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EDITORIAL

A YEAR OF WAR

WE look back, this month, upon a year of war. A year, that is, since Britain resolved that a halt must be called to Nazi aggression. For, to us in the League of Nations Union, it is clear that the Second World War started, almost unperceived, even before the dark shadow of Nazi domination had fallen upon Europe—that the first shots were fired at Mukden in September, 1931; and that Abyssinia, Austria and Czechoslovakia were as much “casualties” in this war as were any of Hitler’s more recent victims. Already, last September, the battle had been long in progress, although the peace-loving nations, exercising the democratic virtue of patience to an excessive degree, had been reluctant to admit the disagreeable truth. With the German invasion of Poland and the annexation of Danzig on September 1, 1939, the blinkers fell from their eyes. Two days later Britain and France, dropping the ineffective rôle of protesting spectators, became parties in the life and death struggle.

This has been a year of shocks and unpleasant surprises. Yet these reverses, far from submerging our will to win, have had at least one wholesome effect in opening our eyes to the grim realities of total warfare.

At first the democracies lived up to their reputation of being slow starters. Britain and France, spared an immediate *Blitzkrieg*, seemed perfectly content to settle down to a long but perhaps not too uncomfortable war. Their plan, apparently, was not to try to force the military issue but to sit tight while economic factors were bringing about the slow defeat of the enemy. Hitler had different ideas. “If ever I should go to war,” he once prophesied, “I should strike suddenly, like lightning out of the night.” Before the mechanised might of Germany, Poland’s defences collapsed in the incredibly short space of three weeks. True, Russian intervention compelled Germany to agree to the partition of Poland. There followed the Soviet invasion of Finland, rightly condemned by the League of Nations.

The next three or four months were a deceptively quiet period. Indeed, when last March rumours of a Nazi peace offer began to circulate, the lull induced some well-meaning people to urge negotiations with Hitler, with a view to avoiding fresh slaughter. The invasion of Denmark and Norway on April 9 put this “peace offensive” in its proper perspective. Denmark accepted the

German occupation. Norway, with British help, for a time put up gallant resistance on her own soil. When eventually the Allied forces had to be evacuated, our chief consolation was that half the German fleet lay at the bottom of the sea.

Barely a month later, on May 10, came Hitler's next blow—his assault on the Low Countries. In Britain, Mr. Chamberlain resigned, and the formation of a new and more vigorous Government under the leadership of Mr. Churchill was heartily welcomed by the League of Nations Union. But it was humanly impossible at once to stem the tide of disasters. Holland was overrun, with terrible slaughter. On May 28 the Belgian Army, at the command of King Leopold, capitulated. To its credit, the Belgian Government repudiated this act, and pledged itself to carry on the fight as best it could.

The Battle of Flanders gave place to the Battle of France. With France (like earlier victims) not only assaulted from without but betrayed from within, the struggle became desperate. On June 17, just after the British offer of complete political and economic union with

France, the new Pétain Government decreed that "fighting must cease." The "miracle of Dunkirk" snatched glory and a breathing space out of what might have been utter disaster.

So now, as we enter the second year of war, all talk is of the Battle of Britain. The early rounds encourage the hope that Hitler's defeat of France may yet prove the limit of his run of successes. This hope is born in no mood of vainglorious boasting. It would be folly to underrate the enemy, or the desperate acts to which his extremity may drive him. We are still prepared and preparing for a long war—though, as Mr. Churchill has hinted, the end may come sooner than we can at present reasonably anticipate. As to the nature of that end, there can be no shadow of doubt. Increasingly we are becoming stronger in arms and resources. And increasingly our cause is attracting the sympathy, as well as often the active support, of free peoples everywhere. President Benes, in his inspiring message to the Czech troops, has summed up the expectation of all the Allies in the fight for freedom: "We have not lost and we shall not lose; whatever the circumstances, we shall go on to victory."

sion should be made by H.M. Government of its intention to make fresh efforts to establish some international barrier against war.

BURMA ROAD

Since the Executive's "Burma Road" resolution, a deputation consisting of Members of both Houses has waited on the Prime Minister and has put before him certain constructive suggestions for action, viz., free passage of medical supplies and a joint Anglo-American loan to China.

UNION POLICY

The striking down of France makes necessary some revision of the declared policy of the Union, which to so large an extent was based on Anglo-French union. The Executive has therefore decided to revise the policy in the light of the present situation, and is now taking preliminary steps.

Further, the Executive, while welcoming the recent statements by Lord Halifax and General Smuts, is of opinion that it is desirable that some more definite expres-

BURMA ROAD BETRAYAL

By H. J. TIMPERLEY

(Formerly "Manchester Guardian" correspondent in China)

In the March issue of HEADWAY, comparing British policy in the Far East during the last European war with British policy to-day, I posed these questions:—

"Will history repeat itself in 1940? Is it likely that Britain's long-distance objectives in the Far East—observance of the principle of the Open Door and respect for the territorial and administrative integrity of China—will be again submerged? Will China and our commitment under the League Covenant be sacrificed upon the altar of expediency?"

The action of the British Government in closing the Burma Road, upon which China has become almost solely dependent for the transit of essential military and other supplies, has provided a melancholy answer. Disregarding the resolution adopted by the League Assembly on October 6, 1937, recommending that "members of the League should refrain from taking action which might have the effect of weakening China's powers of resistance and thus of increasing her difficulties in the present conflict," we have severed, nominally for three months, but quite possibly for a longer period, China's last remaining link with the sea. Furthermore, it has now been revealed that so long ago as January, 1939—nine months before the outbreak of hostilities in Europe could have provided any excuse—our Government broke its solemnly pledged word by prohibiting the export of military supplies to China from Hongkong.

That our action in closing the Burma Road is morally indefensible is admitted even by those responsible for the decision. The sole defence offered is that,

having regard to our "total situation," it was necessary to make this shameful concession lest we find ourselves plunged into war with Japan at a time when the threat of invasion hung over Britain like a threatening cloud. It was admittedly an attempt to buy off the black-mailer at the expense, not of ourselves, but of a courageous people who have for the past three years put up a stubborn fight against aggression that will go down into history as one of the most inspiring epics of modern times.

What this action on the part of our Government is costing the Chinese in terms of human suffering alone will be seen from the following telegram which has reached London from Dr. Robert Lim, Director of the Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Commission:

"Medical supply situation has become extremely serious. Enough anaesthetics and certain drugs only for one month's use. Also completely lack many items of surgical instruments in spite of 2,500 tons of medical supplies awaiting shipment in Indo-China and Burma. Unable to meet telegraphic requests for vaccine to stem cholera epidemics and quinine for malaria districts, etc., although some available here.

"All difficulties due to previous delay in obtaining trucks, spare parts and fuel from Indo-China and now complete restriction of shipments from Burma. Red Cross petrol reduced to 15,000 gallons, whereas we need at least 10 times as much monthly in order to bring supplies from Burma and distribute them throughout country.

"As vanishing stock of spare parts and tyres is also paralysing transport, ambulance services between all fronts

are being drastically reduced. Urge you use every channel enable Red Cross and associated relief organisations to import vehicles, spare parts and fuel via Burma, without which all relief work must soon end."

Strong representations have been made to the Government to allow the transit of motor vehicles and petrol for Red Cross use, but so far in vain. Foreign Office officials appear to take the view that they can do nothing in the matter without Japan's permission. Could there be any more striking proof of the humiliating depth to which the policy of appeasement in the Far East has caused us to sink?

Small wonder that this shocking betrayal of China has produced grave repercussions abroad, where it has cast a sharp reflection upon the validity of our professed war aims. It has brought a storm of protest from the people of China and their leaders, and has caused profound resentment amongst the Chinese Press. In America, as one well-informed observer reported, it caused a reaction almost as sharply critical as that produced by our betrayal of Czechoslovakia at Munich. From India came this telegram over the signature of the Secretary-General of the Indian National Congress:—

"The Congress President has issued a statement wholly disapproving of the closing of the Burma Road, which was built at enormous sacrifice and already had become the main artery of traffic which brought India, Burma and China nearer to each other. The people of India welcomed the new relationship created and gave their goodwill to the Chinese struggle.

"The closing of the road means a severe restriction of the growing ties between these countries and the flaunting of Indian opinion. It is opposed to the

foreign policy of the Indian people and the policy of international friendship and Sino-British treaties. It is clearly an encouragement to the aggressor nations and a support of the policy against which Britain professes to be fighting. The British policy in India and China is entirely opposed to the claims of the British Government in relation to Europe."

He who sups with the devil must need use a long spoon. In Japan itself repercussions have been swift and, for those who reposed any confidence in the efficacy of appeasement, results have been disillusioning. The relatively moderate Yonai Government has been succeeded by a new régime which makes no secret of its intention to take full advantage of our preoccupation in Europe; within a fortnight responsible Britons residing in Japan had been flung into prison; the aerial bombardment of Chungking and other Chinese cities has been intensified to a horrifying degree; and to-day Japanese naval and military forces are threatening Indo-China.

In agreeing to suspend traffic over the Burma Road the British Government stipulated that the Japanese should make a genuine effort to reach an equitable settlement with China. It can hardly be argued, even by the most fanatical supporter of the appeasement policy, that events since the conclusion of the Agreement have indicated any intention on Japan's part to reach an equitable settlement with China. It was Prince Konoye himself, it will be remembered, who declared that it was the intention of Japan "to beat China to her knees." If the Konoye Government refuses to modify its attitude towards China then surely we are entitled to consider ourselves released from this ill-advised bargain and the Burma Road should be opened at once.

REFUGEES AND INTERNEES

All aspects of the refugee question have ever been a special concern of the League of Nations Union. Now that the hazards of war have brought refugees in tens of thousands to our shores our activity in this field is unremitting. The Executive is represented on the organisations specially concerned with refugee problems and seeks, both by individual and collective action, to make the lot of these unfortunate people less unenviable. In a similar way, many branches are taking part in the work of local refugee committees, and members are going out of their way to show kindnesses to refugees.

Recent modifications of the Regulations concerning refugees and internees, we may fairly claim, are largely the outcome of representations made by members of the Executive, of whom none has worked harder in this cause than Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P.

The Union has a personal as well as a humanitarian interest in the Advisory Council which the Government has appointed to deal with the welfare of refugees and internees in this country. Lord Lytton is the Chairman, and three other members of the Union's Executive—Lord Cranborne, Miss Rathbone and Mr. Noel Baker—are serving on the Council.

In an interview which he gave to the Press on August 22, Lord Lytton out-

lined the problems which the Council is tackling. He described conditions in the camps for the interned, and the steps which were being taken to bring about much needed reforms.

Huyton Camp, near Liverpool, which Lord Lytton recently visited, had the reputation of being one of the worst. Men had to put up with makeshift accommodation on bare boards, overcrowding was terrible, and food (cooked in the open) was insufficient. Nothing was done to provide either employment or recreation.

In Lord Lytton's opinion conditions are still far from satisfactory, but they are improving. For example, straw palliasses have now been supplied for all, and beds for the men over 50, who constitute 40 per cent. of the camp. Two cottages have been reserved as a hospital, and there is a civilian doctor in daily attendance. A human touch is the institution of a "Vienna cafe" for the sale of tea, coffee and cakes. Football can be played and there are country walks. Measures are being taken to prevent the holding up of mail, and to keep track of the movements of refugees.

In short, though the situation will require continual watching, it does seem that the authorities are making a serious attempt to get out of the chaos and muddle which followed the decision to intern nearly 30,000 aliens.

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

A BRITISH-AMERICAN UNION NOW ?

By W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

On June 16th, when France's resistance was collapsing, the British Government communicated to the French a historic document, a draft Declaration of Union. "The two Governments declare that France and Great Britain shall no longer be two, but one Franco-British Union. The Constitution of the Union will provide for joint organs of defence, foreign, financial and economic policies." The French made no response, and within a week the Battle of France had ended in disaster.

But the British move, wise or unwise, will have important consequences some day. Indeed, it is already having some effect in the United States as a stimulus to the campaign for Union Now. You may remember that, in his well-known book, "Union Now," Mr. Clarence Streit advocated Federal Union of 15 States which he reckoned as "democracies." Five of these, including France, have now been conquered by Hitler, and two more, Sweden and Switzerland, are cut off and virtually at Hitler's mercy. So Streit now amends his immediate proposal: the Union Now should begin with seven States—"at least the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa. Have the Seven States do as our thirteen States did—proclaim their free principles in a Common Declaration, set up a provisional Inter-Continental Congress to defend them all, and establish the nucleus of a world Federal Union, modelled on our own Constitution, to which other democracies could be admitted as States are admitted to the American Union."

This project is being made the subject of a big publicity campaign, which you may have seen referred to in *The Times* of August 20th. I have before me, for instance, a full page "advertisement" in the *New York Times* of July 15th. In general, the proposal follows the lines of Streit's book. As a first stage, there would be an "Inter-continental Congress," on which each of the seven democratic States would be represented by one person, plus "one representative for every 5 million people or major fraction thereof." (The text of the advertisement says "people"; but it appears from Mr. Streit's book (p. 252) that he really means citizens with voting rights. Thus, the coloured population of S. Africa would not count.) It is computed that the U.S.A. would thus get 27 representatives, the United Kingdom 11, Canada 3, Australia, Ireland, Union of S. Africa and New Zealand 2 each. Thus the Federal Union would at the outset "give us Americans, as the most populous democracy, the majority of representatives in the Inter-continental Congress."

The Congress would have "full power to levy war, contract alliances, conclude peace, establish commerce," like any other independent State. Its establishment would be a first stage only, the second stage being the convening of a Constitutional Convention "as the first stage towards a World Government of, by, and for the people, a Federal Union on the broad lines of the American Constitution."

It is interesting to see what is the primary argument by which Mr. Streit and his colleagues seek to commend this project to American public opinion.

They have to reckon with the fact that the average American was profoundly disillusioned by the outcome of the last Great War, was revolted by the policy called "appeasement," was shocked and alarmed by the collapse of France, and was heartened by the resolute stand of Churchill and the British people. So this publicity campaign stresses the danger to America if Hitler were to collar the British Fleet and Merchant Marine, "to bring his *blitzkrieg* here." "The present strong anti-Nazi Government" in Britain wouldn't make such a surrender; but, it is feared, Churchill's Government might be succeeded by another, a Government infected by the spirit of Laval and Bonnet. So Union Now is commended to the Americans as an insurance against the loss of their bulwark the British Fleet. "By Union, we secure the British Fleet overnight." After Union, "no matter how the British Cabinet changed, it could no more surrender the naval or other armed forces than the Government of New York can

surrender any of the armed forces of the American Union."

It is evident that the bond between the British Commonwealth and the United States is being rapidly strengthened; but I don't think Union will come in the way Mr. Streit contemplates. I don't think the peoples of the British Commonwealth will be content, even for the time being, with the proposed scale of representation, or that the bulk of the people of the United States would yet accept so complete an overthrow of all the traditions of continental isolation. But I do believe that a great advance towards union is coming quickly, and I expect every reader of HEADWAY will welcome this as I do.

Mr. Churchill said the other day that the two English-speaking democracies "will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage." That informal phrase indicates exactly the temper in which this partnership, informal but effective, can most surely grow.

LEAGUE PAVILION AT NEW YORK

Despite the war, the League of Nations Pavilion has continued to attract crowds of visitors at the New York World's Fair. For the second year in succession, the American League of Nations Association has made itself responsible for keeping the League exhibit "on the map." The task has been well worth while. There has been no dearth of willing helpers to act as stewards. A hundred students, many from States as distant as Florida, Illinois, Texas, Tennessee, California and Ohio, have done admirable work as guides.

These helpers are agreed that, in some respects, their job has been easier this year than last. During the 1939 season, many

of the visitors were inclined to scoff at the failures of the League. This summer that element of combativeness has been largely absent. The guides report increasing numbers of belated converts to the League idea. Some have gloomily lamented that it is now too late to do anything about it. In reply the guides have argued, often with marked effect, that after the present depressing interlude a greater and more forceful League will evolve.

The importance of international cooperation has been stressed, and we learn that large numbers of the visitors have been amazed at the scope of the League's non-political activities.

THE PRICE OF INCONSISTENCY

By DR. GILBERT MURRAY

The present disasters of Britain and Europe are due to the most fatal of all political errors, inconsistency. We followed a League policy where it was easy and dropped it when it was difficult. We snubbed Germany while she was weak, but did not prevent her growing strong. We tried to conciliate her by concessions when she was strong, but allowed her to outarm us without an effort. It is conceivable that a policy of Isolation combined with heavy rearmament and a completely unscrupulous foreign policy might have saved Britain from war until the Germans had conquered Europe; it seems certain, as certain as anything in world politics can be, that a consistent League of Nations policy would have brought us permanent peace. And permanent peace is the acknowledged interest of every nation. Consider two special cases:

Armament

The Disarmament Conference lasted over two years and was attended by all the nations of the world. A plan was worked out which would have reduced armaments everywhere, made their secret increase on any large scale impossible and left the chances of successful aggression almost hopeless. But to carry the plan through needed clear thought and energy, and it was allowed to fail. This was the fatal error. Germany was set free to rearm. The obvious necessity, in that case, was for England instantly to rearm also, so as to maintain her superiority over Germany. Instead of which, with almost incredible folly, we continued to reduce! The League of Nations Union was always against unilateral disarmament;

our speakers insisted that the only alternative to Agreed Disarmament—and that a very miserable alternative—was immediate competitive Rearmament in every country. All disarm together, or each arm like the Devil.

Either policy was defensible; to disarm all together, or to arm in hot competition against Germany. To confuse the two policies and take whichever was easiest at the time was indefensible. We let Germany rearm because it was a trouble to stop her; we let our own arms down because it was unpopular to demand the necessary taxes.

Collective Defence

President Roosevelt has said with truth that some 90 per cent. of mankind want to live in peace without aggressing on their neighbours; some 10 per cent. are out for wars of conquest. If the 90 per cent. can stand together, they will obviously defeat the 10 per cent., and not merely defeat them but prevent them from making war at all. The League policy is to get them to stand together. If they do not, the gangster powers will select first one, and then another, of their weak neighbours and conquer them one by one. This is exactly what has happened. The gangsters first tested carefully the sincerity of Britain and France in their pledges to defend all members of the League; they tested us first in countries remote from our arms and our immediate interests in Manchuria, Abyssinia, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and found that when our pledges were hard to keep we broke them. They thus made Belgium, Holland and the Scandinavian States, for whom we would readily have fought.

mistrust us and fall away into "neutrality." So when our patience at last broke over the attack on Poland we found ourselves saddled with an eastern ally whom it was almost impossible to defend, and with no armed and prepared allies in the region where we needed them. A League policy, even at the eleventh hour, might have saved them; neutrality was immediately fatal.

In all these matters Britain (to say nothing of France) wobbled between two contradictory policies. She professed fidelity to the League but would never face trouble or danger to fulfil her promises. Her enemies discovered she was afraid; her friends discovered that she could not be trusted. The result of the inconsistency has naturally been worse than the result of either policy firmly pursued would have been.

The Future

So much for the past. For the future, if the British Empire survives this war, it will have to face much the same question over again. It covers the fourth of the world's surface; it comprises "the greatest collection of loot the world has ever seen," and all the gangsters have their eyes upon it. It can only maintain its extraordinary world position if its natural strength is supported by

the good will of the world. This means not merely that it must be an honest, vigorous and well-governed empire; not guilty or suspected of plotting against its neighbours, but also that it must stand for the principle which commands the support of 90 per cent. of the human race, the principle of Peace, Good Faith, and the Reign of Law. That is, for the principles of the Covenant.

One word more. There is a temptation at the present moment, when all our allies seem to have failed us, to fall back on confidence in John Bull alone and contempt for all "foreigners." But now, and always, this is a mistake.

Confidence in John Bull, by all means; he deserves it. But to think whole populations weak or cowardly because they have been overrun by an overwhelmingly superior army is quite unjust. How could a country of seven millions, like Holland, or two and a-half millions, like Norway, hold out against a nation of eighty millions? There is plenty of evidence already for the grit and courage of Czechs, Poles and others. And as for France, let us be quite sure that we could endure what the French endured, and face the internal treachery they have faced, without breaking, before we condemn a people which has shown itself in the past a very brave ally and a devoted friend of freedom.

When you have read HEADWAY, please pass it on to somebody else.

You will help to strengthen, and spread more widely, the ideas expressed in the Covenant.

At the present time, when war conditions have inevitably resulted in a great reduction of both the spoken and the written word, Union members can in this way render a real service to the cause of world peace.

A FOOD OFFENSIVE AGAINST HITLER

By MAURICE FANSHAWE

The Aces of the B.B.C.—readers follow these three or four more avidly than their favourite film or football star—speak with one voice about the determined spirit of attack which now inspires young and old in our island and our Empire. This war is one of ideas, and international civil war. Successful offensives must be founded on big, simple ideas painted in with a broad dramatic brush, capturing our imagination, a move ahead of the enemy.

Big-scale imagination has been used by our Government in many ways. None can accuse our Prime Minister of lack of audacious imagination. Yet there are fields where more remains to be done.

Looming before us, for example, is a problem which has not yet been approached thus (though there are encouraging signs of awareness in Whitehall) but which seems to offer incalculable advantages if it can be handled with imaginative foresight. It is the food problem in Europe in the coming winter.

Now Hitler is brutally clear how he proposes to handle this problem. He rehashes the old argument that the British blockade is aimed at starving the women and children in German-occupied territory. His lie factories are already at work forging this weapon against Britain, with a sinister eye cocked at the U.S.A. and the instinctive humanitarian sympathies—of others.

No doubt our reply will be on these lines. Germany herself has admitted she has large reserves of food*, and yet Hitler seizes the food out of the mouths of the women and children of all the countries which he has enslaved. While he forces these countries to supply him with war materials and labour with which to attack Britain, he has the gangster's effrontery to demand that the U.S.A. shall feed his unwilling slaves and make

them fitter for their dictated task. Hitler, we sum up, has however only two practical choices—either he must feed those whom he has conquered and robbed or he must evacuate their country and let others, who can be trusted, play the Good Samaritan.

But in tackling Germany a good deal more than an appeal to reason or facts is wanted. There must be bold imagination, bold counter-action.

Now the recent Havana Conference seems to offer a possibility of just such a concrete, broad gauge offensive. The problem there was a crude one—the Latin American Republics have a vast and growing surplus of raw materials and foodstuffs which they must sell, or lower their national standards of living. How can they sell when the British blockade cuts them off from the profitable European market? At first the United States proposed to solve the problem through a Cartel, for controlling the South American market. But the South American Republics would not accept this. So a new trail was blazed and the Conference decided unanimously on a vast internal marketing scheme for making good the collapse of the European market by steadying the whole Latin-American one. The big dynamo for this machinery is the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, to be at once strengthened and expanded for the special job of taking care of huge surpluses in the whole Latin-American market, notably of cereals, meat, cotton, and oil (all of which the U.S.A. herself produces). All the Americas, under the leadership (among equals) of the U.S.A., are to co-operate in this work. Among other things their object is to amplify the internal market, to provide warehouses, finance, and orderly distribution for surplus goods, to create new customers by new measures for better public health and nutrition and—let us note—

to set up machinery "for a distribution of a part of the surplus of any of the said products as a humanitarian and social aid."

Cannot imagination be brought to work at once on the vast possibilities of this plan which is already coming into existence? Only a few days ago our Prime Minister said these words:

"We shall do our best to encourage the building up of reserves of food all over the world so that there will always be held up before the eyes of the peoples of Europe, including—I say it deliberately—the German and Austrian peoples, the certainty that the shattering of the Nazi power will bring to them all immediate food, freedom, and peace."

Does not the Havana plan offer at least one direction in which these brave and far-reaching words can be translated into action? Why should not Great Britain co-operate with the U.S.A. here? Once

the decision is made the details are not the least insoluble. Why should not Britain and the United States both seize the chance to build up a huge food reserve in the West? This reserve could be used, the moment the hell of war stops, for relieving Europe's needs. It would be both good war and good peace policy. It would save Britain from any odium of causing economic ruin in South America, for she becomes a big customer. It would enable the U.S.A. to do more to help us, as they themselves earnestly desire, short of war. As a post-war measure it would relieve mass misery in Europe, and avoid the blunders and shortages of 1918. Such a plan should be put over with a terrific barrage. It should be dinned into the ears of every Italian, German, Austrian, Pole, Scandinavian, Dutchman, Belgian and Frenchman that while Nazism and Fascism fight he will starve. Once they are defeated he can have peace and plenty—to-day.

NANSEN PIONEER CAMP

It was decided to hold only one Nansen Pioneer Camp this year: and I set off one day last month to see for myself what such a camp would be like under war-time conditions.

For two days we walked, swam in deep pools in the sparkling streams, jigged country dances to the tune of a pipe, sang around the camp fire the songs of many nations—and talked.

It was good talk. Some of these boys and girls had been bombed before they came to camp. Some of their leaders had been driven out of Europe by the Nazi scourge. But there was no hatred.

In their camp conferences they had examined the economic and social roots of unrest, framed their recommendations for an extended and more liberal system of education and for a more responsible democracy, considered the problem of

our future relations with Germany and the need for international Government, and recognised that only through acknowledgment of the Fatherhood of God could they finally build the perfect Brotherhood of Man. As the Camp Chief reminded us, it was Nansen's own belief that:

"... reverence will not come from the rushing, noisy centres of civilisation. It will come from the lonely places! The great reformers of history have come from the wilderness!"

The Council for Education in World Citizenship is fully conscious of the debt it owes to the Camp Chief, Mr. Henry Michelmores, the Honorary Camps Secretary, Miss Sparks, and all their helpers who carried through the preliminary organisation and actual direction of the camp.

C. W. JUDD.

*Essential facts of the situation are set forth in *ECONOMIST*, August 17th.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

LET THE PEOPLE KNOW

Has there ever been a time when knowledge and imagination have been more vital for victory and for freedom? Your true democracy knows this in its bones. That is why the tentative tax on books died at its birth. Fortunately, of books and the written word—despite war-time reduction—there is a plenty. They are of high standard; many of them are cheap. But they must be made known, they must be more accessible, if truth is to prevail. To make some of them more accessible is the hope and aim of this new feature. A short note may be given, perhaps titles only; but all books mentioned deserve a wide public.

Naturally, many of the latest books deal with Germany—Faust cannot be acted without Mephisto. Two—THE LIGHTS GO DOWN, by Erica Mann (Secker and Warburg, 8s. 6d.) and HITLER YOUTH, by Hans Siemson (Lindsay Drummond, 7s. 6d.)—expose the frightful tragedy of Germany's deliberate attempt to corrupt the minds and hearts of young Germany and to poison the workday life of ordinary folk. A MOTHER FIGHTS HITLER, by Irmgard Litten (Allen and Unwin, 7s. 6d.) is the tragic yet inspiring story of the martyrdom of a most able, honest lawyer who had incurred Hitler's blazing hatred, and the failure of his mother to save him. In NAZIS AND GERMANS, by Harold Picton (Allen and Unwin, 5s.), an Englishman long settled in Germany gives proof of the existence of another Germany which hates Hitlerism even more violently than we do—a Germany to be reckoned with in the hour of victory.

Next, there are a number of new Penguins or kindred publications which reach a very high standard. The Penguins include THE COMMON SENSE OF PEACE AND WAR, by H. G. Wells; WHY FREEDOM MATTERS, by Sir Norman Angell; and INDIA, by K. S.

Shelvankar—a well-condensed history of India, with special attention to social and economic issues, and aims of the Nationalistic Movement. Among the Oxford Pamphlets (price 3d. each), L. F. Rushbrook Williams in INDIA gives a short objective analysis of the Indian background; and RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY, by Barbara Ward, is a short, clear account which has the advantage of providing a reasonable explanation of policies perhaps not so different from those of other European States as has been thought.

Back among the Penguins, LAWRENCE OF ARABIA AND ZIONISM AND PALESTINE, by Sir Ronald Storrs, includes quite the best appreciation of Lawrence and an analysis grounded in long personal experience of the labyrinth of Palestine since the last Great War. Also, these four (three of them Penguins), in particular, should not lack readers: CREED OR CHAOS, by Dorothy Sayers, gets down to fundamentals in the conviction that this war is a life and death struggle between Christian and Pagan; the PENGUIN HANSARD (FROM CHAMBERLAIN TO CHURCHILL), Vol. 1—from its pages those who are fighting for democracy can see, in the shortest compass, how Parliament works, its weaknesses, its strength; SCIENCE IN WAR, by twenty scientists—a most stimulating demand for fuller use of science for the conduct of the whole Government, not only in the hours of war; NEW WAYS OF WAR, by Tom Wintringham, shows how a citizens' army is a central answer to the menace of totalitarian war.

Amongst a host of slightly larger publications, two only can be noted here. AMERICAN WHITE PAPER, by J. Alsop and R. Kintner (Michael Joseph, 2s. 6d.—also a cheaper edition), shows how well-informed President Roosevelt and his right-hand men, Cordell Hull and Sumner Welles, were about the operating events in

Europe, up to and at the outbreak of war, and yet how America's internal politics and tradition so often frustrated effective action. WORLD REVIEW, edited by Edward Hulton (1s. monthly), starts on a new career to provide constructive discussion and criticism of the issues of the hour, which will make or mar the brave new world of to-morrow. This monthly shows all the freshness and enterprising outlook which have come to be associated with that other Hulton publication, PICTURE POST.

From lack of space, adequate selection of Press Articles is quite out of the question. But readers who desire to know will be repaid if they will consult the following outstanding items which have appeared in the columns of newspapers and periodicals in recent weeks: First, for example, in the TIMES, the full text of Mr. Churchill's Elizabethan speech in the House of Commons, August 21. Next, in

TIME AND TIDE, "Foodstore for Europe," July 27. In the ECONOMIST, "Russia and the West," July 27; "The Third Republic," August 10; and "Food for Europe," August 17. From a mass of useful material in the LISTENER, we specially commend "British Aims on Colonial Government," by Sir G. Northcote; and "Will You Walk Into My Parlour?" by Dr. H. Rauschnig, August 22.

The SERIAL MAP SERVICE for August contains maps of Great Britain (industrial), the Near and Middle East (ethnographic and strategic), and Spain and Portugal (Economic). In the accompanying letterpress, there are useful articles on the industrial resources of Great Britain, the Near and Middle East, the economic importance of Spain and Portugal, and Portugal and the British Alliance. (Serial Map Service, Dunham's Lane, Letchworth, Herts; year's subscription, 23s. 6d., post free.)

THE BRANCH FRONT

Union Branches and members are 'going to it' and 'sticking at it,' even in places which have been most favoured with Hitler's attentions.

Writing from Cheshire as "a poor refugee," Miss Tourtel, until recently Secretary of the Guernsey Branch, tells us that she is "more determined than ever to follow events from the point of view of the L.N.U." As she gets news of other members who were able to leave Guernsey in time, she urges them to join forces with the Branches in their new districts.

A Channel Islands school, now settling down at Rocdale, has started to prepare a winter programme of study circles and discussion groups on world affairs.

One big South Coast port—which Rumour had it was lying half in ruins!—is a busy centre of Union activity. The Branch Committee has unanimously endorsed the Executive's resolution on the Far East and has written to all local

M.P.s on the subject. It is sending a representative to the Week-end School at Knebworth.

From the East coast "war zone" comes an excellent report of Branch activities written during an air raid warning. "We get surprisingly used to everything," adds the Secretary-Treasurer, "and being busy keeps us cheerful."

"The best and most inspiring meeting held in Essex since the outbreak of war" was the verdict on the Garden Meeting run by the Roydon Branch last month, when the children of the local school performed a play written by one of the girls.

Five Branches in the Wandsworth area are each sending four delegates to a joint conference on September 21, to discuss the L.N.U. in war-time. The aim is to stimulate the weaker Branches through the example of their stronger neighbours. This scheme, no doubt, will be followed elsewhere.

WAR-TIME SUMMER SCHOOL

Knebworth House, Hertfordshire

PROVISIONAL PROGRAMME*

Thursday, September 12th.

Evening: Welcome by the EARL and COUNTESS OF LYTTON

Friday, September 13th.

9.45 a.m. "The Development of Public Opinion on International Affairs since 1914," by MR. WILSON HARRIS, Editor of "The Spectator."

11.15 a.m. "The Situation in the Far East," by MR. H. J. TIMPERLEY, formerly "Manchester Guardian" Correspondent in the Far East.

8.15 p.m. "Public Opinion in Europe in Relation to International Organisation," by MR. F. E. FIGGURES, Secretary-General of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

Saturday, September 14th.

9.45 a.m. "The Salvage of Civilisation," by DR. GILBERT MURRAY, President of the League of Nations Union.

11.15 a.m. "The War of Ideals," by MR. K. ZILLIACUS, former member of the League of Nations Secretariat.

5.30 p.m. "The League as I have known it," by MISS K. COURTNEY, Vice-Chairman L.N.U. Executive Committee.

8.30 p.m. "Training for Peace in School and Home," (Speaker to be announced).

Sunday, September 15th.

2.30 p.m. Round-Table Conference on "Principles for the Next Peace Settlement." Leader: MR. W. ARNOLD-FORSTER. Speakers include representatives of international thought in other countries.

8.30 p.m. "Our Aim," by the RT. HON. EARL OF LYTTON, Chairman L.N.U. Executive Committee.

FULL MEMBERSHIP. With board and lodging from dinner on Thursday, September 12th, to breakfast on Monday, September 16th, £2 7s. 6d.

VISITORS' TICKETS (without board): 10s. 6d. for full course or 3s. 6d. per day.

APPLICATIONS to:

The Secretary, League of Nations Union, 60, St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.2.

The accommodation at Knebworth House is limited and EARLY APPLICATION IS ESSENTIAL. Knebworth House is within easy reach of London by motor coach and train, and Day Visitors will be particularly welcome.

*Every effort will be made to adhere to this programme but no guarantee can be given owing to the exigencies of the situation.

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

World Settlement

Sir,—I was very glad to read Miss Waite's stimulating article in this month's HEADWAY. It has always seemed to me that too much stress has been laid on the question of security, vital though that is, and far too little on the social and economic activities of the League. In a nation the preservation of order is an essential function of the Government, but not as an end in itself, only as the necessary condition for the performance of other, more constructive, services. I hope very much that Miss Waite's suggestion for the drawing up of a social and industrial "world settlement" will be acted on.

Paddington. M. E. BULKLEY.

Sir,—I note that certain sections of the Press are strongly opposed to any discussion at present of problems of reconstruction, urging that consideration of such subjects now is a waste of time that should be entirely devoted to the prosecution of the war.

While I quite agree that it is a waste of time to discuss problems of this kind from an ultra-national or party-political point of view, the fact remains that they must be examined and studied closely from the psychological, moral, religious and humanitarian standpoints if we are not to "win the war but lose the peace," as we did after the Great War. But we need have no fears on that score. Ever since the League of Nations was established such problems have been under consideration by the non-political section of the League—the International Labour Organisation. America became a member of the I.L.O. in 1934, and McGill University is now extending hospitality to some of its most important departments. Moreover, at last both the League and the L.N.U. have the strong support of a British Prime Minister. Many branches of the Union have formed Dis-

cussion Groups for the consideration of peace aims and problems of reconstruction.

HELEN GATEHOUSE.

London, S.W. 2.

Sir,—May I express my profound disappointment with the Executive Committee's message of July 4th? It is surely disastrous to assume that there is nothing we can do at present except help to defend our country against attack.

Hitler's success hitherto has not been due solely to his military offensives. The work of his fifth column in the political field has perhaps been an even more powerful factor and can only be countered by action in that field. Why should not the British Government take the lead at once in organising a democratic fifth column in Europe? The first essential is a statement of common ideals for which democrats throughout Europe will be prepared to risk their lives. Much work on these lines has already been done in this country. It is a matter for the utmost regret that the L.N.U. prefers to stand aside until "security" (that blessed word) has first been achieved.

W. L. ROSEVEARE (Major).

Prestatyn.

[It is a mistake to assume that, because the L.N.U. thinks that no satisfactory peace settlement will be possible unless we win the war, it is neglecting constructive work for the future.—ED.]

Resistance to Japan

Sir,—Re your interesting article on Russia's Foreign Policy, I suggest the only honourable as well as the only possible basis for co-operation with Russia lies in resistance to Japan. Thus may we redress in Asia the blunder we committed in Europe when we drove Russia into an agreement with Germany because we refused co-operation against German imperialism.

The "deal-with-one-aggressor-at-a-time" policy is immoral and also does not work.

A similar idea, however, does continue to be held regarding the Far East where our Government has closed the Burma Road in order to placate Japan and keep her from joining the list of our open enemies. Let us come down from the cloud of wishful thinking. No agreement will prevent Japan from attacking us when she thinks the time is ripe. She will be encouraged to think the time is ripe when she sees us willing under threat to join in defeating our friends and to compromise the principles for which we are waging this war. A bold and unyielding front is the best way of making a bully pause. A timid policy invites the very attack it was designed to avert.

In the Far East, British, American and Russian interests coincide. If we wish for the co-operation of the two great neutrals, it is in the Pacific that we may most easily find it. It is a mistaken and miserable policy to try to treat this war as a European war, where, as Mr. Eden pointed out in a recent broadcast, Hitler holds most of the cards. It is to our interests to make this a world war, for it is in the seven seas and in access to the world's resources that our chief strength lies, and where new and powerful allies may most easily be found. We can never expect the New World to interest itself in a purely European conflict. The road to Anglo-American and Anglo-Russian co-operation is the Burma Road. Let us reopen it.

G. E. LEE.

London, S.W. 17

A Canadian Reader

Sir,—If there was a time when the League of Nations should be active, it is now—in preparation for the end of the war and the setting up of permanent

peace and goodwill machinery. We must strive to make this the last war, and the League organisation should fit itself for the task which lies ahead, as the only power ready to give a perplexed and uncertain world some definite guidance in laying foundations for permanent peace. It can handle the future, if given the mandate from the peoples and Governments, in fact as well as in theory.

JAMES MOYES, F.R.G.S.

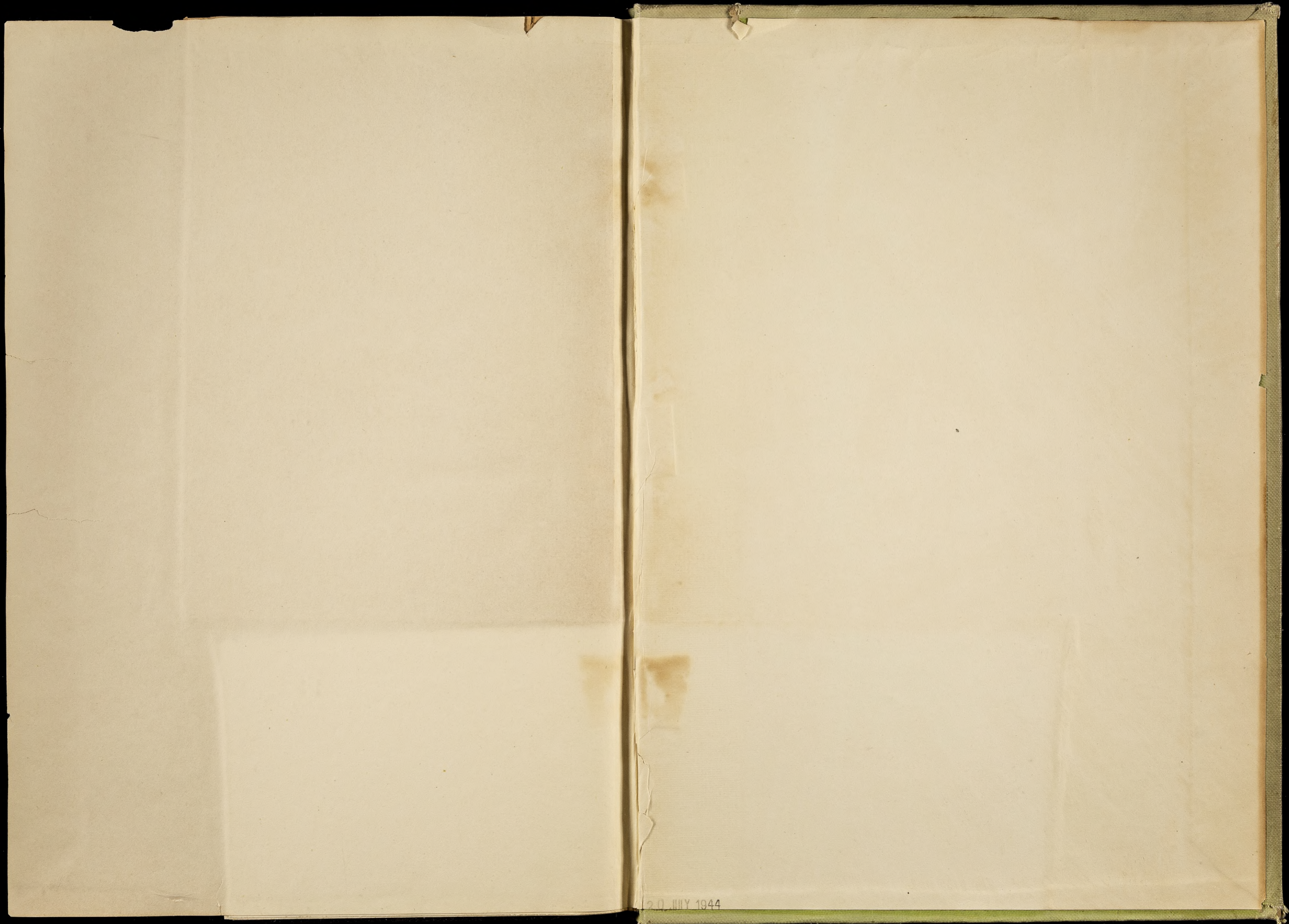
Cobble Hill, B.C.

The Miracle of Dunkirk

Sir,—Your last issue of HEADWAY is full of interest and inspiration, but I miss in your editorial one vital aspect of the present situation—the Godward one. You give no hint that our nation is to a great extent turning to God and looking to Him for guidance and deliverance.

You refer to Dunkirk, and yet make no reference to the mighty wave of prayer which preceded the evacuation on the Sunday of "National Prayer" asked for by our King. That God at Dunkirk answered the people's prayer is openly acknowledged by ordinary folk, and especially by the soldiers. Surely in addition to the calm seas and rain for which the soldiers prayed on the sands at Dunkirk there were then released from divine sources, in answer to prayer, superhuman forces of courage, endurance, initiative and selfless devotion, making heroes of our ordinary soldiers and their gallant rescuers, while through the blast of that "total warfare" the arm of God was outstretched in protection. No reference to Dunkirk can be historical which omits this aspect of the matter, and since our fight to-day for the great issues for which the League of Nations stands is not simply a physical but a spiritual one, we weaken our cause when our eyes are only on the earth.—Yours truly,

ANNIE DE RUSSETI.



20 JULY 1944

