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IN WAR-TIME

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EDITORIAL

MR. CHURCHILL IN MOSCOW

Mr. Churchill's first meeting with Mr. Stalin in Moscow, at a moment of supreme crisis for our Russian allies, and therefore for all the United Nations, stamps itself as the outstanding diplomatic event for many months past. The significance of the Prime Minister's visit would need no underlining, apart altogether from the positive outcome of their negotiations. That more than courtesies were exchanged is shown by the presence of Mr. Harriman, President Roosevelt's personal representative, and an impressive array of military and political advisers of the three nations. Decisions, we are told, were reached. Their exact nature will in due season be forcibly brought to the attention of the Axis Powers. In recent weeks, the German authorities were displaying signs of feverish anxiety, constantly sending out "feelers" in the hope of discovering for certain where Mr. Churchill was, where he was going next, and what he was doing. Part of this curiosity has now been satisfied, but there are still many questions regarding the Moscow visit to which the Axis Powers would like to know the answers. It is to be hoped that the Allies' method of answering them will

bring within sight victory and a just peace.

On both these issues we may find that Mr. Churchill's long talks with Field-Marshal Smuts in Cairo will have an important bearing.

Principles Reaffirmed

Although August was a month of unrelenting anxiety for all engaged in the conduct of the war, the first anniversary of the signing of the Atlantic Charter was not allowed to pass unheeded or uncommemorated.

An admirably phrased anniversary message was sent by President Roosevelt to Mr. Churchill and all the heads of the United Nations. He made the point that, when the high hopes in the Atlantic Charter were formulated, the nations resisting the common barbaric foe were units or small groups fighting for their existence. Now these nations and groups of nations in all the continents of the earth have united. They have formed "a great unity of humanity, dedicated to the realisation of that common programme of purposes and principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter through world-wide victory over their

common enemies. Their faith in life, liberty, interdependence, and religious freedom, and in the preservation of human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, has been given form and substance as the United Nations."

"When victory comes," promised President Roosevelt, "we shall stand shoulder to shoulder in seeking to nourish the great ideals for which we fight. It is a worth-while battle. It will be so recognised through all the ages, even amid the unfortunate peoples who follow false gods to-day. *We reaffirm our principles. They will bring us to a happier world.*"

Righting a Wrong

Full restitution must necessarily wait on victory, but the British Government are doing what they can now to right some of the wrongs which the earlier victims of aggression had to endure before the war, to bolster up the misguided policy of appeasement. The *amende honorable* which, as our Parliamentary Correspondent records this month, has been publicly made to Czechoslovakia has given lively satisfaction to all concerned. This move now will facilitate the fulfilment after the war of the relevant aims of the Atlantic Charter, and incidentally certain of the proposals set out in the Union's Statement of Policy. Dr. Benes's broadcast to his people, besides making clear that the Soviet Government "will take its stand on the pre-Munich Czechoslovak frontiers," disclosed that negotiations were proceeding with the Fighting French, so that one of the first acts of liberated France would be the repudiation of Munich.

"A Positive Incentive"

The Times, in its leading article on August 14, discussing Mr. Lyttelton's survey, which refrained from saying

anything about what we were fighting for, concluded with this exhortation:—

"But buoyancy and vitality demand a more positive incentive. They can be based only on a confident resolve that victory shall bring with it something better than was brought by victory in the last war, a peace which will not be an interregnum between two wars, and opportunities for the common man in this and all countries for a fuller and more satisfying life. It is for a fully authoritative declaration of this purpose and this appeal that the nation is waiting."

The same newspaper, commenting on August 21 on Mr. Walter Nash's criticism relating to the "failure to give full weight to post-war reconstruction and development, which is the major aim of a large and influential section of the American public," added on its own account that "there is no question of the public interest aroused among men of all parties and all shades of opinion in this country, as well as in the United States," and regretted that "there has been so far little sign of any official response to match this public interest." "This is a matter of world-wide concern," continued *The Times*, "and Mr. Nash certainly reflects a view common to all the Dominions in desiring to associate the whole British Commonwealth fully and warmly with plans inspired by British as much as by American ideals and traditions."

That is well said. HEADWAY agrees all the more cordially, having urged from its first war-time number that the war would have been fought in vain if it did not lead to these very things which *The Times* is now advocating. "Even now," we argued in October, 1939, "it is not too soon for all of us to think about what we shall press for after the war." Some of our critics in those days told the Union plainly that it was criminal, almost, to think of anything beyond the immediate prosecution of the war. Perhaps it is due in some measure to the Union's persistence that a more enlightened attitude on the

relation of war and peace aims is now so widespread.

Our Thanks to China

The United Aid to China Fund has set out to raise a substantial sum to be handed over to Madame Chiang Kai-shek as a gift from the people of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the people of China. China has a unique claim upon the sympathy, good will and active support of everybody within the ranks of the L.N.U., and the Executive hopes that branches and members will play an effective part in local efforts on behalf of the Fund.

"The senior partner among the United Nations pledged to the cause of freedom," was the Archbishop of Canterbury's apt description of China in the moving sermon which he preached recently in St. Paul's Cathedral to mark the fifth anniversary of the outbreak of war forced upon her by Japan. We in the L.N.U. can never forget that China was the first victim in the tragic series of aggressions and outrages which paved the way to the second World War. Even excluding the Manchurian episode, China has fought nearly twice as long as any other of the United Nations. With high courage and endeavour, she has endured untold agony, bloodshed and devastation. One-fifth of the country is in Japanese hands. Sixty million Chinese people have been rendered homeless. Yet in the sixth year of war, Japan is no nearer to subduing China. The supreme faith and confidence of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the great nation which he leads are both an example and an inspiration to all the United Nations.

The United Aid to China campaign was launched with a joint appeal in *The Times* on July 22—the long list of distinguished signatories included Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton and Lady Violet Bonham Carter. At the inaugural meeting in

the Mansion House a week later, Mr. Anthony Eden was able to announce that Their Majesties the King and Queen would make a gift of £1,000 to the Fund and that Queen Mary had also promised a donation. All money collected will be distributed by Madame Chiang Kai-shek to hospitals, orthopaedic centres for disabled soldiers, orphanages, industrial co-operatives, refugee universities and schools of China in accordance with their needs. It was at first proposed to carry on the campaign until October 10, the thirty-first birthday of the Chinese Republic. Now, however, activities and collections will be welcomed until the end of the year. A first instalment of £50,000, we understand, has already been sent to Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

To the specially-written article on the Fund, on pages 8-9 of this issue, it would be superfluous to add more than a few brief suggestions as to how branches and members might further so good a cause. If local efforts in support of the United Aid to China Fund are being organised in your area, by all means take part in them, otherwise start efforts of your own, definitely identifying the L.N.U. with what you are doing. At the very least, hold a meeting, taking up a special collection for the Fund.

Further information, posters and leaflets can be obtained from the United Aid to China Fund, Headquarters Office, 13, Regent Street, London, S.W.1.

Our Address:

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

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN A. RATTENBURY

The end of Munich! Everything of shame to this country which that word means wiped out! Brave words and brave aspirations! But a long way to go.

August 5, 1942, may be historic, as historic as August 4, 1914; for Mr. Eden's statement on that date in the House of Commons seems to dispose of all the truckling to Hitler and Mussolini by Daladier and Chamberlain, which has burdened us with so embarrassing and shameful a legacy ever since. The Foreign Secretary informed the House that he had exchanged notes with M. Masaryk, and had stated that the British policy in regard to Czechoslovakia was guided by the formal act of recognition of the Czechoslovak Government in July, 1941, and Mr. Churchill's statement in September, 1940. The Munich Agreement had been destroyed by the Germans. Since Germany had deliberately destroyed arrangements concerning Czechoslovakia reached in 1938, Britain was free from any engagements then made; and, at the final settlement at the end of the war, our Government would not be influenced by any changes effected in and since 1938.

In this connection, it is interesting to note the Soviet Government's subsequent communication to M. Masaryk that they had had no hand in Munich and had never recognised any of the arrangements made there. According to Dr. Benes, too, M. Molotov said much the same thing to him during their conversations in London. In effect, therefore, as we stand now, we are at one with Russia.

Mr. Eden, in his statement, further paid tribute to the tenacious and courageous stand of the Czechoslovak people against their ruthless German op-

pressors, and promised that the destruction of Lidice would not be forgotten when the time comes to settle accounts with the perpetrators of this act of barbarism.

Poles and Czechs

Sir Derrick Gunston asked a supplementary as to the relations of Poles and Czechs, calling to mind the boundary difficulty which preceded the war. Mr. Eden very rightly expressed his confidence that the frontier problem between these two allied countries would be dealt with on the basis of the close and friendly relations which now happily existed between them. Perhaps that is the easiest of ancient difficulties which now seem capable of solution because of present co-operation. It may be hoped that the example will prove infectious before this war reaches its culmination. Finland and the Baltic States may find that their interests are not so opposed to those of Russia as they thought. Poland may yet see that the Russian invasion did in fact save part of the country, temporarily, from being overrun by Germany. Possibly some of the present associations are already helping to heal the sores. Even the Balkans may see the little pinpricks that used to set them all by the ears in their proper relation to the greater tyranny which united effort and purpose alone can keep down. So, too, may other nations whose border troubles have been the cause of countless sleepless nights in Europe's chancelleries realise the folly of belligerency.

The Jewish Question

A full-dress debate on the Jewish question was initiated by a remarkable

speech from Mr. Hannah on the text, "Who can count the dust of Jacob, or the number of the fourth part of Israel?" Its culmination was perhaps more important than the many interesting speeches which were delivered. Sir James Grigg announced a new policy—the formation of a Palestine Regiment of the British Army, consisting of separate Jewish and Arab infantry battalions for general service in the Middle East, and normally to be employed in Palestine or in adjacent countries for the defence of Palestine. The existing Palestinian companies of the Buffs will be incorporated in the regiment, and it is hoped that at least 10,000 additional recruits will be enlisted.

A step in the right direction, of course—though less than the Jews lead one to think they have in mind! The expectation, Sir James said, was that the Palestinian volunteer force would be expanded to a *maximum* of 2,000 as arms, equipment and training facilities may be made available. He thought the House would agree that His Majesty's Government were doing their best to enable the Palestinian Jews to defend their country against the universal enemy. If these facilities were taken advantage of, he added, there would be a very small part of the available man-power in Palestine not being employed to good advantage against the common foe. Presumably that means that the great quantities of citrus fruit being grown in Palestine as well as other products of Jewish settlement are being found very valuable for the feeding of the armies of the Middle East. For, without these other considerations, a total man-power of 12,000 in addition to those already enlisted would seem small against the German hordes. Sir James made the comment that these arrangements whereby Jews and Arabs could

unite as battalions of a single Palestine regiment were the best assurance that the races could unite in defence of their common country.

United Nations Pact

Anxiety regarding Ethiopia's position among the Allies led to questions on the United Nations Pact being put to the Foreign Secretary. Mr. Eden explained that the original invitations had been issued by President Roosevelt when Mr. Churchill was in Washington, in consultation also with China and Russia. Provision was made for subsequent adherences. Only the Governments which adhered originally were *invited* to do so. Since then, Mexico had applied; and Ethiopia, as a result of her treaty with Britain, was now in a position to apply. Asked why the Emperor of Ethiopia had made no request, Mr. Eden replied that he thought that the Emperor knew that he could make such an application and that the British Government would support him in it; but the initiative must come from him.

WORLD RECONSTRUCTION

Mr. Walter Nash, New Zealand Minister to the United States, broadcasting on August 18 during his visit to this country, urged that "the linking up of all peoples who are fighting for freedom must be accompanied by the establishment of parallel machinery and procedure by which a positive programme can be mapped out for carrying on a world of peace."

Suggesting that a World Reconstruction and Development Council should be set up with subsidiary councils on a regional basis, Mr. Nash said: "We cannot afford to let each country, entirely on its own, work out its own salvation . . . let each one fit its own reconstruction proposals into the plan for the world reconstruction."

Mr. Nash is Vice-President of the New Zealand League of Nations Union, in the formation of which he was a prime mover.

THEY ARE MINE UNTO DEATH

By GORDON DROMORE

EDUCATION FOR DEATH. By Gregor Ziemer. (Constable. 7s. 6d.)

No "making the ostrich" can wipe out the unembroidered, frankly terrifying picture of Nazi education recently given us by an unprejudiced, highly experienced American educationist. The evidence is just the official text books before which every teacher, man or woman, bows down, and what the author was quite freely permitted to see for himself in every kind of school for boy or girl, in the castles set aside for Youth Organisations such as *Pimpf* or *Jungvolk*, in the Universities which encourage duelling and are run like military camps, in the hostels for girls bearing children for the State and the glory of Hitler, in the hospitals for sterilisation of the weak. In Nazi education, culture or spiritual freedom count as dross. The ideology is the thing. Nazi instructors are unquestioning interpreters, Nazi boys and girls disciplined hearers, of the word of Hitler.

The sole end of education is Power, to be won by Germany through sweeping Democracy from the face of the earth. To play their part right to the bitter end, youth has been frantically trained in every kind of physical hardness, boys for the battle-

front, girls to produce children; and one and all in an ardent desire to make any sacrifice for the Fuehrer.

Abnormal doctrines, you say. Quite so. But the desperate thing about them is that Hitler schools have done their job devilishly well. These ideas, this cause, are deeply rooted in the hearts and souls of millions of eager, receptive German boys and girls. To-day the whole of German youth—the youth which matters so much to-morrow—is totalitarian not only in action but in thinking. Arrogant, more fanatic than early Mohammedans, they challenge everything weak, whether in body or in loyalty. They have been systematically taught to hate and despise all that is non-Nazi, non-German.

Harsh facts. But ponder them well. Only a tremendous effort by the democracies is likely to make a success of re-educating Germany after the war, and bringing her back into the comity of nations. Our democratic cause, our religion, our freedom, must produce as ardent believers, as excited support, as devoted sacrifice as any Nazi system. We need not be ashamed of our heritage. The Nazi cries, "Let me die for Hitler." Our slogan should be, "Let us live together, and for a better world."

ARMAMENTS EXPENDITURE

A FEW KEY POINTS

By MAURICE FANSHAW

The study of the Armaments statistics of the chief countries can be a very deceptive business. Unless it is clearly realised, at the outset, what they profess to include, what they discreetly omit, and what (if any) is their common basis of calculation, the mere figures themselves may easily present as many pitfalls as the study of racing "form." Once the background is tolerably clear, it is possible to arrive at a pretty accurate and scientific set of

statistics, which do enable comparisons (within certain limits) to be made between Armaments expenditures in different years, or over periods of years by the same State, or even by groups of similar States. Once and for all, however, it should be understood that accurate, scientific comparison between the Armaments expenditures of different Great Powers has not yet been found possible. Only very popular and very approximate calculations of this kind,

illustrating broad tendencies of rise or fall in Armaments expenditure, can profitably be made.

The Most Accurate Figures

Out and away the most scientific and accurate figures for Armaments expenditure are those published in the League of Nations *Armaments Year Books*, in the national currency of each country. The following, for example, are the League statistics for the Armaments expenditure of the seven Great Powers for the period 1933 to 1939 (taken from tables including the whole post-war period):—

NATIONAL CURRENCY IN MILLIONS

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Germany— (Reichsm.)...	*671	*894	No published accounts. Hitler said (Sept., 1939) that 90 milliards of Reichsmarks were spent in this period, an average of 18 milliards a year				
Great Britain— (£) ...	93	99	122	172	251	391	736
Soviet Russia— (Roubles) ...	1547	5000	8200	14816	17481	27044	40885
U.S.A.— (Dollars) ...	571	805	913	967	1033	1131	1387
Japan— (Yen) ...	873	942	1033	1078	1237	1247	1827
France— (Francs) ...	12368	10803	10983	8277	9522	11186	31754
Italy— (Lire) ...	4824	5591	5143	5957	5175	7094	7896

* Estimated.

The statistics in this table serve as a barometer for the more or less pacific state of mind in the world at given dates. The later figures give a summary impression of the speeding up of the armaments race, with its final stage merging—for the Totalitarian Powers, unfortunately, at a far earlier date than for Democracies—into that in which the production of war material is pushed to its maximum in war. Even these, however, do not give the whole picture. Probably the new totalitarian practice of putting a whole nation on a war basis in time of peace and publishing no accounts makes this impracticable, any way. For example, these figures *exclude* pensions; many items falling (mainly on the Continent and in Asia) under other Government Departments, such as expenditure on para-military organisations, strategic roads, many aerodromes, etc.; the cost of defensive works like the Maginot

Line; the cost of Japan's war with China or Italy's with Abyssinia.

Popular Bird's-eye View

At the same time, for popular convenience, approximate figures are sometimes tabled, covering a longish period, and roughly reduced to a common currency. For example, such approximate statistics can be obtained from the L.N.U. Head Office, covering the period 1932-38: based on League documents, supplemented by American and official publications. The value of such calculations lies in the broad evidence they provide of the rise or fall of the expenditure and the reaction to external political events of large groups of countries, continents and the world as a whole. For example, a study of these approximate figures for 1932-38, with additional reference to reasonable calculations by League experts for a few earlier dates, gives the following rough picture of world armaments between the two great wars:—

World expenditure showed a pretty steady rise until the early Thirties. This was mainly due to the inherent increase of the cost of armaments as mechanisation and motorisation grew, and in part to the greater cost of the voluntary system as compared to the conscript, and so on. With the Great Depression, the Financial Slump, the Disarmament Conference, expenditure tended to become stabilised, or even for a time-decreased. But with the maturing of Japan's and Italy's threats to peace, with the rise of Hitler, and the parallel reactions of these events on the policies of other countries, the curve of expenditure in the later Thirties shot up, till it reached mountainous heights. And the inevitable war broke out.

Thus: In 1925 world expenditure on armaments was about £700 millions. By 1929 it had risen to £890 millions. A period of expenditure in the region of £900 millions ensued. Then, in 1934, a year after Hitler's access to power, world expenditure rose to over £1000 millions, increasing to £1755 millions next year. By 1938 it reached the phenomenal height—in any peace year—of £3510 millions, or at least *five* times the total of expenditure in 1925. And some £3100 millions of this was contributed by seven countries. These figures are, of course, approximate, but they are minima.

THE UNITED AID TO CHINA FUND

By MICHAEL D. JACOBSEN

On July 7 last, the anniversary of the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, a fund was started in London under the Presidency of Lady Cripps to send practical aid to China's various relief organisations.

Officially known as The United Aid to China Fund, or "The British People's Gift to China," it received immediately the enthusiastic support of Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, Joint President of the L.N.U., the Earl of Lytton, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the L.N.U., Lady Violet Bonham Carter and Dr. A. Lindsay, and other internationally famous figures.

At the public inauguration of the Fund at the Mansion House on July 29, Mr. Anthony Eden disclosed that the King and Queen themselves had "set the ball rolling" with a gift of £1,000. Within a couple of weeks a first instalment of £50,000 was on its way to Chungking.

The Target

The total aimed at is £250,000—to be cabled to Mme. Chiang Kai-shek by next October 10, the 31st anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese Republic.

Two things the organisers of the Fund have decided:

(1) That a grant from the Government would not have the same spiritual significance for now and for the future as a gift from people to people,

(2) That the disposal of the gift in China shall be finally left to Mme. Chiang Kai-shek.

(The needs of relief vary considerably from time to time, and it is considered that no money should be ear-marked for purposes which might shortly be not the most urgent.)

Broadly speaking, however, the Fund will probably be used to buy and bring by air from India emergency supplies of

medical drugs, vitamins, etc., and to maintain relief organisations, rebuild bombed hospitals and convalescent homes, and found new orthopædic and other similar institutions.

A Quick Response

The organisers' first decision was borne out by a tremendous spontaneous gesture which left no doubt as to the true meaning of "The British People's Gift to China."

A little girl sent along the few shillings she had been saving to have her doll mended; the British Red Cross allotted £25,000; an anonymous donor in Cheshire gave a cheque for £2,000; workers at a Midlands munition factory spared what few shillings they could from their weekly wage packets.

Innumerable others sent along gifts for sale, and soon there was enough for a large Exhibition of Chinese ornaments, tapestries, clothing, books, drawings, photographs and small furniture. It was opened at the Fund's offices at 13, Lower Regent Street (just opposite the Hungaria Restaurant), is still flourishing, and well repays a visit.

One old lady living in retirement at Richmond sent the Fund her priceless collection of Chinese ornaments, including the jade figure of a horse dating from the Tang (8th Century) period. She wrote that she had lived most of her life in China, that it had taken her over fifty years to collect the ornaments, which were now her only souvenirs of the Far East, but that she gave them to the United Aid to China Fund "gladly, knowing that they will do far more good returning in spirit to their homeland than remaining here with me."

Another of the principal exhibits is the three-foot gold-painted statuette of

a Chinese mandarin, which "disappeared" from its priestly home in Canton in the early 1800's. Its appearance at the Exhibition to-day is the first time it has been seen in public in England for over a century.

Where the Money Will Go

Before last January China was receiving over £3,000,000 a year from her loyal subjects in Hong Kong, Malaya, the Philippines, and the Netherlands East Indies. This sum has now been lost to her, and her six major associations are in urgent need of help.

The associations are:

The NATIONAL RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, under the chairmanship of Mr. Hsu Hsi-ying, former Chinese Ambassador in Tokyo, who has a reputation for being always first on the scene after a serious air raid. (Technically he retained his post of Ambassador to Japan until actually after the attack on Pearl Harbour.)

The vital MEDICAL CORPS OF THE CHINESE RED CROSS, which has in a few years built up a chain of hospitals, ambulance units, and advanced posts along the whole front, with modern orthopædic centres behind the lines where disabled troops have increasing hope of regaining the use of their limbs.

The NATIONAL HEALTH ADMINISTRATION OF CHINA, which bears the brunt of such problems as the vast movement of refugees, the high price of rice, and serious epidemics. The Administration has established anti-epidemic bureaux all over China for the manufacture of vaccines and sera, and it also makes grants to all hospitals for those people who cannot afford to pay for treatment.

The CHINESE ORPHANAGE MOVEMENT—over three times as large as Dr. Barnardo's Homes in this country—is another organisation in urgent need of help. Mme. Chiang Kai-shek herself has assumed personal responsibility for over 30,000 of the children in nearly 100 institutions.

Finally, there are the CHINESE INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATIVES, for productive relief, now approaching a membership of 50,000; and the SCHOOLS and UNIVERSITIES. The Japanese have taken about 80 of China's 100 universities, but these have

all been restarted in Free China. Whenever one of the universities is destroyed—some have been destroyed more than once—the students move on, taking with them all the books and equipment they can carry.

Continually, through these organisations, there is the picture of A COUNTRY FIGHTING A WAR WITH ONE HAND AND REBUILDING WITH THE OTHER at the same time. The British people, through the United Aid to China Fund, can help the people of China to continue so doing. China realises it to the full, for, in a recent letter to Lady Cripps, Mme. Chiang Kai-shek wrote:

"In giving this aid to China you are actuated by a desire to give recognition to the fact that we are fighting shoulder to shoulder in a common cause for common aims and for common principles. China will gladly accept it as aid motivated by friendship desirous of extending a helping hand in a time of stress. I hope that you will find a gracious giver meets with an equally gracious receiver, for to give indeed blesteth him that gives and him that takes."

(See also "Our Thanks to China," on page 3.)

AN EXAMPLE

The United Aid to China appeal lends interest to what our Savings Bank Branch has already been doing, through the China Campaign Committee, over the past four years. Members of the Savings Bank study circle have been making small regular contributions, encouraged by the fact that their money goes so far—it costs only 2s. 6d. a week to feed a patient in the International Hospital in Shansi, where doctors and nurses are also trained. Throughout the war the small sums collected have steadily mounted up, and the Savings Bank Branch has now sent £103.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

Our STREATHAM BRANCH'S Annual Church Service this year was the climax of the Christian Front campaign. Services had been held nightly for a fortnight, and then came this united rally to hear the new Bishop of Southwark (Dr. Bertram Simpson) speak on "New Foundations of Peace." Describing those foundations—Justice, Law and Love—Dr. Simpson doubted whether they were really new; they were eternal, but what we had to do was to build anew on them. The L.N.U.'s function was to strengthen the League of Nations, the machinery intended to build upon those foundations. This time the task must be tackled with vision, faith, inspiration and energy. The *Streatham News*, in a leading article, commented that the Bishop's message was not only inspiring—it inspired to action: "The Bishop left us with the conviction that there is no political issue which anywhere approaches the same exalted plan as that which makes for the orderly and peaceful settlement of the world."

Speaking at GUILDFORD on his recent visit to Russia with General Sikorski, Major Cazalet paid a moving tribute to the immense sacrifices which Russia was making in the war. "If," he said, "we are able to build a better and happier Britain in days to come, it will be because millions of Russian soldiers have given their lives to help us to beat the common foe." The speaker added that he liked to think that the future planks of the League were being formed by an association of the many nations engaged in the common struggle against Hitler. The local Branch felt that the meeting was specially valuable as many of the audience were not members of the L.N.U.

An interesting insight into war-time life and thought in Sweden was given by Mrs. Corbett Ashby at the summer meeting of the HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS BRANCH. More than sixty people had tea together, but a much larger number heard the speeches. The Mayor was supported by Councillor Ford, and the three leading Free Church Ministers. Alluding to misrepresentation of the L.N.U., he read out the front page of the July HEADWAY.

Talking on "America and the Future"

at the August Buffet Lunch organised by the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION, Mrs. Sargent Florence described the progress of American public opinion as "nothing short of sensational." A mood of sober heart-searching had now taken the place of the disillusionment and scepticism which followed the last war. Statesmen, newspapers and churches were talking about post-war planning, and even arch-isolationists were joining in the chorus. America, in rather humble spirit, was owning up to the mistakes of the past. Already an important official survey of post-war organisation had begun, with the approval of all members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, including Senator Nye. Mrs. Sargent Florence emphasised that, when American statesmen spoke in the enlightened vein of recent pronouncements, they did so with the full concurrence of public opinion.

At the next L.R.F. Lunch (at the Y.W.C.A. on September 15) Lieut. I. Marm will speak on "Norway Under Nazi Rule."

At SHEFFIELD, an audience of 200 came to hear Count Balinski, who made a deep impression, and ten new members of the L.N.U. were enrolled. After the meeting some of the officers and members met Count Balinski privately, and had a most useful talk and discussion with him.

For the second year in succession the CASTLETON AND SUDDEN BRANCH organised a "One Day School," which was so successful that it will probably become an annual event. Torrential rain did not damp the keenness of some 30 or 40 people who walked through the fields to Thornham House in the afternoon, nor of some 40 or 50 in the evening. The Rev. J. T. Woodward gave an address at the opening session, and subsequently Mr. A. Hugo Radcliffe acted (to quote one member of the audience) as "a miniature Brains Trust," answering questions solidly for two hours. This Branch is already arranging with the local churches for a Sunday afternoon service in November. It has also been invited by the Congregational Church to give a League Sunday evening, with an address followed by discussion groups.

Since the last issue of HEADWAY went to press, Miss Olive Lodge, M.A., has addressed series of L.N.U. Branch meetings, Women's Institutes and other organisations in WARWICKSHIRE, WORCESTERSHIRE and DEVON. She has taken as her subject "Yugoslavia," a country which she knows intimately.

Garden meetings have been organised by a number of our branches, including LEAMINGTON and LETCHWORTH. The speakers at these two places were Mr. C. R. Honig on "The Pacific and America," and Dr. Wolfram Gottlieb on "The Soviet Attitude to the World."

The KINGSTON BRANCH continued their series of drawing-room meetings with a talk on the Atlantic Charter by an American speaker, Mrs. J. H. Street.

Most of Mr. John T. Catterall's speaking engagements during the past month have been within easy reach of London. He has visited a number of branches in ESSEX and other HOME COUNTIES, with encouraging results. We have had reports of good attendances and spirited discussions.

Evidence of the interest in the League and the Union now being displayed by other organisations is seen in the list of meetings most recently addressed by the Editor of HEADWAY. They have included the ROTARY CLUB OF MAIDSTONE, the HYDE HEATH WOMEN'S INSTITUTE, BARKINGSIDE WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD, and the INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE at Sudbury. At the latter meeting, the younger members of the audience

MASSACRES

The following Resolution was adopted by the Executive on July 30, 1942:—

"The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has received with indignation the recent reports on the campaign of annihilation carried on in cold blood, and as a matter of policy, by the German Army Commanders and the Nazi officials in the countries occupied by them, and more particularly in Poland.

"It is of the utmost importance that those who can speak for all nations whose moral conscience is not dead should express their horror at this relapse into barbarism."

in particular continued to bombard the speaker with pertinent questions for an hour and a quarter after his address. The outcome was a pretty general wish to organise discussion classes and individual study, and the Wembley Branch is arranging to supply suitable material.

The *Bulletin* (No. 50) of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION IN EGYPT has reached us. We are glad to see that our fellow workers in Egypt are conducting a vigorous offensive on the basis of the Atlantic Charter, in the spirit of "the more we hope the better we shall fight."

SNEAK RAIDS

In a recent telling leading article the *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*—always a good friend to the League and the Union—compared the tactics of Nazi bombers over this country with those of the Union's enemies who falsely charge it with having advocated unilateral disarmament, and therefore with responsibility for this country's unpreparedness for war; and added:—

"Yet it is mainly from those who supported the policy of appeasement that the sneak raids against the League now come.

"If the policy which the L.N.U. urged had been carried out—if, in other words, the principle of collective resistance to aggression had been sincerely pursued—there would either have been no war, or the joint force of the peace-loving nations would have been so fully organised that the early defeat of the aggressor would have been a certainty. It is not true, as is so often alleged, that the League policy failed. It was never honestly tried. And the people who sabotaged it are the last people who should now be trying to fasten responsibility for the nation's unpreparedness on the L.N.U. If war is to be prevented in the future—and if it is not, the present terrible struggle will have been fought in vain—it will only be by pursuing the policy advocated by the L.N.U., though the machinery for preserving peace may take a different form. For this reason the activities of the anti-Leagueurs need watching, and it is very necessary to take counter-measures against their sneak raids."

WORDS FOR ALL NATIONS

By MAXWELL GARNETT

(This article, as a demonstration of Dr. Garnett's thesis, is written in Basic English.)

When the war is over and the United Nations have come out on top, they will still have to go on working together so that they may get their way in the peace and not let it be broken. But the years between the two great wars have made it clear that the peace will be broken if it is based only on paper agreements and undertakings. If the new form of international society outlined in the Atlantic Charter is to come into being, and, as one of its fruits, make men free in the four ways named by President Roosevelt, it will have to be rooted in the hearts and minds of men, so that they may be true to it, and do their best to work for it.

We see from the example of the Swiss that it is quite possible for everyone to be true to the same society and ready to work for it, even though its countrymen talk a number of different languages. On the other hand, the general use of the English tongue was a great help in making good Americans of the masses of men and women who came to the United States from other countries in the second half of the 1900's. (By 1890, so Professor Allan Nevins says, New York had twice the number of Irish that there were in Dublin, two and a-half times the number of Jews in Warsaw, as great a number of Germans as Hamburg, and half the number of Italians there were in Naples!) And it was in a great measure because Latin went on being used as the language of the universities for 200 years after the Reformation that the Christian nations still had the feeling of being united long after the old order in Europe had come to an end.

If, after the war, most young persons in every country—all, anyhow, who take degrees—are given some way of putting their thoughts into words which give them all a clear idea of what is said or written, this will be a great step forward in the growth of a united family of nations. A small number of words, common to them all, would be enough to let them ex-

change ideas. Such an instrument for the international exchange of ideas is not to be looked on as a language. It would not take the place of any of the languages now in existence. These will still be the key to the writings, history, and learning of the nations using them. But it would make it possible for men and women who have not had the chance of learning the same languages to take an interest in the same motion pictures, radio programmes, newspapers, and books, and to become friends when they come across one another on journeys, through doing business together, or at international meetings. And by giving up two or three summer months to the work, anyone would be able to get the necessary knowledge. For example, "Basic English" (the language of this article) has only 850 words, while the English language has 240,000, the French 100,000 and the Italian 80,000.

Foreign Office representatives are able to do their business in a common language. Once it was Latin, in later times it has been French, and in the future it will probably be English—the language in which (for example) Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek talks to Mr. Gandhi, or in which (along with Russian) the Anglo-Soviet agreement is written. But the last 100 years have seen a great increase in the number of international meetings to which representatives have been sent, not by Governments or Foreign Offices, but by private bodies interested in some question to do with science, art, law, industry, trade, general well-being, or to give everyone an equal chance. Such private meetings will no doubt become even more frequent in the new order started by the United Nations. In addition, at meetings of Government representatives there are frequently present experts in some special field of knowledge who have not had the training in languages which has been undergone by those who have Foreign Office positions. For example, there are

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THE SHERBORNE CONFERENCE

A Czech girl described the Conference as "not only the nicest days I spent in England, but the nicest days I ever had." She was one of the 300 boys and girls from the upper forms of Public and Secondary Schools who came together at Sherborne from August 4 to 11, under the auspices of the Council for Education in World Citizenship. Over a hundred schools were represented. All Conference activities were held at the Sherborne School for Girls, where Miss Charlesworth, Head Mistress of Sutton High School (G.P.D.S.T.), acted as Warden. The girls stayed there, while the boys were housed in Sherborne School, and fed in the school tuck shop, now a British Restaurant. Mr. Nowell C. Smith, formerly Head Master of Sherborne, was their Warden.

The spirit of friendship and enthusiasm which seemed to animate everyone was certainly exhilarating, and the amount of hard work and solid thinking that was done during the week the Conference lasted made all who helped to run it feel that this was something thoroughly worth while even at such a highly critical stage of the war.

Among the speakers who addressed the

WORDS FOR ALL NATIONS

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representatives of workers and owners taking part in discussions with Government representatives in the International Labour Organisation which (said by the Minister of Labour on April 20) will have a great part in building up the society of the future. In that work it may be helped by an International Education Organisation and other bodies of a like sort. At meetings of such bodies, there are special language experts who put what is said in the full meetings into the different languages of those present. But when the representatives see one another at other times, discussion between them may be impossible, though what they say privately might do more than their public statements to make their meeting turn out well, and to give their different nations a truer knowledge of one another.

Conference were Professor Brodetsky, Dr. Olaf Stapledon (author of "First and Last Men," "Saints and Revolutionaries," etc.), Professor Basil Fletcher (Professor of Education in Bristol University), Mr. John Parker, M.P. (General Secretary of the Fabian Society), Dr. George Yeh (Director of the Chinese Ministry of Information in London). After each lecture, whether it was on World Government, the Problem of India, or Education and the New World, boys and girls were on their feet eager to raise questions or to contribute to the discussion; and every speaker who could spend a few hours in Conference surroundings found himself besieged by small groups anxious for further information on various points.

Commissions, or discussion groups, were formed to consider in greater detail some of the problems facing us now and which will face us when the war is over. Each group produced a report. Many were remarkably competent and thorough pieces of work. As Professor Basil Fletcher said when he summed up on the last evening, they were on a higher standard than any other reports he had heard at other conferences organised by the Council or, before the war, by the L.N.U.

The Conference was *not* organised to persuade boys and girls that there was any one panacea which would cure the world's ills; but it was hoped that those attending would be given a keener interest in a world which is changing with such amazing rapidity, a better understanding of the complexity of the problems, and a realisation of their individual responsibility for the new society of nations—for the just and peaceful social order which must be built up after victory if the sacrifices of this war are to be worth while.

M. L.

It is hoped to publish next month reports of the Teachers' Summer School at Keswick and the International Conference of Teachers at Lynmouth, which were also organised by the Council during the summer holidays.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Now and again, for the good of our souls, a book appears which, by very reason of its profound knowledge, insight and breadth of view, forces us at once to raise our sights. Such is *Professor Namier's CONFLICTS: STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORY* (Macmillan, 8s. 6d.). It lights up the whole sky. Already we can see key problems in something of their proper historic setting. Where the measure is so full, pressed down and running over, it is almost criminal to select. But pre-eminent perhaps are the studies on "After Vienna and Versailles," "Hitler's War," "German National Character," and three papers on Zionism.

The present war, Professor Namier shows step by step, is but one phase in a long struggle for European and world domination, which has now been resumed, and must be fought to a finish. To picture it as "all the fault of the small nations" is pitiful nonsense if not worse. In this long recurrency of war a determining part has been played by the German national character. That there is such Professor Namier proves to the hilt. Some nations can crystallise, above or below the average moral level of the individuals who compose them; and they do develop some few forms of communal life and national expression into a *dominant pattern*. Characteristics of Germany's dominant pattern are the utter conscious subordination of the individual, the iron discipline enforced, the high degree of organisation and the resultant inhumanity. Once the pattern is crystallised, it reacts again on individuals and moulds them. The difference between this German pattern and the British counterpart needs no comment. But it may be noted that Germany is the only European nation which openly glories in her barbaric past. Hitler's "hardness," in fact, follows the pattern, and "he is probably one of the most representative Germans that ever lived."

The handling of the Jewish problem is an extraordinary piece of close reasoning and passionate conviction. The "unstable compromise" of assimilation is utterly rejected. The key to a final solution lies in the recovery by the Jews of their historic national consciousness. To enable this to

be done, to the vast benefit of Europe, it should surely be within the power and vision of the Allies, so to assist and guarantee the development of national independence and unity within Arab territories that such large-scale international support would rank as reasonable, equitable compensation for a small strip of country, Palestine, which is to the Jews "the one and only place in the world which they claim as their national heritage." M. F.

AN A.B.C. OF THE PACIFIC. By Dorothy Woodman. (Penguin Special. 9d.)

It is scarcely too much to claim for this new "Penguin" that the ordinary intelligent reader will find it almost indispensable to an understanding of the Battle of Asia. Within the compass of 190 pages, the author sketches the background of the conflict now raging in the Pacific as well as the significance of the chief episodes so far in the struggle. All the pieces on the board are evaluated—from China, "the constant factor," and Japan, "the constant aggressor," to the thousands of Pacific islands whose hitherto unsuspected importance has suddenly burst upon the world. One of the most valuable features of the book is that the author tries to show just how the course of the war appears to Eastern eyes—to the Chinese in Malaya, Java and Sumatra, for example. In a diary of events from 1931 onwards, it is seen how the big Powers of the West have gravitated in ten years from a tender regard for Japan, completely unwarranted by the realities of the situation, to an increasing desire to help China. Factual though the book mainly is, Miss Woodman's opinions compel attention. There are blemishes, as when she seems to charge the unborn League of Nations (or its members) with responsibility for the shabby treatment meted out to China at the Peace Conference in 1919. On the whole, however, the facts are accurate and the reasoning sound. China, the author claims, is the key to victory. Treating her in all respects as an equal, and guaranteeing her a "new deal" after the war, would have a profound moral effect among millions most vulnerable to Japan's "race" propaganda. L. R. A.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

CHINA: AN OUTLINE FOR STUDY. By Margaret Miles. (Council for Education in World Citizenship, established by the League of Nations Union, 6d.). Companion to the two outlines on the U.S.S.R. and India previously published. This skeleton is most useful as a guide to further reading, on which there is a comprehensive bibliography.

FIVE POINTS FOR AFRICA. By Margaret Wrong. (Edinburgh House Press, 2s. 6d., post free 2s. 9d.) In December, 1940, the leaders of the churches set out, in five points, the standards by which economic situations and proposals might be tested. Here their application to Africa is discussed from the point of view of the family, natural resources, distribution of wealth, education both in and out of school, race and opportunity.

ANGLO-AMERICAN UNION. By George Catlin. (Macmillan, 6d.) In this study on Anglo-American and Dominion technical and cultural unification, Professor Catlin produces further evidence to support the broad thesis which he presented in "One Anglo-American Nation" (reviewed in *Headway*, September, 1941).

SOVIET RUSSIA. A Syllabus for Study Courses. Compiled by Joan Thompson. (Russia Today Society, 4d.) Facts presented under four headings—The End of Tsarism; Soviet Planning; Soviet Democracy; and Social Services, Women and Youth in the U.S.S.R. A lively and enthusiastic pamphlet.

RELIGION IN THE U.S.S.R. By the Rev. Stanley Evans. (Russia Today Society, 3d.). Shows how in U.S.S.R. there is complete freedom of religious worship, but not freedom of religious propaganda. The historical background of this position is explained.

U.S.S.R. PICTORIAL SURVEY. Edited, with geographical notes, by G. D. B. Gray (A. and C. Black, 2s. 6d.). Thirty-two pictures on Landscape, Peoples, Agri-

culture and Industry—for wall exhibition, class use, or epidiascope.

FOOD CONTROL IN GREAT BRITAIN. (International Labour Office, Studies and Reports Series, 5s.). The I.L.O. analyses the problems of production, distribution and consumption of food during the war. There is no doubt that the experience gained already will potently influence peace-time nutrition policies. Already much has come to stay. Two principles, for example: the direct responsibility of the community through democratic government for the welfare of all the members, and the obligation of this Government to organise the economic resources of the community for the whole community. Two new developments point the way in practice—the free and cheap milk scheme, and the communal feeding programme. No one who is interested in the vital relation between food and the wealth of the nation must miss this book.

A BASEBALL WAR

"The British play cricket, the Americans play baseball," wrote M. Jan Masaryk recently in the *Manchester Guardian*. "Having fathomed the secrets of cricket after several years of bewildered observation of that great game, and having known baseball for thirty odd years, and having even played it, I am definitely of the opinion that this is a baseball war. Whether we like it or not, we must slide quickly to first base, and even spike our opponent if there is an opportunity. There is a great deal to be said for both games and far be it from me to try to detract anything from cricket. The Americans sometimes jump to conclusions too quickly, the British not quickly enough. To co-ordinate these two national phenomena is one of the prerequisites of our victory."

CAREFUL MR. WELLS

SIR,—I have just been reading Mr. H. G. Wells' "You Can't Be Too Careful," on page 228 of which I find the following astonishing statement:—

"War has been abolished again and again since 1918. The League of Nations put an end to war, the Kellogg Pact abolished it, a Peace Pledge taken by millions refused all further participation in warfare."

Has anything been done to enlighten Mr. Wells? I recognise the fact that this appears in a work of fiction; but it is written as the considered judgment of the author, and not as the opinion of any character in the book. Mr. Wells has been an outspoken critic of history as recorded in the past, and it is disappointing to find that his own contribution to modern history is at least as unreliable as that which he has been at pains to condemn.

W. H. MONK.

Bournville.

(Mr. Wells is misleading with his terrific compression of the purpose for which the League of Nations was founded. Apparently, too, he confuses the "Peace Ballot" with the Peace Pledge Union—two completely different things with completely different objects—crediting the latter with the votes cast in the former.—ED.)

A NEW NATION FOR A NEW WORLD.—Members of the L.N.U. are cordially invited to attend a Public Meeting on Saturday, September 5, at 5.30 p.m., in the Derby Room, Bonnington Hotel, Southampton Row, W.C.1.

AGENDA

AGENDA, *A Quarterly Journal of Reconstruction* (published for the London School of Economics and Social Science by Humphrey Milford, 6s. net, or annual subscription one guinea, post free), has set an extraordinarily high standard in the three numbers which have already appeared.

Outstanding among the authoritative articles in No. 2 was "The American Approach to Reconstruction," by Harold Butler. Now that Britain and the United States are pledged to work together with a common plan and a common ideal, we have the means of forging a powerful weapon in the war of ideas. Lord Hailey, writing on "Colonial Policy and Some of its Post-War Problems," advocated a restatement of colonial relations, on a basis not of trustees and wards, but of senior and junior partners.

Among the contents of No. 3 we find "The Inevitable League," by Dr. Gilbert Murray, "Some Thoughts on Reconstruction," by C. R. S. Harris, "United States Foreign Trade Policy," by E. F. Schumacher, and "Agriculture in Soviet Russia and Post-War Needs," by Sir John Russell. Ethel John Lindgren, surveying "Reconstruction Research Conducted in Britain by the European Allies," gives pride of place to the work of the London International Assembly—a reminder that it is just a year ago that the L.I.A. came into being through the initiative of the League of Nations Union, in response to requests from Allied quarters.

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