Secretary of the WEST MERSEA BRANCH writes:—"The response this year, with the exception of two members (one removed and one laid low by illness) was unanimous."

"Thank you for your choice of speaker for us," writes the Secretary of the WESTON-SUPER-MARE BRANCH. "Mr. John T. Catterall proved very acceptable to our audience, and we should like to arrange another visit from him next year, if possible."

We regret to record the death of LADY HORSLEY, for many years one of our most active workers in Kensington, and a regular attendant at General Council meetings.

MEETINGS

MR. JOHN T. CATERALL, whose appointment is referred to on page 11, is a forceful, stimulating and informative speaker. He has travelled all over the world and can speak from first-hand knowledge on questions affecting not only the British Empire but also the U.S.A., Russia, the Pacific and the Far East. For some fifteen years before the war, Mr. Catterall addressed thousands of meetings for the L.N.U., and his long association with the Union's work and his acquaintanceship with Branches will make it possible for him, when speaking for them, to be of assistance in other ways.

Suggested titles for Mr. Catterall's speeches are as follows:—

"The Atlantic Charter" · "Russia" · "The Pacific" · "The Far East"
 "The Shape of Things to Come" · "The Brave New World" · "World Order or Chaos" · "Anglo-Saxony and World Peace" · "Ideas and Ideals" · "The Economics of Peace" · "The Foundations of World Co-operation" · "Collapse of Hitlerism—What then?"

Applications for his services should be addressed to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

ANOTHER GOOD GENERAL COUNCIL

Once more grave new developments in the international situation gave a special urgency and significance to a meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union. As the members assembled before the opening session on December 10, there was one topic of conversation—Japan's treachery as a result of which the war started by Hitler was assuming the proportions of an Axis war against the world. Lord Cecil had the emphatic approval of the 150 representatives and co-opted members from all parts of the country when, brushing aside normal procedure, he asked leave to introduce on the spot an urgency resolution proclaiming the Union's attitude towards this latest act of aggression. Lord Lytton, seconding, said that it was quite obvious that the aggression had been planned for many weeks or months in advance. Further discussion would have been superfluous and the resolution printed on page 12 was carried unanimously.

Lord Cecil's Address

Lord Cecil, as usual in his Presidential Address, treated the Council to a masterly survey of events since the last meeting, relating them to first principles. Our first duty, whether as individuals or as members of the Union, was to bring about victory, and victory as early as possible and as complete as possible. But, in addition to resisting the establishment of a pernicious system, we must have some better system, some system such as the League of Nations sought to establish to prevent aggressive nations from plunging the world into war in the future.

After examining various proposals being put forward at the present time, Lord Cecil said: "Something on the lines of the League is the only way out. That is why we have, in the words of our Charter, to concern ourselves with the development of the League of Nations. . . . Do not let us forget that the machinery of the League has been tested and has proved workable. . . . The real problem is to see that the determination to preserve peace, and to use the machinery for preserving peace, is stronger and more real than it has been in the past."

Lord Cecil went on to express his personal regret that, in the earlier days of the League, he had not more emphatically pressed the view that, if you want peace, you must be prepared to fight for peace. "I do not and cannot plead guilty to saying the opposite," he added. "On the contrary, I have said that it was essential to have at the back of justice an organisation of the strength of the peace-loving Powers. But I think we—myself included—did not perhaps sufficiently emphasise that side of our plan."

There was one very distinguished exception—our Honorary President, the Prime Minister of this country. "He never ceased to explain that, although he was warmly in favour of the League, he was also quite confident that there must be sufficient strength to back the League if it was to be an effective instrument of peace. I was delighted when those very remarkable speeches which he made were published a few months ago—the volume including several speeches which he made before the war advocating the League in the strongest

terms and saying that it must have the backing of force, otherwise it would not be obeyed."

When peace came, Lord Cecil thought, Britain and Russia would be the great forces in Europe for peace. On Britain and the Empire would rest the prodigious responsibility of giving a lead to the world in establishing an organisation for peace.

"Therefore I say," he concluded, "that what Britain stands for will be of vital importance to the peace of the world. That comes back on us. We have obtained this Royal Charter with the specific function that we shall do our best to persuade our fellow countrymen to support what we believe to be a sound system of international organisation. Are we going to do our duty? Are we going really to carry through that tremendous responsibility, not only in what we say here by the speeches we make and the speeches we listen to, but by our actions in the coming months and years? I can only hope that we may be strengthened to do our duty in that manner."

"World Settlement" Revised

"World Settlement after the War" came up again when Lord Lytton introduced a motion to replace Clauses 20, 21 and 22 of the Statement adopted by the Council last June by seven re-drafted clauses. Criticisms had shown that, whilst the old clauses did represent the policy which the Executive desired to place before the Council, the wording had not always succeeded in conveying the intended meaning to some members. Therefore the Executive had re-written and amplified the clauses in order to remove doubts about their meaning. Lord Lytton stressed two essential features. First, the Statement tried to evolve a procedure to ensure that action

to prevent or stop aggression should be collective. Secondly, as all States in the world could not reasonably be expected to accept belligerency in all wars wherever they might occur, the Executive had begun by laying down obligations which should be shared by all States Members, and then went on to define the greater obligations of certain States. This latest aggression of Japan, added Lord Lytton, formed a good illustration of the way in which the plan, if it existed, would work. This war, he was convinced, would end in the victory of a combination of Powers which, had it come into being before the war, would have made war unnecessary. Our task was to show how it could be done if the will to do it was there.

Rising to second the motion, Mr. George Green (Skipton) said that he had been one who had not been satisfied with the previous version. Now, however, the Executive had made their meaning clearer, thus providing a really acceptable solution to the problem.

Amendments had been tabled by Mrs. E. M. White (co-opted), Clapham Branch, East of Scotland District, and Birmingham District Council. Mrs. White, the author of the most substantial of these, freely admitted that she was trying to introduce a different principle—that of putting international force at the disposal of the International Authority. Although certain other speakers supported this view, the arguments against on practical grounds put forward by Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney and others convinced the Council, which adopted the new clauses with but slight verbal changes in Clause 23.

Peace and Social Justice

"Quite as important as anything the Council has to consider," was Lady

Hall's description of the Executive's threefold resolution on Social and Economic Reconstruction which she moved. Historians, when they came to apportion the blame for the second world war, would condemn the Powers for failing to achieve economic stability. Governments, ignoring the advice of experts, had tried almost every expedient, some of them ineffective and many definitely harmful—all except that of concerted or co-operative action. However, there were hopeful signs that the lesson was being learned. The holding of the International Labour Conference suggested that what was implied in the Atlantic Charter was really beginning to be understood. "There is no magic in the words 'international action,'" Lady Hall emphasised. "We need the greatest determination, the greatest goodwill and the preparedness to accept sacrifice."

The purpose of an amendment to part (a) of this item, introduced by Mr. H. H. Elvin (co-opted), was to shift the emphasis from international action to making a start *now* in this country. Referring to the news from the Far East and the extreme pressure weighing upon the Government, Dr. Gilbert Murray deprecated asking them to divert their attention to a large scheme of domestic reform. After considerable discussion, the Council rejected the amendment. A different form of wording for the latter part of the resolution (a), proposed by the Godalming Branch, was accepted by the Executive.

On the third of this trilogy of resolutions, Lady Hall explained how the rushing of supplies of food and clothing to peoples throughout the continent of

Europe after the war would involve the most careful preparations beforehand. This, as well as the question of making loans, should be part of a carefully concerted plan. Mr. W. Arnold-Forster, endorsing this view from his experience of such matters after the last war, thought that the principles of the Lease-and-Lend Act were the right ones to be followed.

Speeding the Business

The other resolutions call for little comment. It was characteristic of the Council that, as if by general agreement, hair-splitting controversy was reduced to a minimum. Sometimes, as when Dr. Rushbrooke and Mr. Elvin had suggestions for improving the Atlantic Charter resolution, alterations could be accepted without debate. In a short but pointed discussion on the resolution on Ethiopia, proposed by Mr. Arnold-Forster (St. Ives Branch), Mrs. White, Mrs. Corbett Ashby and other speakers voiced some anxiety lest fresh wrongs should be done to Ethiopia under the guise of providing advice and assistance. Lord Lytton promised that the Executive would watch the situation.

London International Assembly

Miss K. D. Courtney's report on the London International Assembly, described by her as "one of the most interesting and hopeful developments of the L.N.U.," specially pleased the Council. The remarkable thing about it was that it had never been deliberately planned or created from blue prints. Out of the Union's early efforts to get together a conference of representatives

of foreign countries over here, the Assembly had just grown up, evolved. Regular monthly meetings were now being held. Quite naturally, the members found themselves adopting the technique and procedure of the League of Nations, with commissions to give preparatory study to the various subjects. As an example of the Assembly's work, Miss Courtney cited its study of conditions in invaded and occupied territories. A comparison of what had been done to crush different peoples body, soul and spirit shows that the Japanese technique was exactly the same as the German. Many important representatives of the Allied nations came to the meetings, said Miss Courtney. When the time came for making a peace settlement, it would be found that the London International Assembly had played a useful part.

The Voice of Belgium

One distinguished visitor who answered the roll call was Senateur Rolin, a past President of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, who had recently left Belgium after fourteen months under German occupation. There was no sign of despair in his country, he said. Everybody was listening to British broadcasts and looking to the British Empire. All our friends of the old Belgian League of Nations Society were in the front line of resistance, and the work done during the past twenty years would in due season bear good fruit.

Our Hopeful Treasurer

Mr. H. S. Syrett, in his review of Union finances during the past year, gave evidence that the L.N.U. had not only held the fort but improved its position. The overdraft and outstanding debts had been together reduced by approximately £4,500. He was reasonably satisfied with the way things were going, but he did not want to be too optimistic because nobody could tell what the future would bring. To allay anxieties for the future, it was essential not only to maintain but to increase the membership, and he urged the Branches to do their utmost to keep the membership going. Further, especially as the day of big donations to any good cause was past, he appealed to members to pay their subscriptions and make donations under deed and stressed the value of legacies. To a limited extent, some of the activities which the Union had had to close down on the outbreak of war were now being resumed, and Branches were being helped by free supplies of literature. Further, in order to encourage the holding of meetings by Branches, arrangements had just been made for Mr. John T. Catterall to give his whole time to the Union as a speaker and to be of assistance to Branches in other ways.

"A good Council," was the comment heard on all sides after the final session. Other meetings in the past have had a more stirring and dramatic appeal; but the steady, solid qualities of this latest Council must have convinced those present that the Union in war-time is building on firm foundations for the future.

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

GENERAL COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

1. Japan

The General Council of the League of Nations Union desire to express their condemnation of the treacherous attack by Japan on the British Empire and the United States under cover of a fraudulent pretence of peace negotiations.

They warmly welcome the statements of the Prime Minister and President Roosevelt, and the action they have taken in meeting this challenge; and

They pledge their whole-hearted support of every measure which the Government may take to bring the war to a successful conclusion, and to restore peace to a world now involved in war by three greedy and unscrupulous nations.

2. Social and Economic Reconstruction

(a) The General Council—

Expresses its warm approval of the statements enumerated in the Atlantic Charter regarding access to trade and raw materials, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security, and freedom from want. It would point out, however, that such aims can be fully achieved only by international action, and urges H.M. Government to use the machinery of the I.L.O. and the Economic and Financial Sections of the League in preparing plans for translating these statements and principles into a practical policy of post-war social and economic reconstruction;

Warmly welcomes the draft Report on Social and Economic Reconstruction, and the Industrial Advisory Committee's recognition of the need for "the more equitable distribution of incomes and guaranteed minimum conditions of life and work," together with the declaration that "an extension of international control over the economic action of national States" will be necessary with "some abandonment of economic sovereignty and some degree of international government in the economic sphere."

In view of the urgent need for the education of public opinion in preparation for the far-reaching social and economic changes here outlined,

The General Council recommends that the Report should be the subject for meetings throughout the country, and should be given full publicity in the Union's propaganda, and in the columns of HEADWAY and the NEWS SHEET.

(b) The General Council of the League of Nations Union views with deep satisfaction the renewal of the Conference of the International Labour Organisation that was held in October in the United States;

Warmly appreciates the action of H.M. Government in treating the Conference as of sufficient importance to warrant the attendance of the Lord Privy Seal; and

Expresses its thanks to the Government of the United States of America for facilitating the holding of the Conference.

(c) The General Council of the League of Nations Union—

Welcomes the creation by the St. James' Palace Conference of the Bureau under the direction of Sir Frederick Leith Ross, and trusts that the Bureau will be as widely international in character as is possible.

The Council hopes that the Bureau will work in close co-operation with the I.L.O. and the Economic and Financial Sections of the League in preparing plans for the immediate feeding and relief of the peoples, for the transfer of industry from a war-time to a peace-time basis, and for the general financial and economic assistance of Europe in the period immediately following the armistice and prior to the post-war settlement.

3. World Settlement After the War

The Statement of Policy, with the revisions adopted by the General Council, is being reprinted as a leaflet. Copies can be obtained from 11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

4. Budget for 1942

That the General Council authorises the Executive Committee to continue expenditure at the present rate of some £12,000 a year for so long as it finds desirable or possible, and to make such alterations in the rate of expenditure as it may think necessary.

5. The Atlantic Charter*

That the General Council of the League of Nations Union

Welcomes the Atlantic Charter;

Is gratified and encouraged by the joint statement of Anglo-American co-operation in peace as well as in war, and the adhesion thereto of the U.S.S.R. and other Allied States

Further, the Council warmly welcomes the authoritative exposition of the Charter contained in President Roosevelt's Message to Congress and its reference to the need for freedom of religion and freedom of information.†; and

Earnestly hopes that H.M. Government is now working out machinery by which the principles contained in the Charter may be put into operation, and will enter into consultation with other anti-Axis Powers.

6. Ethiopia

That the General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Recalling the wrongs done to Ethiopia, and rejoicing at her liberation from the Italian invader;

Recalling the pledges of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the promises of the Atlantic Charter to all the invaded lands;

Urges H.M. Government to annul British recognition of the Italian claim to possess Ethiopia and the recognition of King Victor Emmanuel of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia; to recognise forthwith the independence of Ethiopia, and to enter

* The final drafting of this resolution was left to the Executive Committee to determine.

† In addition to the "freedom from fear and want" contained in the Charter itself.

into diplomatic relations with her Government; and not to impair such recognition by attempting to impose any conditions prejudicial to complete Ethiopian freedom.

7. Colonial Development

That the General Council of the League of Nations Union

(1) Welcomes the establishment by H.M. Government of a committee in the Colonial Office to study post-war colonial policy, and also of an advisory committee on labour. It hopes that both committees will work in conjunction with the colonial experts of allied countries now in Britain. The Council believes that the constitution of a section of the International Labour Office in this country for the duration of the war would greatly facilitate planning for the raising of colonial labour standards.

(2) Requests the Industrial Advisory Committee of the Union to consider the methods by which international collaboration could be applied to the various problems mentioned in the Report of the Sub-Committee on Colonial Problems. To this end, the principles of trusteeship, impartiality, and publicity upon which the Mandatory System is based should be maintained, and the system itself adapted to the circumstances of the post-war world.

8. Peaceful Change

That, with a view to implementing Article 19 of the Covenant and facilitating peaceful remedies for international grievances, the Council and Assembly of the League should set up a permanent advisory body of competent persons empowered to hear and examine any matter of dispute not referable to the P.C.I.J., and to make recommendations thereupon to the Council or Assembly.

In the event of the Council or Assembly deciding in favour of the proposal of the advisory body, such a decision should have the same effect as a decision taken under Article 13 (4) of the Covenant.

(Continued on page 14.)

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

LET THE PEOPLE KNOW

"Books," says Mr. Brendan Bracken, "are our best exports." "We are going to come through," adds Lord Elton, "because we have courage and ideas, and faith and intelligence; and for all these we need books."

Among recently published books, the following are selected for the special attention of readers.

JAPAN UNMASKED, by *Hallett Abend* (Bodley Head, 12s. 6d.), is an able review of Japan's preparations and encroachments, over ten years and more, on foreign territory, rights and international law. Like *Mein Kampf* in Germany, the Tanaka Memorial has provided a gospel and a goal to militarist Japan. With this should be read two publications by the Royal Institute of International Affairs—JAPAN'S PURPOSE IN ASIA, by *Sir Frederick Whyte* (1s.); and CHINA AND JAPAN (Chatham House Information Paper 21A, 4s. 6d.). The former, an economic and strategic review, is specially timely to-day, though objectivity seems in places to be carried to the verge of timidity. The latter brings up-to-date a very complete short history of the last twenty years of China's growth, and the deliberate attempts of Japan to

frustrate it and substitute her own domination over Asia.

"Dig for victory" one sees everywhere. Everyone should know something about the future of our land policy. No better guide to the chief problems which are to be solved has been written than RECONSTRUCTION AND THE LAND, by *Sir Daniel Hall* (Macmillan, 12s. 6d.). Great emphasis is laid on State purchase of agricultural land, and the advantage from the point of scientific production of largish farms of some 2,000 acres. It is to be hoped that British land policy may evolve ways to combine large-scale farming with husbandry on a smaller scale, for this latter stands for a British way of life which is vital to the national character.

Now for two more books on Russia: SOVIET ASIA, by *E. S. Bales* (Cape, 8s. 6d.), gives an extraordinarily interesting account of Russia's successful large-scale reconstruction in Asia, providing an experience which is likely to be invaluable after this war. RUSSIA FIGHTS, by *M. MacAlpin* (Lawrence and Wishart, 1s. 6d.), shows how a people's war, impossible for various reasons in Poland and France, has provided an effective answer to the hitherto

(Continued from page 13.)

9. London International Assembly

That the General Council Welcomes and approves the establishment of the London International Assembly.

Branch Workers' Conference

At a Conference of Branch Secretaries and other workers held during the Council, it was decided to urge:—

"That, during the war, Branches should make every effort to maintain their membership, having in mind that the strength and influence of the L.N.U. largely depends upon the number of its members; and that funds are urgently needed to carry on the Union's work.

"Branches are further urged to arrange at least one meeting each year, and to maintain contact with their members periodically by means of a suitable letter."

HEADWAY

is the Journal of

THE LEAGUE OF
NATIONS UNION,

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

all-conquering *Blitzkrieg*: not without warning for Western Powers.

When the Axis Powers have been beaten in this war, their victims will be seen lining up at the Peace Conference to receive again their freedom and independence. In ALBANIA'S ROAD TO FREEDOM (Allen and Unwin, 15s.), *Vandeleur Robinson* presents the case for a small, out-of-the-way country which might easily be edged out of the queue. Albania's brief but eventful career as a sovereign State, and the cat-and-mouse game in which Italy gradually assumed the role of chief cat, are described with many personal impressions by the author. Whilst appreciating the British Government's reluctance to commit themselves in advance about the future of Albania, Mr. Vandeleur Robinson urges that the future of the Albanians can with confidence be placed in their own hands—provided that a genuinely representative Government is restored to power, and is able to get modest financial assistance from a disinterested source. The author's many friends in L.N.U. circles will find his book most readable, and the photographs deserve a special word of praise.

Among smaller publications, readers must not miss:—

A WORKER'S DAY UNDER GERMAN

OCCUPATION (Liberty Publications, 1d., illustrated).

WORLD AFFAIRS, by *Marcel Hoden* (Penguin Special, 6d.), a most helpful running commentary on political events following the fall of France until the summer of 1941.

THE STRUGGLE FOR WORLD ORDER, by *V. M. Dean* (Headline Book, 1s.)—an American summary (specially useful for students) of the march of events since Versailles, the psychology of the chief nations, and the kind of world which is likely to be rebuilt. America's full partnership now in the war makes her answer more positive than the booklet implies.

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FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG**"A Strange Debate"**

SIR,—The Executive proposes the setting up of an International Authority. Mrs. White, in the General Council, suggests an International Authority, and Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney and others call the idea "fantastic"!

An international Authority can consist only of representatives of individual States, with all the shortcomings of their selfish points of view. Therefore, say our leaders, they can be entrusted with the task of asking certain of their number to embark on war in all its hideousness, but any idea of their operating an International Force is "fantastic"!

An International Police Force would not be accepted by the British people (would it not?); therefore we should not advocate it. There were occasions when the Optional Clause, disarmament, and sanctions against Japan and Italy were not acceptable in this country, but the L.N.U. was then their strongest advocate.

I am left bewildered!

T. E. PEARSON.

Birmingham.

SIR,—As an original member of the League of Nations Union and now a Federal Unionist, may I refer to Sir George Young's letter about Federation and a League or Confederation.

Sir George Young says a World League must be a Confederation. I am not sure I agree with him. The Confederations of 1777 and 1919 did not secure peace. Can we rely on a world Confederation? It

is at least doubtful. In my opinion a World Federation is the only system under which war will cease and peace be made secure. The latest development of this war seems to bring within vision the possibility of such a system.

R. ARNOLD PRICE.

Oxted, Surrey.

Friendship and Freedom

SIR,—There is one factor which does not seem to have been brought forward in connection with the idea of a world state; it is, that the nations which constitute the League do not all consider themselves equal, i.e., at the same degree of advancement of civilisation. That is not to say that they "look down" on other countries in any way, but that they feel a world state as such, in addition to conference co-operation, would involve majority judgments not necessarily up to the level of the highest intelligence that the League possesses. Thus there might be a rule which, say, averaged the different levels of world civilisation.

Much better is it that nations should discuss the different questions which are involved in a peaceful and prosperous world and gain all the knowledge they can for their individual benefit.

Nations are more like families. In private life, different families are friendly with each other, but none of them would like any kind of rule over their respective relationships. Friendship demands freedom in private life.

Edinburgh.

M.L.S.M.

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