

Institute of Western Europe

A meeting of L'Union Culturelle des pays de L'Europe Occidentale was held in London this week. Professor Denis Saurat, in a statement explaining the purposes of the Union, says that it is composed of a group of writers, artists and teachers in various fields for the purpose of collaborating in the cultural shaping of Europe after the war. The statement goes on:—

Western Europe, from Holland to Portugal and Italy, contains a group of peoples which, after the war, will have a number of common problems different from those which will confront Britain and the peoples of Eastern Europe. Moreover, the triangle of civilization—Amsterdam, Lisbon, Naples, the spiritual angles of which are Rembrandt, Camoens, Vico—consists of a cultural unit which must become self-conscious as such; here will be our primary work . . .

Paris is the natural centre of the triangle of culture Amsterdam-Lisbon-Naples. . . . An Institute of Western Europe shall, therefore, be established in Paris with the help of the University. While the University has the task of research and instruction as well as the formation of experts in all branches of science, the Western Institute will pursue a more spiritualized aim. It will not try to replace any section of the University. It will try to assist in the integration of Western Europe in a spiritual unit. Two kinds of chairs will be established at the Western Institute. There will be the chairs devoted to the different countries offered to artists, writers and professors—Dutch, Flemish, Breton, Provençal, Languedoc, Catalan, Basque, Florentine, Roman, Neapolitan, Portuguese, Castilian, and Andalusian chairs; and there will be chairs devoted to the task of expounding democratic and Christian principles.

APPROACHES TO POST-WAR EUROPE

Political or Cultural?

By OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

Two completely different approaches to the problems of post-war Europe—one political, the other cultural—are being tried by two international organisations in London. The first of these is the "London International Assembly." The second is the "Cultural Union of the Countries of Western Europe."

The political approach is exemplified in the "London International Assembly," a kind of private, unofficial League of Nations set up by members of the Allied communities in Britain. Although it has been in existence for a year, its sessions have always been strictly private. The first meeting of which any public report will be allowed takes place to-morrow.

The objects of the London International Assembly are "to provide opportunities for the people of Great Britain and from each of the United Nations to understand more fully each other's history, economic development, institutions, way of life, and national aspirations; and to consider the principles of post-war policy and the applications of those principles to the problems of national and international reconstruction."

Formed after consultation with the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Assembly has as its officers: President, the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil; Hon. Vice-Presidents, Professor René Cassin (Commissioner for Justice and Public Instruction in the Council of the Fighting French); Jan Masaryk (Czecho-Slovak Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs); M. Ch. Simopoulos (Greek Minister in London); and M. August Zaleski (President of the Civil Chancery of the President of the Polish Republic).

INFORMAL LEAGUE

The Assembly meets once a month for the purpose of study and discussion and free exchange of views. Its sessions are strikingly reminiscent in a much more informal way of the League of Nations Council Meetings at Geneva. Although an unofficial body, it may contain the seed from which a new world organisation may ultimately spring. So far its commissions have studied such subjects as political warfare, trial of war criminals, future international organisation, and social and economic reconstruction.

In direct and deliberate contrast to the political character of the London International Assembly is a new organisation just coming into being in London under the name of "The Cultural Union of the Countries of Western Europe." Although still in the formative stage, this new group is plainly destined to become a significant post-war experiment.

Its basic idea is to get away from the political approach to political problems. Its sponsors hold the view that many of Western Europe's thorny problems, of which a solution has proved impossible on the political level, could be solved much more easily on the cultural level. They cite the example of Alsace, for instance. Politically only three solutions seem to present themselves: (1) That Alsace should be German; (2) that Alsace should be French; (3) that Alsace should be politically autonomous and independent. Under the existing political and economic conditions of Europe,

each of these three political solutions has serious drawbacks. Approached culturally, on the other hand, would it not be possible to solve the puzzle by giving complete cultural autonomy to the Alsations, their own schools, complete independence in religious matters, complete linguistic freedom, etc.

A REGIONAL BASIS

This is an instance of the sort of international question which the Cultural Union are convinced can be better solved by the non-political approach. They believe there are other problems of the same sort, such as the Basque problem in Spain and the Flemish dilemma in Belgium. The theory is that by combining a cultural approach with a wide regional organisation, which would put these minority problems in their proper perspective by taking them out of the strictly national sphere and placing them on an international yet regional basis, a solution is made possible. Thus, the cultural aspirations of Alsace or Catalonia, or the Basque country, for example, would no longer have to be settled as between the centralised government of a big country and a small region, but on a broader basis where a number of regions with common interests would be involved.

A preliminary statement of the aims and purpose of the new organisation states that: "Under the name of the Cultural Union of the Countries of Western Europe there is being formed a group of persons from various countries situated between Germany, the North Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, whose object is to vivify the various cultures of this region and to consolidate those spiritual elements which they have in common, especially the respect for the human person and for freely accepted laws, common characteristics of Greek civilisation and of the Christian ideal."

AN ORGANIC WHOLE

With this as its point of departure, the Cultural Union declares that "Europe must be organised into an organic whole, that is, composed of cultural units working together for the good of all and of the world." More specifically, the sponsors of the Cultural Union of Western Europe, who include many prominent intellectual leaders of the exiled communities now in Britain, propose to set up an Institute of Western Europe to carry out its ideas. This central institute would have branches in all the principal countries concerned.

The Institute would publish a monthly review dealing with the affairs of Western Europe, and there would be special provision for particularly close liaison with Eastern Europe, Great Britain and the Americas. In fact, the formation of a broader group of worldwide scope which might be known as the "Friends of the Cultural Union of Western Europe" is envisaged.

One question which arises is whether Great Britain ought not to form part of such a cultural union, on the grounds that its main cultural roots are the same as those of the Continent. In any case the organisation is an experiment certain to arouse great interest.

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**French Institute
Literary Evening**

Two impressions remained after a polyglot evening at the French Institute in Kensington on Friday. Mr. Mallory Browne, who spoke at the end of the symposium, defined it as "a magnificent variety of rhythm and sound" and a "unity of beauty."

Few literary meetings can have been so varied. In less than two hours a dozen languages were heard on the platform, in poems, tales, and speeches, and Professor Denis Saurat, Director of the Institute, spoke of the occasion as a manifestation of the diversity of culture in Western Europe and an expression of solidarity among races and communities represented.

Basque and Maltese

This well-ordered babel, devised by the Cultural Union of the Countries of Western Europe, began, on behalf of the Alsätians, with the curiously topical prophecy of St. Odile, in Low Latin. Mr. Charles Morgan recited his eloquent English ode to France, and there were poems in Catalan ("Love Across the Pyrenees"), in Lowland Scots, Welsh, Italian, Provençal, Basque (medieval and modern), and Maltese, a speech in Dutch and a tale in Breton.

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OBSERVER - 24/1/43

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A CULTURAL UNION HAS BEEN FORMED

PROFESSOR DENIS SAURAT



Professor of French Language and Literature in the University of London, King's College, and Director of the French Institute in London. Has supported the Democratic Cause through the darkest days

On 10 September 1942, there was created, in London, a Cultural Union of the countries of Western Europe by an Assembly of people called together on the initiative of a few persons belonging to Holland, France, Italy, Catalonia, the Basque country and Spain proper. They came in answer to an appeal issued by myself.

My appeal was in these terms:

A Scheme for the formation of a CULTURAL UNION OF THE COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE.

I. AIMS

A group of literary men, artists, professors, etc., has been formed to try and collaborate on the spiritual plane to the formation of post-war Europe. Political problems proper arise in a very special way, and competent statesmen alone can solve them; but political solutions are based on certain realities of which one of the first is the reality of the spiritual needs of the nations concerned. The educated public, to a certain extent, and behind this public the people as a whole command political action.

Western Europe, from Holland in the north to Portugal in the south-west and Italy in the south-east, is populated by men and women who will have, after the war in which the Germans have, in fact, dominated them, very special problems common to them all to solve. These problems will be different from those that will arise on the one side for the British Empire and on the other side for the peoples of Eastern Europe. Moreover, the triangle of civilisation—Amsterdam, Lisbon, Naples—of which the spiritual corners are Rembrandt, Camoens, Vico, is a cultural unit which should attain consciousness of itself as a unit. Such will be our first aim; if a true collaboration can be made effective among all these peoples, their importance will be increased.

Within this triangle exist countries of a very different status, of which many have suffered owing to a relatively weak position due to the constitution of the great modern States. Our second aim will be to help all the countries of Western Europe to develop their culture, or even to resuscitate it. In this way our spiritual unity will be made up of the free collaboration of peoples of very varied cultures. While tending to create unity, we wish at the same time to encourage a rich and strong diversity. The elements of this diversity exist everywhere, but up to the present are not sufficiently developed because each one is isolated; by constituting themselves into a group, such elements will learn to know each other and to help each other, and will increase their effective action and their chances of survival.

We recognise, as a common basis for Western Europe, the democratic traditions based on the liberties of the individual and the strength of the family—and Christian traditions—without any consideration of either orthodox religion or any special political form.

II. FOUNDATION OF A CULTURAL INSTITUTE OF WESTERN EUROPE

Paris is naturally the centre of the cultural triangle—Amsterdam, Lisbon, Naples; Paris is, besides, the centre where the educated public from the whole world has always gathered its information.

It is proposed to found, in Paris, an Institute of Western Europe.

Whereas a university proper takes as its aim research and teaching and the production of experts in all modern specialities, the 'Institut Occidental' will have in view a spiritual aim: the constitution of Western Europe as a spiritual unit. It is intended to found two kinds of chair in the 'Institut Occidental'. First of all, chairs representing the various countries participating, to which will be called men of letters, professors, artists from each of these countries, so as to bring before a world-wide public the culture of those countries. This should be created, first, chairs representing Holland, Flanders, Brittany, Provence, Alsace, Catalonia, the Basque countries, Florence, Rome, Naples, Portugal, Spain generally, Switzerland, etc., according to recognised needs.

In the second place, there should be created Union Chairs, the holders of which shall endeavour to work out and explain the principles of the democratic and the Christian tradition, which are held in common by all the countries of this cultural triangle.

But this Western Centre would remain sterile were it not nourished by centres instituted in each country. Consequently, there should be created, in each one of the participating regions, similar institutions, also endowed with two kinds of chairs: one dealing with literature, archæology and the local culture, and the Union Chairs to explain to the people in each country its solidarity with the other countries in the same group.

London, 28 August 1942

From this first circular arose the important question of the way in which the British Empire could be represented in such a Union of Western Europe. It is easy to understand that Great Britain and Ireland, culturally, form part of Western Europe. But, on the other hand, will not their special cultural ties with the Empire and with America somehow get in the way?

This is a good example of the two different ways of approach; the cultural and the political. If we remember that we are on cultural ground, there is no difficulty. There can be no objection to the various parts of the United Kingdom being represented in a cultural association of Western Europe and the same countries being also parts of either an Empire Cultural Union or an Anglo-Saxon Cultural Union. On the contrary, the fact that the countries of the United Kingdom would be in touch with two such Unions would be an advantage.

At the meeting called for 8 October 1942,

to agree on a general Declaration of principles and policy, it was decided that, should sufficient interest be shown by the public in Great Britain (as it was obviously going to be, owing to an article on the subject published in the *Observer* of 27 September), one or several groups should be created as constituent parts of the Western European group.

A Statement of Aims was drawn up and unanimously accepted by this meeting as follows:

CULTURAL UNION OF THE COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE

I. Under the title of CULTURAL UNION OF THE COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE is formed a group of people belonging to the various countries situated between Germany, the North Sea, the Atlantic, the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, with the aim of vivifying the various cultures within this zone, and of consolidating their elements of spiritual community, especially the respect of the human person and of freely accepted laws which characterise Greek civilisation and the Christian ideal.

II. *Europe* should be constituted into an organic whole, that is to say, made up of cultural units working together for their common good and the good of the world:

- (1) modern States are units which can only prosper if Europe is organised as a whole;
- (2) States contain in their turn units, for instance, like Brittany, Alsace, Flanders or nationalities like Catalonia and the Basque country, which should be put in a position to develop by collaborating among themselves and with the States;
- (3) a double problem must be faced: the life of the various parts has to be stimulated; harmony is to be established in the whole;
- (4) the elements of the solution must be found in the spiritual and cultural domain, since lasting solutions in the political, economic and social fields can only be found when a spiritual entente is already in being, and are only possible when based on spiritual and cultural realities;
- (5) problems vary in the various regions of the world and of Europe, and the proper method to be followed consists in studying in the first place the problems of each region—with the help of every person or organisation of goodwill in the whole world—then the questions which concern

Europe as a whole, and then those that concern the world as a whole.

III. The practical methods to be followed shall be investigated especially on the following points:

- (1) the creation of a Central Institute and of Institutes of the various countries;
- (2) the creation of special groups of friends of Cultural Union in each country concerned;
- (3) the creation of groups of Cultural Union throughout the World;
- (4) the creation of a Revue, the study of means of propaganda, etc.

As an immediate consequence of the resolution passed under III (3), it was decided to appeal at once for the formation of friendly groups in the U.S.A., in the South American countries, and in Eastern Europe.

A Committee was formed under my Chairmanship, with the following members:

- alsacien: Commandant SCHAEFFER, member of the Fighting French Forces, Archæologist, Leader of the Ras Shamra Excavations in Northern Syria.
- anglais: Mr. CHARLES MORGAN.
- basque: Monsieur de LIZASO.
- belge: Monsieur PAUL WEYEMBERG, President of the Belgian Legion of Ex-soldiers.
- breton: Général SICÉ, of the Fighting French Forces.
- catalan: Monsieur BATISTA i ROCA, Novelist and Poet.
- écossais: Mr. F. G. SCOTT, composer.
- espagnol: Professor PORTILLO.
- flamand: Professor EMILE CAMMAERTS.
- français: M. PAUL ANTIER, député de la Haute-Loire.
- gallois: To be announced later.
- hollandais: Professor VERAART.
- italien: Professor CRESPI.
- provençal: M. FÉLIX GOUIN, député des Bouches-du-Rhône.
- suisse: Rev. PRADERVAND.

To these are added representatives of friendly groups: Mrs. Jessie Forsyth Andrews, Mr. Mallory Browne for America, Dr. Crnjanski for the Yugoslavs, Colonel Mavrodi for Eastern Europe generally, and more groups are in process of formation.

It was considered a unique opportunity that, owing to the circumstances of this war, so many important personalities from so many nations

were present at the same time in London, and it was hoped that the foundation of the Cultural Union, in London, at this time would serve as a starting-point for spreading its activities to the various countries within the area it covered, since at the end of the war the Union thus constituted would find itself with representatives already fully active in each of the countries to which they would return. In no other circumstances, probably, would it have been possible to call together such a gathering since, normally, each of its members would have been too busy far away from most of the others. A basis of future unity among the Allies is thus solidly constructed.

That it is only a basis is fully realised, since mere chance or Providence has brought all those people to London. They are not, any of them, empowered to represent any governments or institutions now working. Their first task on the establishment of peace or the evacuation of their countries will be to communicate in each case with the properly constituted authorities in governments, universities, leagues, etc., so as to bring their scheme within the realm of practical achievement. But it can be said that already they are representative of a body of opinion both within their own countries, and in the world at large, which will make itself felt as a powerful influence. It is to be expected, for instance, that each of the governments and each of the universities concerned, or again each of the regional groups in existence, will welcome this new effort that will give reality to many deeply rooted aspirations so far partly, or largely, ineffective. The originality and possible efficiency of the movement lies in the bringing together of two ideas which have been long in existence but can only be really effective when they become united. One is the idea of the supremacy of the spirit, a long standing platitude, which can be awakened to real life; the second that of serialising problems and of dealing first with the problems more immediately connected with a geographical area.

As regards the question of supremacy of the spirit, that phrase has so often been used that it has become practically hypocritical. It, nevertheless, holds a deep meaning on which our salvation in this world may very well depend. It has been shown again and again, for instance, that economic problems among nations cannot be solved unless financial problems are solved, and these, in turn, cannot be solved unless certain political principles are admitted. The help now given to the other Allied Nations by the United States, and the help to be continued after the war,

are cases in point. Such help is not based on either immediate economic or immediate financial principles. It may be said to be based on long-range principles of either kind, on plans for the future prosperity of the U.S.A. in fifty years or one hundred years. But their willingness to accept such long-range plan is a psychological factor; indeed, more than that, it is a spiritual factor since it is the willingness to put aside immediate personal interest for the sake of the well-being of generations unborn. Another spiritual factor, which must be accepted and which is coming into play now is a desire to help the world in general and not to concentrate exclusively on purely national interest. So, economic, financial and political problems, in the end, depend on psychological and spiritual factors; and no problems can be solved unless some spiritual problem behind them is solved first.

To take an even better example, the League of Nations may be considered to have failed because there was no spiritual unity behind it. The many nations who participated had really no single principle that they all held, and there was no basis from which to start a common action. Political arrangements among statesmen unavoidably collapse when they do not express a fairly clear desire among the masses of the people, hence the statement in II (4), of the Cultural Union's Declaration.

The failure of the League of Nations and what must be considered the failure of the 'Entente Cordiale' between France and England are due to these deep causes. France and England made arrangements which were full of goodwill between diplomats, statesmen, etc., and expressed them in innumerable declarations such as the English statement that *our Frontier is on the Rhine*, and so on. But, in point of fact, there was not a single general idea about the political situation that was held in common between the French and the English. The Entente existed on paper and in the speeches of politicians: it did not exist in the spirit of the people. Consequently, nothing was done, with the results that we know now.

It will be said that this is a long-range dream and that immediate 'practical' solutions are wanted, that these are only obtainable in the political field: that was also said twenty years ago. Twenty years is a sufficient time for a long-range dream to become practical, if the problem of educating both the peoples and the politicians is really tackled. We have had immediate political solutions for twenty years, and every one of them failed immediately because not one of them was

ever based on any sort of reality, even when claimed to be sound financial, economic or political realism. They were, in fact, based on nothing except ignorance. Let us try, this time, to deal with some kind of reality, and the first kind to be dealt with is spiritual reality, that is to say, a knowledge of what the peoples really need and want (not always the same thing).

In order to reach some reality we have to put into practice our second principle, serialising difficulties, expressed in point 5 of paragraph II of the Declaration:

'problems vary in the various regions of the world and of Europe, and the proper method to be followed consists in studying in the first place the problems of each region—with the help of every person or organisation of good will in the whole world—then the questions which concern Europe as a whole, and then those that concern the World as a whole.'

What basis is there for a Cultural Union? To be frank, if we consider all the nations of the world, there is probably none at present. No common ideology for the whole world exists today.

Is there a common basis for Europe itself? Here again, we are obliged to say, No. It will be most certainly a great task of the near future to remedy this disastrous state of things and to create the possibility of a European Union. But if we wish really to create it, we must at least begin by realising that it does not exist now, otherwise our attempts will be sham and hypocrisy. We can see at least four zones that hold very little in common in the way of ideas or moral presuppositions. And this is not a matter of political alignment since our most efficient Allies, the Russians, are in a zone of their own, of which we know practically nothing. Then there is that unhappy zone from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and the Adriatic which is populated by Christian nations now in torment. We, in the West, know very little about them. Had we understood them there would be peace in Europe now.

A third zone about which, for the time being, the less said the better, is the German zone. And then we come to the Western zone of Europe, as defined in our first statement, about which we know something, and about which we can do something.

As stated in our Declaration, two kinds of problems must be faced in Western Europe: the problem of creating a unity which is possible in that large group, and the problem of giving every group within that unity their full and true

rights. Real unity can only be constituted if all the peoples are willing. And, are they? Here also we must learn to look at facts. The mere enumeration of the names of a few peoples is sufficient: the Alsatians, the Flemish, the Basques, the Catalans. Are these the names of peoples or the names of problems? Have they no bearing on the Spanish Civil War, which was the beginning of this war: Was not the state of unpreparedness of France and the Low Countries, north of the Maginot Line, the first cause of our military disaster? Why do those problems exist? Because, here again, questions have been allowed to pass on to the political plane when they should not. The practice of politics has been an invading cancer, and one of the urgent tasks of civilisation will be to remove many matters from the influence of politics. That is to say, from the influence of third-rate intrigue: Many problems are not political problems at all. An admirable example is that of the German people in the Sudeten mountains. Their problems were purely cultural, being concerned mainly with language and religion, and the Czechoslovak State had given them the fullest consideration. There was, therefore, no problem. But a cultural situation was made to become a political situation through the cowardice of the Western nations, and then the non-existent problem of the Sudeten Germans became the occasion of the European War. The disconcerting problem of Alsace is much of the same kind. Here also the Third Republic had given a magnificent example in breaking all its principles about being '*une et indivisible*' and giving a special cultural and religious régime to Alsace. None of the political solutions were feasible: give Alsace to Germany, make Alsace into a few '*départements*' of the French Republic, give Alsace autonomy; all three political solutions were equally impossible. But apply the cultural solution, give Alsace full autonomy within the linguistic and religious domain, and there is no Alsatian problem: the Alsatians are the best of Frenchmen. On similar lines the Basque problem or the Catalonian problem can be solved. Of course, each problem is unique and is to be dealt with in a special way, which we cannot describe here. But take the case of the Flemish. Cannot something for the good be made of the fact that the Municipality of Dunkirk is one of the most efficient and intelligent administrative units in the world and, culturally, very advanced; and that across the Belgian border are the Belgian Flemings, admirable people too in many ways, but also a source of problems,

whereas the French Flemings are no problem at all; and further on, across the Dutch Borders are the Catholic Dutch who speak a language practically indistinguishable from that of the Belgian Flemings, also Catholics. Surely it is obvious that here, also, cultural solutions properly applied would prevent that problem from degenerating into a first-class political problem. The second problem which occurs here is that these questions, which so far have been treated nationally as being a matter between Flemish populations and the Belgian State, or Basque populations and Spanish State, etc., cannot be dealt with on those political terms. Surely, it is evident enough that only bitterness is being engendered and that the problems are getting worse and not better. If a sufficient body of enlightened opinion is formed in Western Europe to insist in all the countries concerned on an equitable solution of cultural problems, many political difficulties will be either attenuated or avoided. This will be a gain in the sense that it will be an avoidance of danger. But the mere avoidance of danger is no policy.

It is obvious that much spiritual wealth has been destroyed by the centralisation of the modern States. In the necessary re-Christianisation of Europe, where are the points where Christianity is still alive? In fact, among those peoples whom we have named, the Bretons, the Alsatians, the Flemings, the Basques, and so on. The present movement of our civilisation, from the peoples generally called *backward* because they are still solid, must be checked and indeed must be changed into a new movement for the spiritualisation of Western Europe. More light, more general education, must be brought to those parts, but in return they can be made into radiating centres of spiritual strength; even within the British Isles this can be applied to Wales and Scotland. In that way, there must be formed a spiritual unit embracing all the lands where the true worth of civilisation of today has its central home, where both Democracy and Christianity have their deepest roots.

Those lands of Western Europe have been welded together by history. So many spiritual influences felt in common have left many marks which vary according to the nations, and even to the individuals, but which nevertheless constitute a common wealth of tradition to which a fruitful appeal can be made.

Thus a first necessary step towards the United States of Europe and then of the world, let us hope, can be made.

HITLER'S ENEMY ALIENS

JAMES NORMAN

SOME weaknesses of Hitler's Third Reich are now becoming visible. They will turn out to be important contributory factors to Germany's eventual collapse. And Germany's greatest weakness is her lack of man-power.

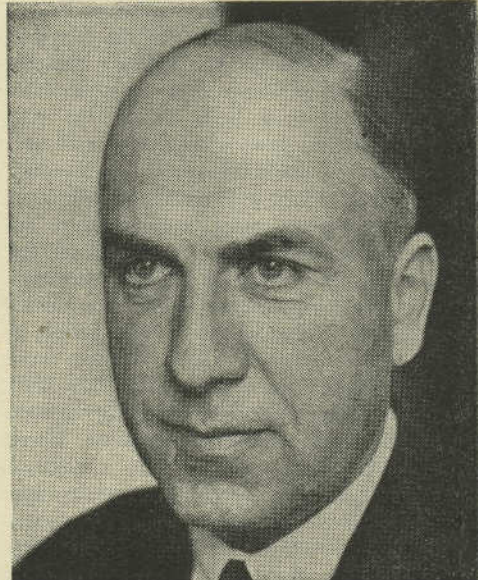
The man-power problem is not a new one for Germany. Indeed, it dates back to a period several years before the outbreak of this war. At that time it was solved, or at least kept within manageable limits, by a very simple remedy, namely, by increasing gradually the physical exertion and exploitation of every man and woman engaged in trade and industry.

The war has multiplied the demand for human labour and the need for an ever-growing industrial output. Yet, at the same time, it has withdrawn millions of workers from civilian occupations. Ever since the beginning of the Russian campaign the loss of German life has been a tremendous and an additional strain. German man-power shortage is now the deepest concern of the Nazi rulers.

The good old remedies of extending working hours and increasing the pace of work are no longer applicable. There are limits to a man's working capacity even under a Fascist dictatorship; and in all important industries of Germany, these limits have been reached a long time ago. There is no margin left. On the contrary, years of overwork and excessive strain are now causing production to *fall* in many important industries, notably in coal-mining and in the steel industry. The fact that the one is the cause of the other is now openly admitted and discussed in German newspapers and periodicals.

* * *

Two years ago, an already severe shortage of man-power could still be relieved effectively by the so-called system of the Dual-Purpose Army; that is to say, by withdrawing large numbers of men, both skilled and unskilled, from the armed forces and drafting them into war industries for limited periods of four to six months during the winter season. That is what happened during the winter months of 1939-40 and 1940-41. It was a gigantic scheme, executed most efficiently. It



Chief Engineer Dr. Fritz Todt, appointed by Hitler
General Commissioner for Roads

produced excellent results. But during the last winter season the whole system collapsed. Thanks to the Russians, Hitler's *Wehrmacht* had very definitely become a single-purpose Army. What is more, the Russian winter offensive of 1941 forced the German Government to call up even more industrial workers for military service. This year, needless to say, the German Government could not even contemplate demobilising a few thousand specially skilled men.

Thus other remedies had to be found. But what? Non-essential factories have been 'combed-out', time and again, by official 'combing-out commissions'—appropriately called '*Todes-Kommissionen*' ('death commissions') in current German slang, because these commissions had been initiated by Hitler's late Minister for Armaments, Dr. Todt.

There is very little now that can still be done in this field. No luxuries of any kind whatsoever are being produced (and the German interpretation for the term 'luxuries' covers a great many

FREE EUROPE
February 12-1943.

UNION CULTURELLE OCCIDENTALE

SIR,—In your issue of January 29 you publish an account of a meeting held at the *Institut Français* by the *Union Culturelle Occidentale*, and my name is given as one of the group for Spain within the Union. As I signified my decision not to belong to the Union as far back as November, 1942, it is evident that you have not been well informed, and I would ask you to be good enough to give the same publicity to this letter as you gave to the announcement in question.

3 Church Street,
Old Headington, Oxford.

Yours truly,
SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA.

13

FREE EUROPE
29-February 1943.

“UNION CULTURELLE OCCIDENTALE”

The *Union Culturelle Occidentale* which met at the *Institut Français* on January 22 is sponsored by Professor Denis Saurat, Dr. J. Batista i Roca and Dr. C. M. Franzero. It is a “Union of men of the various countries situated between Germany, the North Sea, the Atlantic, the Mediterranean and the Adriatic Seas,” and one of its aims is that “each national unit, whether it forms a State or is only part of one, should be given equal opportunities in the spiritual sphere, regardless of any political considerations, to develop its cultural life freely, to co-operate with others and to make its own contribution to the international community.”

There are groups for each country; and the Central Committee, of which M. Denis Saurat is President, is composed as follows: Great Britain, Mr. Charles Morgan; France, M. George Métadier, Gen. Sice (Brittany), Major Schaeffer (Alsace), Mme. Lisle (Provence); Holland, Professor J. A. Veraart; Belgium, Professor Emile Cammaerts (Flemish) and M. Paul Weyemberg; Spain, Sr. Salvador de Madariaga, Dr. J. Batista i Roca (Catalonia), and Señor J. D. de Lizaso (Basque); Italy, Dr. C. M. Franzero, Professor Decio Pettoello and Dr. Umberto Calosso; Switzerland, the Rev. M. Prederwand. America was represented by Mr. Mallory Browne.

After short addresses from various representatives, poems were read in the language of each country, followed by translations in English or French. Mr. Charles Morgan read his beautiful *Ode to France*; and the meeting was concluded by Mr. Mallory Browne.

* Četnik (plural četnici) comes from četa, which means company or group.

MANUEL DE IRUJO

WORLD REVIEW
MARCH 1948

15a

THE RIGHTS OF SMALL NATIONS ?

MANUEL DE IRUJO

J. I. de LIZASO, Basque Delegate in London

I

THE science of waging war belongs to the experts. The man in the street fulfilled his part when he obliged his rulers to accept the challenge of the totalitarian States. He continues to do his duty, dying. He will exercise his right when he demands the fruits of victory.

Conscious of this, the United Nations are studying the grave problems which faced the world in September 1939. Public opinion is tense, refusing to yield its right to take part in the debates: democracy in practice. The world has the right to live in peace, and to live better than it has done.

The Atlantic Charter, and the solemn declarations of President Roosevelt and other statesmen, promise exactly this to the man in the street: a life of peace, both spiritual and material. Without waiting for the end of the war the Allied Governments, on the march, have entrusted to a number of different technical bodies the preparation of economic and social blue-prints for the future, schemes which, in their application, would require real sacrifices and a human solidarity, which will have to be forged through the social education of men and the regeneration of their souls.

On the other hand, the complex problems of the fair distribution of raw materials, rationalisation of production according to demand, transport, correlation of exchanges, reconstruction of the devastated regions, supply of food and medical assistance to a hungry and impoverished Europe, social insurances, etc., are all material questions, difficult to solve indeed, but which must form part of a world design, with the goodwill and collaboration of all States.

These difficulties must be settled in such a way that all men can feel themselves free, not only politically, but economically. Political rights, freedom of thought and expression, freedom of conscience, all that is known by the 'rights of man', must be complemented by guarantees of

subsistence which will assure to the individual a decent life, with a guaranteed minimum wage, sufficient to meet his personal and family needs. In this respect the Beveridge Plan should serve as a basis for study in this and other countries.

There is an increasing tendency towards the settlement, firstly, of the material problems of individuals and nations, considering, no doubt, that once these are solved, spiritual and political questions can await a later solution, and perhaps be indefinitely delayed in some cases.

But if the world demands a solution of the economic and social problems facing it, it demands no less a settlement of the fundamental spiritual ones. The danger lies, precisely, in that we may get the matter out of focus and give preference to the first, the mutable questions, leaving aside those which, because they are eternal, need to be solved without delay, and forgetting that no economic reconstitution can succeed unless based on confidence in a future free from the threatening shadow of unsatisfied national grievances.

II

MAN is by nature sociable; and the satisfaction of his rights, both individual and family, is only possible in relation to his duties and services as an active member of the nation—the natural association formed by the extension of the family, the primary cell of society. The State is nothing but the political form laid down by man so that the nation may fulfil its purpose.

The nation and the individual are both complementary; and one cannot exist morally without the other. Hence, since all liberties are indivisible, there will be no justice whilst any particular nation is denied the right to liberty; even though the individual and family rights of its members are protected juridically.

Personal liberties must be complemented by a national association (also free), to which the individual feels united by the ties of race,

language, history and tradition, and, *above all, by the will to belong to it.*

The political independence of all nations who demand their liberty is, then, as indispensable as the liberty of the individual. If this premise is not accepted, the justice which humanity demands of the victory of the democracies would be incomplete, since there can be no exceptions in the application of the ideas of freedom, to conform to national egoisms or historic prejudices.

The problem of the nationalities of Europe was not dealt with in its entirety at the 1919 Peace Conference. The questions then discussed only related to the defeated States.

Czechoslovakia would never have become a reality if the Austro-Hungarian Empire had not been the ally of Germany. Czech independence was nearly denied when, firstly, Prince Sixte (February-June 1917), then Count Mensdorff-Poilly (December 1917), and, lastly, the Emperor Charles (February 1918) negotiated with the Allies, who were attempting to reach a separate peace with Austria-Hungary. If that plan had been successful, Czechoslovakia, by the tenth declaration of the fourteen points of President Wilson, confirming the statement of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, on 5th January 1918, would have had to be satisfied with autonomy granted by the Hapsburgs.

It seems entirely unjust that the right to national liberty, and its degree, should be determined by the accidents of war, or by opportunism.

After this war, the United Nations should not apply differing principles in the settlement of problems which are similar in law, whether they arise in the defeated countries or not. '*Ubi est eadem ratio, eadem dispositio juris esse debet.*'

The victory of the democracies will guarantee—so humanity has the right to expect—long years of peace. But peace is not the supreme ideal of mankind. It is only a means to an end. The ideal is perfection, and this cannot be until all rights are satisfied in justice. This idea is reflected in St. Augustine's famous definition of peace, '*Tranquillitas ordinis*'. But no true order can exist without justice. If right and justice are not extended to all men and all peoples, great and small, through the satisfaction of their yearnings for liberty, compatible with the obligations imposed by the *general good of all*, the last resource of violated right will be insurrection, which is the extreme means of enforcing right. But, as peace, like liberty, is indivisible, humanity cannot allow the existence of causes of injustice which

might result in the disturbance of peace in any corner of the world, not only through war between two States, but within a State itself, a member of a wider super-State society, the society of mankind. The world is going through a period of reconstitution, and the goal is *perfect peace for humanity*. Every prejudice which opposes the work of justice must be overcome.

Peoples, like individuals, have their own souls. It is the duty of humanity to see that the cultural contribution of the small nations is not lost to our civilisation, more than ever in need of spiritual and cultural variety in a world daily becoming more monotonous in the uniformity of its material progress. In the civic and political genius of the various races, and in the treasure of tradition of these peoples, humanity can find elements not to be despised for its moral regeneration.

Many of these national cultures are in danger of extinction in face of the attitude of a civilisation which has changed the order of human values. But if moral considerations are not sufficient to fix attention upon this problem, perhaps certain practical aspects of it may be. As Professor Saurat so aptly says in a recent article in *World Review*—there are in Europe a number of different cultural problems which need urgent attention, since, otherwise, they will constitute further dangers to the future peace of the world.

Perhaps some cases, such as the Flemish and the Alsatian, could be settled by the formula of cultural autonomy, since the existence of peoples not politically minded must be accepted.

The cultural and politico-cultural problems of Europe, however, are not all so easily solved; and it therefore follows that each one must be judged on its merits, being studied and settled justly, in a spirit of generosity. Standardised solutions cannot be applied to this question.

We should establish in the first place that (a) There would be no diverse cultural and politico-cultural problems of the non-State nations of Europe, if the latter were not a reality. (b) It is not logical to suppose that these problems would arise if these irredentist nations had not justifiable reasons for complaint against the States within whose boundaries they live.

Once (a) and (b) have been accepted, the solution to be applied to each case will depend upon the degree and justice of the complaint, and the measure of popular expression of it, whether exclusively cultural or a national movement demanding full sovereignty; and if the

nation rises in rebellion against the State within which it lives, it is almost certain that that movement will be in direct proportion to the degree of oppression suffered.

The formula of cultural autonomy *conceded* by the State to certain groups who have no political conscience of their own nationality, may perhaps prevent this cause of discontent—when it is the *only* one—from becoming aggravated and taking on a political aspect. But such a solution would have no practical validity were it to be applied to other groups, having a clear consciousness of their own national personality, and manifesting their determination to regain possession of their political sovereignty. Once this was achieved, they would themselves solve their own cultural problem, *amongst others*. The former want to be well governed. The latter want to be neither well nor badly governed; they want to govern themselves.

When the collective psychological phenomenon of discontent has arisen in a nation, and has gained sufficient popular support and public expression, the granting of cultural autonomy will not dispose of the problem. If, for example in the case of the Basque Country (Euzkadi, in the Basque language) today, as in Czechoslovakia in 1918, the will of the majority for national independence has racial and historical foundations, and has been sealed with the blood of tens of thousands of their sons and the destruction of their towns—the Basques can never forget Gernika—nothing but the complete satisfaction of their yearnings for national liberty will be accepted willingly by this people.

Humanity must be just and generous, and recognise that all peoples, when they reach political maturity, have the right, already enjoyed by the great nations, to organise themselves politically into States. It would be distasteful to admit that today there should still be some value in the aphorism that liberties are not willingly granted to nations, but must be taken by force, meaning that the peaceful path to the attainment of freedom is closed to the small nationalities.

III

THERE is one outstanding point in the conception of philosophy common to all the totalitarian States: it is the idea of war as a state of affairs natural to mankind and, therefore, necessary for progress, peace being considered as a mere accident, an interval between the acts of the endless tragedy of humanity.

This pagan conception can be based on no other instinct than that of material egoism; nor does it flourish in any other active element than hatred, which is, precisely, the negation of all human progress; the opposite to charity, the basis of the Christian doctrine, in the relations between peoples.

The exaltation of war was also one of the traits which characterised the ancients, who justified the right of conquest and the enslavement of the conquered.

Few peoples have been free of that sin throughout the dark ages of history. In this respect, perhaps I may be allowed to mention one exception, the Basque Country, which, through the centuries, has maintained the doctrine of right and of democracy, conforming its conduct to these rules. Now it is suffering the consequences.

The Basque People, whose remnants still live today on both sides of the Western Pyrenees, along the coast of the Bay of Biscay, were in the earliest days of history already fighting to defend their culture and their territory against the Celts, Romans, Goths, Arabs, Franks and Castillians. They never conquered the territories of another nation, nor occupied their cities, nor carried off their women. When they were attacked by an invader, they fought until he was driven out of their land. Their victory never gave them the right of conquest over the vanquished.

That was the spirit which dictated the terms of the Kellogg Pact, undefined then, but very real in its inspiration of the Basques. The history of this nation—the oldest democracy in Europe—is an uninterrupted fight against the various Aryan peoples who attacked them. With the exception of the Arabs, who temporarily occupied one extreme of their present territory, all their enemies were Aryans. Two opposing races and philosophies were face to face. The Aryan philosophy justified the right of conquest. The Basque philosophy repudiated that principle. And it certainly was not through want of bravery in their sons, who knew how to defend their race, their ancient language and their culture, against the power of the Roman Empire.

In the Basque tradition, the seventh commandment of the Decalogue of Christ is a precept of natural law, applying not only to individual, but also to collective morality. In this fact there may, perhaps, be found the human motive which explains the fervent adherence of the Basques to Christianity, and perhaps also the reason why Basque democracy has never needed to use

revolution in order to fuse into one single moral life, liberty and faith, the Christian commandment and their racial genius. The phenomenon observed in medieval Basque religious life—the Western European country which refused the Inquisition—is the same which is evident in its political life. According to Basque morality and historic practice, neither the conscience of the individual, nor the national, economic and territorial body of the conquered nations, could become the property of the conqueror.

There is a Basque tradition which faithfully reflects the spirit of the race. This is 'the Malato Tree'. This mythical tree grew on the frontier of the Basque lands. When foreign nations invaded their territory, the Basques could repel the attack, but, on reaching the 'Malato Tree', they buried their swords in its trunk, as a sign of respect for the rights of the defeated enemy.

This tradition is borne out by history. In 1160, with Sancho VI the Wise, King of Navarre, when in Atapuerca, after defeating Castille, he plunged his sword into a tree and said: 'Thus far is our kingdom.' This same standard of conduct is embodied in the Fuero (Constitution) of Biscay of 1575.

Whoever fights on the defensive always loses, in the long run. That is what has happened to the Basques. The 'Malato Tree' marked the boundary of an ever-diminishing territory. It explains why a Basque, Francisco de Vitoria, should be the founder of International Law, refusing to the Roman Pontiff and the Spanish Emperor the titles of ruler over the Indians and their territories, and proclaiming human equality, not only for men but also for peoples, with all its juridical consequences.

With the errors of history abjured by the Aryan peoples, now converted to democracy, it can be stated today that the Allied Nations are fighting for the same principles enunciated throughout the centuries by the Basques, whilst force, conquest, violence and Aryan rage against the right of other men and peoples to life and freedom, are championed by Germany, whose Nazism is only a new philosophic dress for the old German national anthem: '*Deutschland über alles*', embodying the Teutonic saying: '*Und willst Du nicht mein Bruder sein, so schlag ich Dir den Schaedel ein.*'

It is essential that the Allies, who are today the interpreters of morality and international law, should repair the injustice suffered by the small nations of Europe, whose only crime has been

in not accepting the philosophy of the law of conquest, 'the natural disease of princes', according to Plutarch, or 'the duty of kings', according to Tacitus.

Even if it has been agreed that it would not be practicable to punish past conduct and crimes, it would, in any case, be inadmissible that, in the name of the Christian principles and international morality, justice and reparation should be denied to existing communities which have set the world an example by their conduct.

IV

THERE are those who declare that the statesmen responsible for the Treaty of Versailles were too concerned to give political satisfaction to the small nationalities of Europe, creating States which have proved easy victims of Nazi Germany because they were incapable of military defence. Has any State been sufficiently strong to wage war alone? And with a simplicity lacking all logic and justice, from this fact the absurd conclusion is drawn that these small States have no right to exist. Would it not be fairer to declare that those who have no right to exist are the powerful States, artificially united for military power, and with a longing for the conquest of weaker peoples. I suppose Czechoslovakia and Poland were the aggressors and Germany the victim . . . !

Peoples, like individuals, have their origin in God, and the particular genius which distinguishes them bears the seal of their mission. Each people has its destiny to fulfil in the common task of humanity. And the spiritual contribution of the nations is not measured by their territorial extent; nor by the number of fanatical brutes mustered in motorised divisions.

V

WE do not advocate the artificial and enforced atomisation of Europe. We admit that in some States there may be nations which lack a political conscience and do not desire sovereignty. To force such peoples to proclaim their independence would be the very negation of the principle of liberty. But it would be equally unjust to deny it to the nations who desire it.

If humanity attempts to inaugurate an era in which all men, without exception, will be guaranteed the free development of their

intellectual faculties, the formation of a political conscience in the natural human groups will be the inevitable result of the new system. Once this is applied, the world will witness a *double process of the integration and disintegration* of States.

Thus it is that, using the instrument of freedom, the apparently insoluble problem—the monster German State, product of the Prussian centralised conception brought about by Bismarck for war and conquest—might perhaps by evolution tend towards a more stable and natural solution, thanks to that process to which we have referred. Were the historic German States restored to their political independence, and federated in the form they chose—it might happen that some of them would decide to federate in a different group—they would solve the grave problem of an endemic military Pan-Germanism.

In our opinion, the political organisation of Europe must necessarily be slow in readjusting itself to those opposing evolutionary processes. The machinery which regulates this peaceful and natural evolution—whatever it may be called—must be sufficiently flexible. Only the ruling principles and legal and coercive institutions indispensable to the exercise of freedom, should be established, broadly, and free from State prejudices, which reflect only national egoisms and private interests. This idea follows the lines of that of E. H. Carr in his book *Conditions of Peace*: 'We must begin by creating the framework of an international order, and then as a necessary corollary, encourage national independence to develop and maintain itself within the limitations of that framework.'

It is essential not to hide the truth of what the application of the ideals of democracy, freedom and social justice, the declared war aims of the United Nations, will mean. These postulates are worthless if in practice they do not lead us unfailingly to the transformation of human society, not only in the political, but also in the social, economic and military field.

Liberty, for the individual as well as for the nation, can have no limitations other than those of the common interest, as opposed to the racial supremacy, or class interest, invoked by the materialist interpreters of history, whether Marxists or totalitarians.

Freedom is indivisible; and wherever the democracies restrict its normal development, they will be committing an arbitrary act, a measure of oppression, all the more infamous when done in the name of that eternal ideal.

The already constituted States dislike the idea of dismemberment, although their unity may, in some cases, have been the product of violence. But these prejudices ought to disappear as the world comes to accept the fact that in the economic and military field at least, the States will have to cede willingly—since the constitution of super-State bodies cannot be contemplated without willing co-operation and on terms of equality—a part of their sovereignty to regional confederations or super-State bodies which would cover extensive territories. According to some thinkers, these would have to be world-wide, since it has been proved that States (even the most powerful) are incapable of solving these problems by themselves. There is general agreement upon the necessity for the permanent maintenance, after the war, of joint military and economic planning between States, or groups of States.

It is becoming more and more clear that the traditional political independence of States must be made compatible with their inter-dependence and solidarity in all those problems of *common interest* which do not form the soul of the nation, the very essence of this human society, its untransferable core.

Possibly the justice done by the Allies after the first Great War, in restoring to Poland and Czechoslovakia their political sovereignty, will have to be complemented by the cession, freely, on the part of both, of a portion of their sovereignty, compatible with their full national liberty, to a confederation, which might perhaps include even the Balkan States. A similar solution might also be found, by which the national States of Euzkadi, Castille, Catalonia, Galicia and Portugal could join the world concert, while each preserving its own personality, in spite of forming part, voluntarily, with other European States, of a western confederation conforming to geographical, historic, cultural or economic circumstances, and being based on the free will of the nations concerned.

The democracies have accepted the totalitarian challenge. The war imposed on them by the totalitarian beast of the Apocalypse is entering its decisive phase. The first faint rays of light are heralding the dawn of a new era for humanity. The democracies do not bear the major responsibility for this tragedy, but on the other hand, theirs will be the responsibility for the future peace. And history will demand a reckoning from them.

DOES THE ARMY NEED MORE DISCIPLINE ?

This article has been sent in by a young officer

NOBODY pretends that the Army has been over-successful in this war; and it is difficult to argue that all our failures have been due to faulty or insufficient equipment. Our generalship has not always been inspired, or even sound; while, in the face of such unexplained disasters as the Malayan campaign and the fall of Tobruk, we must conclude that it is not only our generals who have sometimes been found wanting—that junior leadership has not been of the consistently high quality displayed in the last war, and that troops have occasionally lacked that steadiness and discipline which must always be the foundation of a reliable army.

These weaknesses are perhaps too deep-seated altogether to be corrected during the war. But we shall do well to consider the causes of them now, so that after the war the basic training of the professional army may be reorganised quickly to prevent former mistakes happening once more. Since the truth will no doubt be unpalatable to most forward-looking people, it should be stated at the earliest possible moment.

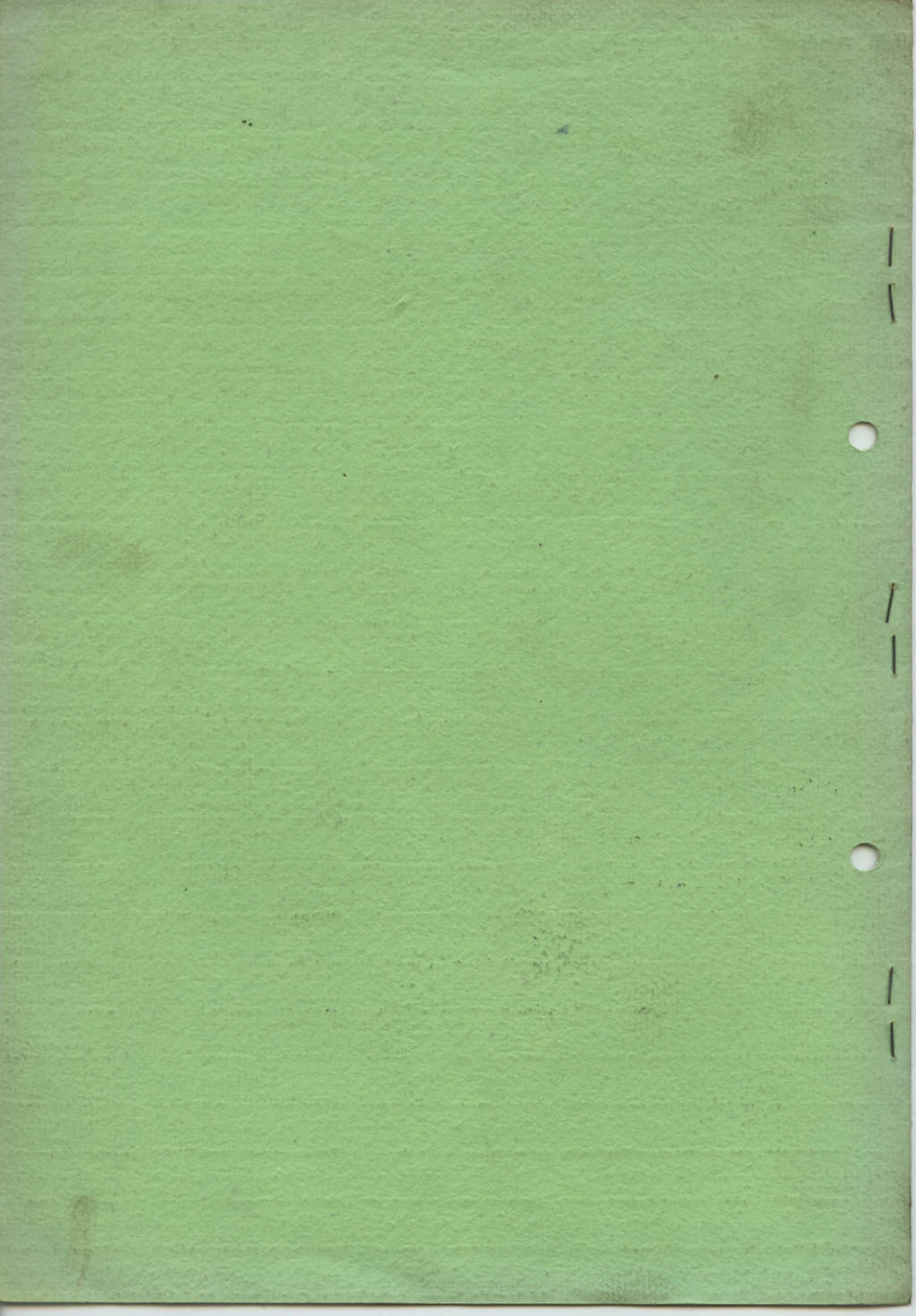
In the first place, the higher command: the pay and prospects offered the soldier are not such as to attract young men of promise and ability to adopt the Army as a career. Many fine commanders who are now proving themselves in our Army have, for the most part, been soldiers because they come from families accustomed to the service, or because the pay they received has not been an important matter to them. As the Treasury begrudged money to pay the soldier, so in peacetime it begrudged money to equip him properly with modern weapons. This was altogether a more serious matter, quite apart from material unpreparedness for war. Because although a few weapons may enable an army to train unit by unit in minor tactics—and the tactics of the regular Army were in fact excellent—commanders who are to handle army corps in battle must be allowed to practise extensively with troops and weapons beforehand. Our generals were denied such opportunities. So lessons which should have been learned in battles

between Eastland and Westland on Salisbury Plain have had to be assimilated painfully since the war started.

So much for our major tactics, which have improved out of all knowledge during the last three years. A much more pressing problem is an apparent weakness in the very backbone of the Army, the fighting units. Our minor tactics have for at least five years been of a very high order. But too often in this war they have broken down while being executed by troops in battle. The reason—to condense a big problem into two words—has been *poor discipline*.

That is a sweeping statement, and it must be examined from its roots upwards. For many years it has been the fashion among a certain type of intellectual to deride the Army, and its soldiers, and the traditions, ideals, and technique on which they work. This fashion began with perfectly legitimate criticism of the narrow-mindedness and sluggishness of many old gentlemen then ensconced in the War Office; and, of course, the retired colonel was an obvious butt for a good joke. So far, all right. But with the rise of the vociferous, semi-pacifist intellectual—so admirably dealt with by Lord Elton in the chapter 'The Assault upon Morale' in his book *St. George or the Dragon*, this criticism deteriorated into abuse, limitless and unreasonable, embracing anything to do with the British Army. Everything the Army did was *ipso facto* wrong; all soldiers were fools—indeed, nobody was a soldier at all unless he was too stupid or too lazy to do anything else. The idea that Colonel Blimp personified the Army became so ingrained in the nation's mind that many sensible young men grew up to accept the idea, and dismissed the Army without further thought. They are today the rank and file, the N.C.O.s, the junior officers of that same Army.

This is not an attempt to damp reasonable, informed criticism. Yet in its later stages derision of the Army became a political platform—an easy platform, and therefore very popular—for people with undefined 'progressive' aspirations,



A L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS

UNE REUNION DE L'UNION
CULTURELLE

Au cours de la première réunion qu'a donnée l'Union Culturelle des pays de l'Europe occidentale, sous la présidence de M. Saurat, des poèmes ont été lus en des langues et des dialectes divers.

Tout particulièrement une intense émotion a régné pendant la récitation par M. Charles Morgan, lui-même, de son "Ode à la France," le premier grand poème de cette guerre.

La gratitude et l'admiration de tous les Français vont au grand poète qui a écrit:

"... car tu est telle, ô France, toi dont certains des fils nient la fidélité, qu'un jour encore le monde va frémir au bruit d'ascension de tes ailes."

En terminant, notre ami Félix Gouin, député des Bouches du Rhône a prononcé une charmante allocution en provençal dont nous sommes heureux de donner en français, les passages principaux:

"J'aime mon village, plus que ton village.

"J'aime ma Province plus que ta Province.

"J'aime la France plus que tout.

"Cette belle pensée de notre grand poète provençal, Frédéric Mistral, constitue en quelque sorte la justification de l'idée à laquelle a obéi notre excellent ami M. Saurat, quand il a créé l'Union Culturelle des pays de l'Europe occidentale.

"Toutes les patries se sont fondées, à l'origine, sur la notion primitive du Village, du petit morceau de terre, où la famille s'est établie et d'où peu à peu, ses rameaux se sont étendus jusqu'aux terroirs voisins.

"C'est de cette floraison de rela-

tions de famille auxquelles ont plus ou moins succédé des relations d'affaires, qu'a surgi ensuite la notion de Province.

"Et puis, peu à peu, se profilant lentement au fil des âges, l'amour de l'homme pour les paysages familiers; pour les hommes qui lui ressemblaient; pour les femmes qui charmaient ses yeux, en un mot pour toute cette humanité dans laquelle il se reconnaissait lui-même, est devenu quelque chose de plus en plus ample et de plus en plus profond.

"Les années ont coulé comme des fleuves; les distances qui séparaient les hommes se sont comblées; une langue commune s'est forgée; une religion semblable a brassé les coeurs et les âmes, et c'est de tous ces liens divers, qu'a surgi l'idée de Patrie, de la grande Patrie, avec toutes ses beautés, tous ses sentiments délicats et nuancés qui ont en quelque sorte façonné un visage commun aux enfants d'une même terre.

"Le cœur de l'homme est peut-être quelque chose d'infiniment petit mais il a ceci de merveilleux, qu'il peut enfermer toute une gamme infinie d'amour à la fois très différente et très profonde.

"C'est la somme de ces amours pour le Terroir Natal, que Monsieur Saurat entend non seulement cultiver, mais consolider, et développer par son Union Culturelle des pays occidentaux.

"Glorifier les Provinces dans leur langage varié et pittoresque; dans leurs traditions séculaires; dans leurs œuvres esthétiques; c'est là une magnifique pensée qu'on ne saurait trop encourager, et à laquelle j'ai tenu à apporter mon modeste mais dévoué concours.

"Je l'ai apporté en tant que fils de cette terre de Provence où la vie était une splendeur avant l'arrivée du reître allemand."

L'auditoire a vivement applaudi cette allocution.