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“NO TIME TO LOSE”

Says VISCOUNT CECIL

In a Message to the London Regional Federation of the League of Nations Union.

THE brilliant success of the allied troops in Normandy is, we all hope, a prelude of the near approach of final victory. Then will come the testing time for all men and women of goodwill. We shall be faced with a world torn by hatred and suffering, having endured fearful losses of blood and treasure, including moral and material injuries which may well seem irreparable.

This is the second catastrophe of the kind that has occurred within the lifetime of many of us. Is there to be a third? At present a repetition of the last five years appears unthinkable. But so it did in 1919. The illusion then was soon destroyed. It became apparent that the same spirit among the nations as existed before 1914 was still alive and some of us began to warn our fellow countrymen that if this was so the same causes as produced the first World War would produce a second. Our one hope was in the League of Nations. That institution was created to stop war and, as the Prime Minister has told us, it might have done so if it had been properly supported.

Now the Four chief Powers of the Allies have agreed to set up a similar international body to maintain peace. All the United Nations and the neutrals are to be invited to join it. Unless it is properly supported, it too will fail.

Among the peaceful powers, the chief responsibility for the failure of the League rested on France and England. It was not

that they—and particularly our own country—were opposed to peace. Every British sentiment, every British interest, was against war. But our Governments never understood that *war was the result of aggression, and that in the end aggression could only be prevented or stopped by force.* Even the League of Nations Union, though it never failed to insist that aggression was an international crime which, like other crimes, required forcible prevention, perhaps did not insist on this aspect of the matter with sufficient vehemence.

However that may be, we must make no such mistake now. We must strain every nerve to make our people and the Government see that unless we are prepared to use force to crush aggressors, they will certainly use force to crush us. There is no time to lose. We have been given a good start by the Moscow Declaration. The Draft Pact prepared by the Executive Committee shows how that Declaration could be carried out. But quite possibly its details might be improved. Do not let us waste time in controversies over minor questions. The central truth is that peace can only be safeguarded by international co-operation to prevent aggression and that must be done by political and diplomatic pressure and, if necessary, by force. That is the doctrine we must preach throughout the country, and I hope the London Regional Federation will give us an inspiring lead.

CECIL.

"TOWARD A LEAGUE OF NATIONS"

It is a sign of the times that NEW EUROPE, the Monthly Review of International Affairs published in New York, has recently devoted a whole number to the subject "Toward a League of Nations."

"In spite of its deficiencies," writes the Editor by way of introduction, "the League of Nations is a symbol of progress in international relations and, when we criticise the League, we must remember that it was the first and only organisation of its kind ever to be established. In the League of Nations, the small states were able to speak and to be heard." With the approach of victory, the world has received "the solemn promise of the great Powers that they would give all nations, great and small, a new and better League of Nations."

Why did the Geneva League "fail"? Prominent personalities of nine different nationalities answer this question for NEW EUROPE.

ARTHUR SWEETSER, American member of the League Secretariat from 1919 to 1942, points out that it is only part of the story to say that the League failed. "Far better has it been said that the League, instead of 'failing,' had never really been tried." "The hard fact of the last effort at organised peace was that neither governments nor peoples acted fully on the principle that the most vital single necessity of society to-day is to make aggression and war impossible. Let anyone who doubts ask how many people felt they *must* make the League succeed and how many more watched it coldly, impersonally, even suspiciously, as if it were alien to them and their interests." The League, Sweetser concludes, was "a start, a good start, and indicated what to do and what not to do." The coming international organisation will "fail" as the last venture failed unless governments and peoples accept a sense of individual and national responsibility.

M. PAUL VAN ZEELAND, former Prime Minister of Belgium, admitting defects in the League, yet contends that it "might very well have proved a success altogether." Further, in many technical and specialised fields, the League did

actually better conditions throughout the world. He hopes that the new international organisation will make ample use of the lessons, both in success and failure.

HAROLD BUTLER, British Minister to the United States, repeats the views set out in his book *The Lost Peace*: "That then was the root trouble of the League. Public Opinion was not educated to its necessity."

JAN MASARYK, Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs, is ready to believe that we have learned the lesson of the past twenty years—otherwise our civilisation is doomed. "A joint organisation to make aggression impossible must be produced. Call it an international police force, an international army, or a League of Nations (this time, of course, equipped with real and not imaginary powers), but security!

Personally, I am in favour of close co-operation of free peoples with their national characteristics safeguarded (I mean here their good characteristics), their right to their own freedom, and national culture in learning, religion, art, and work guaranteed by all for all."

AME-LEROY, Ambassador of France, starts by denouncing "the too popular assertion" regarding the League's "failure" as "erroneous and unjust." "The Covenant, which was drafted by the most eminent and best qualified statesmen, is undoubtedly a work which approaches perfection. But, however perfect an institution may be, it can never be worth more than the faith which is placed in it." The League was the truth of yesterday: "For me, it remains the truth of tomorrow."

The League—according to FRANCESCO CASTILLO NAJERA, Mexican Ambassador to the United States—"accomplished various international tasks that are without precedent." For a number of well known reasons it did not fulfil everything required of it. "Critics of the League think of it as an individual entity, distinct from its members; and, not daring to reproach the nations who disregarded at will the duties imposed by the pact, they blame the innocent party. . . . The selfishness of its members caused the League to lose its prestige and become a useless farce. Collective

security cannot function without world co-operation. After the armistice, an Organisation for Peace will be established whose permanence will depend on one factor: the will of the nations."

There are no short cuts either to victory or to peace, urges ALEXANDER LOUDON, Netherlands Ambassador to the United States. The lesson of the past is that the League, although in many respects a most valuable institution, failed to maintain peace because it lacked organised power.

SYLWIN STRAKACZ, Polish Consul General in New York, believes that "the ideals that found their expression in the lofty and bold conception of President Wilson's community of nations are more alive than ever in human history. The best proof of this assertion can be found in the present embodiment of these ideals in the new structure of the United Nations." The mechanics of the League failed in political matters, but not in matters pertaining to social, humanitarian and health problems. "In building this better world we still have to draw from the vast experience gained by the League of Nations, from its splendid record of important achievements, and from its regrettable failures as well."

CONSTANTIN FOTITCH, Yugoslav Am-

bassador to the United States, says that failure to provide any international force to oblige the recalcitrant members to abide by the decisions of the League or the Permanent Court was one of the chief reasons for the failure of the League itself. Allied statesmen failed to arm the League because they could not agree to subordinate all their individual problems to the general interest of maintaining peace.

NEW EUROPE also quotes a Soviet opinion from the newspaper WAR AND THE WORKING CLASS, which distinguishes between the policy of the leading States in the League and the defects of the League as an organisation. "There can be no two opinions," says the Russian author, "but that responsibility for the League's failure rests with the leading States that belonged to it and directed it, and not with the League's Covenant. There can be no doubt that, in the main, the Covenant afforded the possibility of pursuing a policy of general security. If that policy was not pursued and was sabotaged in every way, the fault does not lie with the provisions of the League's Covenant."

Our American contemporary is to be congratulated on collecting such an extraordinary interesting symposium of authoritative opinions, with so important a bearing upon the future.

AMBASSADORS FOR PEACE

By FLIGHT-LIEUTENANT R. P. ODELL

It must by now be generally agreed that, when this war is over, we must all make some attempt at understanding the characteristics, customs and problems of other nations. Equally we shall expect them to understand us. It must not be a purely academic interest, but contain sympathy and support with it.

The British are not an easy race for the foreigner to get to know. We are accused of being insular with its implication of narrow-mindedness, haughty, proud, stiff and unfriendly. Unfortunately there is an element of truth in all these indictments. But there are few strangers who get to know us well enough to find out that these are surface traits only; that they are due in the main to an innate reserve, a desire to live and let live, and to mind our own business.

Our vast Empire, possessions and wealth, and our past history, all tend to give an impression of a race that is naturally ambitious, aggressive and arrogant. The visitor to this country comes expecting to find such a people, and our taciturnity does nothing to dispel his pre-conceived notions; rather it enhances them. Few take the trouble to delve any deeper.

Disproving False Impressions

But now we have the chance to disprove these false impressions. For the last four and a half years we have had exiles in this country who have lived and worked with us, worn our uniforms, shared our trials and rejoiced with us in our victories. Frenchmen, Belgians, Dutch, Norwegians, Poles, Greeks, Czechs, to mention only a few, have worked and fought with us, have

helped us to emerge from grim to gay, from imminent disaster to the greatest recovery in world history.

The time will soon come when these men will be able to return to their own homes and families. Let us make them ambassadors for world peace, pioneers in a movement for mutual understanding among nations.

They have got to know us well in so far as they have been our comrades in the most crucial stage of our history. We must not let them go back without an attempt on our part to maintain that comradeship; without an expressed desire on our part that they should tell their countrymen about us; without the assurance that we have a lively interest in, and sympathy for, the problems that beset other nations.

This war has scattered men far and wide throughout the world. This is one asset that we shall have amid a mass of liabilities. For instance, the many thousands of Americans who have served in these islands will be able to dispel some of the doubts and suspicions which have in the past handicapped relations between the two countries. Equally we have been able to see for ourselves the men of the U.S.A. at their best, and a very good best it is. Indeed, this war has welded the English-speaking nations into a firm alliance based on mutual respect, an alliance which should never break down or even become strained if we make some effort to maintain the contacts we have formed.

Links With Other Nations

There is, however, a risk that the very strength of this bond may exclude other nations who do not speak the same language. The many smaller nations who have bravely defied the German war machine must not be forgotten. They must be made to feel that the comradeship established in this war is not going to be lightly thrown aside. If we allow their men to go back home feeling that their more powerful allies are no longer interested in them, we shall not only be guilty of ingratitude, but also we shall sow the seeds of future mistrust.

The errors and omissions of the years between the two Great Wars have shown us that the professional diplomat is as human as the rest of us. This is not to say that the Diplomatic Service is more blameworthy than any other section of the community. There is hardly a man or woman in this country who can be entirely absolved from blame in that we had ample evidence of the growth of the militaristic spirit among the Axis Powers and we chose to ignore it. But when this war is over, many hundreds of thousands of men will be returning to their homes from all over the world. These men will carry with them impressions of countries where they have been stationed. They will have made friends there. Each friendship can be regarded as a link between the two countries concerned, and if all the links are kept in being in the post-war period, they should form a chain which will mitigate against future cleavages of national interests.

Unofficial Diplomatic Service

We shall thus have at hand what we might well call an unofficial diplomatic service between the ordinary men and women of the nations of the world. Every encouragement should be given for these war-time contacts to be maintained by making travel easier, quicker and cheaper, and by cutting down passport formalities. No doubt a great deal will be done in the way of official deputations of one sort and another with the praiseworthy idea of studying the methods of other countries. But in the end it is the human contact as between individuals which is going to count in the establishment and consolidation of friendly relations.

And so let every one of us, who has had the good fortune to find friends among our allies, make himself an ambassador for peace by keeping in touch with those friends and learning their points of view, and thus play his part in establishing a more hopeful basis for permanent peace.

ALL ABOUT UNRRA

HELPING THE PEOPLE TO HELP THEMSELVES. (His Majesty's Stationery Office —for the United Nations Information Organisation. 24 pp, 4d.)

The United Nations are getting ready to tackle the biggest job of relief that has ever been known in history. Consider the bare facts. Five hundred million people have passed under the Axis yoke. They and their countries have been robbed of almost everything. Starvation and disease ravage or threaten them. As the various European nations are liberated, tons of food, medicine, clothes and other materials will have to be rushed to the spot. Eventually, in the areas of China now in Japanese hands, at least 84,000,000 people will need relief.

Out of this war has grown the conception of the nations pooling their resources for the common good. United action is winning the war. It is to be carried on afterwards to win the peace.

That is the meaning of the historic UNRRA Agreement, signed in the White House on November 9, 1943. UNRRA was born because the time was ripe for a working organisation to carry out planned steps to satisfy the most urgent needs of occupied countries both in Europe and Asia.

Now here is an authoritative popular pamphlet telling us all about UNRRA, how it works and what it will do. At Atlantic City, when the work began in earnest, some 600 diplomats, experts, scientists and secretaries got down to the practical problems involved. As a result of more than 150 meetings of committees and drafting groups, 41 resolutions were handed to the Director-General for further action.

UNRRA is not out to distribute "soup kitchen charity." It will help people to help themselves. True, the poor will get relief free. But those able to pay will buy the relief goods through the normal distributing agencies. Food will take priority —bodies must be fed before the many schemes of rehabilitation can even be

started. Then agriculture must be got going. For the first year, foods for direct human consumption must be produced. Later more ambitious farming schemes can be contemplated. Rebuilding of industry has also been planned. A definite order of priority has been worked out—e.g., water, electricity and other public services will come first. There are other problems such as the return of displaced persons to their homes—1,800,000 Frenchmen alone have been moved to Germany.

UNRRA'S machinery is very much like that of the League of Nations, except that the Director-General has been given more power than the Secretary-General. The financial plan is based on the ability of the various nations to pay. A world community chest of more than £500,000,000 will be accumulated for the entire relief period. The U.S.A. is to pay more than anybody else into this pool. Britain's share is expected to be about £80,000,000. The money will be spent in meeting pressing needs and not on long-range reconstruction projects.

We have in UNRRA a test case for the United Nations. In the words of the Director-General, "If UNRRA succeeds, the world will know that international co-operation is possible, that common interests can be stronger than separate differences. Having done it once, the United Nations will have more confidence that they can do it again. The habit will have been formed."

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

BRETTON WOODS

During the past few weeks an International Monetary Conference of considerable importance has been meeting at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. It was in its closing stages as HEADWAY went to press. We have arranged for an expert to write a popular explanation of the conference for our next number.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN RATTENBURY

A growing and welcome tendency in Parliament these days is to look beyond the immediate implications of a subject under discussion to its possible effect on the conditions in Europe and beyond after the war. Several instances have occurred in the past few weeks.

There is the matter of food supplies, for example. It is natural and logical, perhaps, that they should be considered in relation to the crying needs of hungry Europe. But the natural and logical does not always happen. However, in this case, it seems quite clear, from various questions and answers, that the Government have been actively preparing to deal with the situation. In the debate on the continuation of War Emergency Powers, on July 14, a claim was put forward that we should quickly go back to a Britain free from all restrictions to liberty, with implications of the belief that it was an infringement of the rights of the individual not to allow him to spend his surplus money on anything he liked. Promptly this short-sighted view was countered by the double argument, not only of the necessity of keeping the home population more equally supplied, but also of consideration of the needs of other peoples.

Note, too, a similar tendency in the debate on the Estimates of the Ministry of Fuel and Power. Major Gwilym Lloyd George's contention was that the whole coal industry must be organised on business lines, whoever is responsible for it, and that increased output alone could make it a paying proposition. That seemed after the war to imply the necessity for new markets, and suggestions came in the debate that the whole future of the coal industry was bound up in the coal export trade. A slender hope, some may argue; but it is surely a good thing, whatever the reason, that our Legislature should show signs of the international mind.

France and Recognition

Mr. Churchill's plea to the House to "hold off" discussion of the complicated French question was referred to last month. That highly important issue now appears

to be clearing itself up. Mr. Eden explained that discussion had taken place between representatives of H.M. Government and the French Committee of National Liberation. This had led to good hopes that formal agreements between the French Committee and the Governments of Great Britain and the U.S.A. might be effected, but the Government thought it desirable that no statement should be made until after General de Gaulle's visit to Washington. President Roosevelt had now said that the United States had decided to recognise the French Committee of National Liberation as the *de facto* authority for the government of the liberated area of France pending elections. The Government welcomed this, all the more so since the Anglo-French discussions which recently took place in London following on General de Gaulle's visit here, were conducted on the basis that the French Committee would, in fact, exercise governmental authority in France as that country's liberation proceeds. Mr. Vernon Bartlett and Mr. Quintin Hogg joined in congratulating Mr. Eden.

Denmark and Resistance

The Foreign Secretary also had something to say about Free Denmark, which (he was glad to note) was represented in the Soviet Union as it was in this country and the United States. The policy of H.M. Government was to support all who were helping in the fight against the enemy. Denmark was an enemy-occupied territory and her King regarded himself as a prisoner of the Germans. Her Government ceased to operate last August. At present it was not possible for Denmark to become formally belligerent and join the United Nations. Nevertheless, the people of Denmark as a whole were inspired by our ideals, in our ranks many Danes were actively engaged for the liberation of their country, and ever-increasing resistance to the Axis was taking place inside Denmark. Those resistance bodies inside Denmark last autumn formed a Council of Freedom which, pending restoration of liberty, was playing a conspicuous part in occupied

Denmark as a focus of resistance to Germany. Their valuable contribution to the Allied cause was warmly acknowledged by the Government.

American Visit

An interesting letter from Mr. Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, was read to the Members by his "opposite number" over here. Mr. Rayburn, acknowledging the invitation to send a delegation of their members to visit the House of Commons, assured the Speaker of their deep appreciation, and added that the matter would be taken up at the first convenient moment:

"We realise, as we know you do, the great responsibility resting upon our two great democracies, not only now, but in the years that lie immediately ahead. We must, and I am sure will, work together in the fateful days ahead as we have in the past. The friendship and common interest existing between our peoples dictates this, and we in America wish you to know that it is our every desire to work hand in hand with your great democracy, for the peace and well-being of us all."

Spain and Germany

One matter which aroused some feeling

in the House must be reported without comment. Questioned rather closely about alleged German war production in Spain, Mr. Eden said that no information was available regarding Spanish shipyards working for Germany. Two nitrate factories were being constructed in Spain, for which machinery was to be delivered from Germany. German engineers were at one of these factories. He was satisfied, however, that no training of *Luftwaffe* personnel was taking place in Spain. Iron ore and some zinc were being exported from Spain to Germany.

The Spanish Ambassador had said there was no truth in the information quoted. Since, however, the source of the information had been Soviet Russia and it had been given out on the Moscow radio, Mr. Eden was pressed to say whether he had approached the Russian Government for their source of information. The reply was that he had not done so and was sure that he knew more about it than did Russia. The Russians had made no representations to us. In view of our general friendly relations he was certain that, if they had attached any importance to the story, they would have let us know.

PRINCIPLES AND POWER

By THE EARL OF PERTH

Whenever efforts are made to form plans for the future safety of the world, you always come back—whether you want to or not—to the principles of the League of Nations.

This is the opinion of a certain eminent statesman who counts for a good deal in Government circles. As Mr. Churchill pointed out, amid cheers, in a speech in the House of Commons on April 21:—

"We had a pretty dreary time between these two wars. We have great responsibility for the part we played—and so have all of us and so have the Americans—in not making the League of Nations a reality and not backing its principles. What was wrong with the League was not that its principles were unsound, but that it was not backed by armed force, with effective armed force, and in letting this deadly and vengeful foe arm at his leisure."

Lord Cranborne recently said that you cannot have a foreign policy unless you have power behind it. The primary lesson to be learnt is that the future "International Authority" foreshadowed in the Moscow Agreement must have at its disposal sufficient force to check a potential aggressor.

Exactly what shape the "International Authority" will take we do not yet know; but experienced members of the central Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union have prepared and published a "Draft Pact", showing how such an organisation might be constituted and what powers it should have.

A Defence Committee should be set up by the new Authority, and one of its first duties should be to consider the establishment of an International Air Force. (At the Annual General Meeting of the Oxford Branch of the L.N.U.)

AMERICA REVISITED

By K. D. COURTNEY

Two visits to U.S.A. in war-time, one at the end of 1942, the other in 1944, invite some estimate of the changes and developments which a year of war has brought to that country and its people. Certainly 1944 finds America much deeper in the war, much more aware of the sacrifices that war involves, and aware too of the gigantic reserves of power which she herself commands. If, in 1942, the country was feeling its way into total war, in 1944, it is confident of itself and supremely confident of its power to produce whatever is required in manpower as well as in the munitions of war and supplies of every kind. The visitor to America is indeed almost stunned by the immense productivity of the country. In New York there are no empty shop windows; no sign of goods in "short supply"; no evident restrictions on food; of course no ruined buildings; none of the signs of war to which we in Great Britain are so well accustomed. Yet, all this wealth of civilian goods seems to be superimposed upon an unprecedented production of ships, guns, tanks, and all the huge output that war demands.

Nevertheless it would be a mistake to suppose that American people are not feeling the war, inevitable though it is that just because of their distance from the theatres of war, they should be less touched by war than we are. The casualty lists which come in from day to day are a grim reminder of what the war brings to American homes. But apart from the restrictions which affect daily life, shortage of petrol, shortage of fuel, shortage of domestic help, etc., there is certainly a very different "atmosphere" in the cities of America from that which prevails here.

Thinking and Discussion

What is perhaps of more interest than these outward signs of war is the effect which it is having upon American thinking and upon the attitude to post-war problems. Another year has brought with it still more discussion about the problems of the post-war world, and just because the American people are not pre-occupied with the war on their doorsteps, as we are in England,

they have more time and more leisure of mind to devote to these questions. An American observer who had been some time in London and who was in New York while I was there remarked that there was more discussion about post-war questions within 10 miles of Massachusetts than in the whole of England. This is, of course, an exaggeration, but at the same time it contains a germ of truth. Possibly one of the reasons for the extent to which these questions are discussed in America is due to the nature of the question which the Americans have to put to themselves. This is fairly simple: "Are we or are we not going to participate in a post-war world organisation? And if we do participate in it, how far do we mean to go?" This question is one which can be discussed by all sorts of people, is capable of the simplest exposition and at the same time can be dealt with in terms of an elaborate Pact or Charter. We in England have a more complicated question to face and more experience which may both enlighten and confuse us. We do belong to an international organisation, and it has seemed to fail us. What were the mistakes we made? And how can they be avoided in the future? The very complexity of the problem and the kind of detailed and historical explanation it requires makes it much less attractive to a general audience than the sort of questions which are to-day being so freely, and let me add so profitably, discussed in the U.S.A.

Valuable Education

There is no doubt that an immense task of education has been carried out in the length and breadth of the country through the various organisations which have set themselves to enlighten public opinion and it would appear from the Gallup Polls that something approaching 75 per cent. of the people now support the idea of U.S.A. forming part of an international organisation. Certain it is that members of Congress and politicians who are usually credited with having their ears to the ground believe that an appeal to the electors will not be successful unless it is accompanied by some recognition of the

part that U.S.A. has to play in the post-war world. It is significant that the Republican Party, which in the past has certainly included some noted isolationists, has made part of the platform a "plank" which pledges it to international co-operation, even if the pledge is expressed in somewhat ambiguous terms.

At the time of writing the Democratic Party platform has not been announced. It may be hoped that its international policy will be more definite, though probably care will be taken to avoid making international questions a matter of party politics.

Mindful of what happened after the last war, Mr. Cordell Hull has adopted the strategy of getting agreement between representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties on the subject of U.S. co-operation in the maintenance of world security. His next step has been to invite representatives of Great Britain and Russia to discuss matters in Washington, and, as we know, these discussions, at which the British representative will be Sir Alexander Cadogan, will take place shortly.

A Big Advance

Decidedly during my visit to the U.S.A. this time I had the impression that people of all kinds had advanced a good deal further in the direction of accepting not only the advisability, but the necessity, from the point of view of her own interests, of American co-operation in world affairs after the war. The difficulty, however, will come when the details are discussed. It is a sobering reflection that after the last war Senator Lodge and others who opposed America's entry into the League of Nations had supported the general principle of co-operation, but defeated it on details. The important thing at this juncture

seems to me, therefore, to be a discussion of details, so that people should be familiar not only with the general idea of America taking part in preventing aggression, but familiar, too, with what this involves in terms as precise as possible. It is very satisfactory to find authoritative American speakers and writers pointing out that the formation of a system of world peace and security is imperative from the point of view of the needs of America herself, and that so far as sovereignty is concerned America would not lose her sovereignty if she joined with other nations in keeping the peace, rather that the power to make international commitments is the essence of sovereignty. Nevertheless, I had a feeling that there was considerable vagueness as to the exact form in which America's contribution to the military forces required for the maintenance of peace would be made, and a very definite feeling that prickly problems, such, for instance, as the future of civil aviation, had not been grappled with from an international point of view.

Desire to Co-operate

No one can visit the U.S.A. without bringing back an impression of the friendliness and generosity of its warm-hearted people. We have only to break through the crust of suspicion and misunderstanding, fostered by certain elements in politics and in the Press, to find a profound anxiety to co-operate in doing what needs to be done to prevent war.

Our joint task is to dispel this suspicion and misunderstanding and get the people on both sides of the Atlantic to realise that we can work together for a common purpose without each using it as a cover for the promotion of so-called "national interests."

SUMMER AND WINTER

THE L.N.U. LIBRARY

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UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

It would have taken more than the threat of flying bombs to interrupt the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION'S series of monthly Buffet Luncheons. As usual, there was an excellent attendance at the July meeting to hear Sir Walter Layton speak on "Peace Terms". Contrasting the greatly extended scale of this war with that of the so-called Great War, Sir Walter pointed out that it involved 21 out of the 25 countries of Europe. He went on to sketch the immense problems which would face us in putting right the effects of war and in establishing peace. This time we must realise from the past the things we must not do. While punishment of the guilty must be severe, it must not hinder the later work of building up the economic as well as the political life of Europe. It would be necessary to supervise the Government in Germany; but no Government could prove effective that did not have its roots in the people. An environment must be set up in Europe which would by its nature exercise restraint, and an international force must form part of the New Order.

The GREEN LANE (Coventry) BRANCH rounded off a grand year's work with a garden party in the grounds of Dr. Wormell, one of the members. Councillor E. G. Roberts presided, and Mr. F. H. Harrod, Director of Education, spoke of post-war problems and the presentation of our case in obtaining new members. Two of the things on which he congratulated the Branch were on increasing its membership by 92 during the present year and the re-establishment of its Youth Group.

More than 130 people were present at a Garden Meeting arranged by the HARROW BRANCH. After tea on the lawn, senior girls from the County School recited famous speeches, including the Gettysburg speech and the funeral oration of Pericles. The Rev. G. L. Russell, Vicar of St. Peter's, spoke on "Ends and Means in the Twentieth Century". A collection was taken for the Freshwater Memorial Fund, and a vigorous appeal made for new members. The membership target is 1,000, of which the Branch already has 839.

Mr. Colin Campbell, a journalist who had spent 27 years in China, was the speaker at the Annual General Meeting of

the PETWORTH BRANCH. He sketched China's proud and ancient civilisation, her painful contacts with the West, and the immensities of the problems which had confronted the young Chinese Republic. His vivid picture of China's great potentialities as well as of her complex difficulties, and their connection with Japan and the European Powers, showed the kind of problems which would call for real statesmanship in the Far East.

Miss K. D. Courtney, just returned from the U.S.A., went to COVENTRY to take part in a Brains Trust on "International Co-operation". At BEDFORD, the Dean of Chichester outlined the L.N.U.'s contribution to the solution of post-war problems. At a crowded meeting at LETCHWORTH, the Dean spoke on "World Co-operation". The Letchworth Branch followed up with a discussion meeting, addressed by Mr. L. R. Aldous, on the Draft Pact. WELLS BRANCH (Somerset) held a similar meeting, with Mr. Aldous as the speaker.

Mr. C. W. Judd, Secretary of the Union, spoke on the L.N.U. and the Draft Pact at the Girls' High School, RUGBY. WITHINGTON BRANCH held two meetings, one addressed by Mr. P. M. Oliver, on the Draft Pact, and the other by Dr. Lincoln Ralphs, on "Frontiers".

A Garden Meeting at HASTINGS, the GREENFORD Study Group, and the COULSDON Women's Fellowship were among the speaking engagements of Mr. H. H. Walker, Assistant Secretary of the Union.

Mr. J. T. Catterall spoke at the SEVEN KINGS Baptist Church, at FRODSHAM Senior School, and at BARKINGSIDE on the I.L.O. CHELTENHAM BRANCH organised a meeting, with Mr. Jaya Deva as the speaker.

JORDANS BRANCH was most fortunate in its speaker for the meeting held recently, as the Rev. Henry Carter gave an elucidating lecture on the aims and activities of such organisations as AMGOT, UNRRA and COBSRA, indicating how the work thus achieved will assist in preparing the way for future world organisation, without overlooking the valuable links thus established already with the present League of

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

As clouds at eve after unceasing rain
Disperse and leave unveiled a firmament
Serene and luminous, so after pain
Of tortured years appeared thou, radiant
Precursor of fair dawn—too fair, too pure
For selfish men; uneasy in a clime
Wherein exalted, justice sought to ensure
To innocence the right to live its time.
Hence, after little pause, the clamour rose
Of sore offended pride and thwarted greed,
Inflamed that some by moral laws should
choose
To bind proud Powers and fetter holy
trade.

They had their way: the clouds amassed
their tears
And men once more embraced the bleeding
years.

G. M. W.

THE RIGHT SPIRIT

Sir,—Our Branch held its usual public meeting last Friday week, as you will see from the enclosed newspaper cutting. The Mayor really made a good speech in support and will, I think, become a member—he was very friendly.

That very morning we suffered from quite a bad "incident" in the town. The Rural Dean came to the meeting still in his pyjamas under his battle dress. Our President had recently had his house destroyed.

It was, however, a good meeting, and will greatly help our Garden Meeting soon. Anyway we are keeping alive and, when conditions become more settled, there will be a foundation of loyal members to work on. May I again express our great appreciation of the never failing and splendid support you give us at all times from Headquarters?

BRANCH SECRETARY.

"Southern England."

Nations and the International Labour Organisation.

Among the ROTARY CLUBS which listened to L.N.U. speakers were the following: MAIDENHEAD (Mr. H. B. Turle, on "India"); NORTHAMPTON (Major Howard Deems, U.S.A., who also spoke at the Annual Meeting of the Branch); SLOUGH (Mr. Aldous, on the International Labour Conference at Philadelphia); and ST. ALBANS (Mr. Edwin Haward).

BIRMINGHAM FABIAN SOCIETY ran an International Evening at Queen's College, when Mr. Aldous (L.N.U.), Dr. Borkon (Federal Union), and Mr. Brian Goddard (New Commonwealth) opened a discussion on "Three Current Proposals for World Peace".

W.A.C.

THE WOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL of the League of Nations Union, which has held a number of useful meetings in war-time, is now getting ready to face its post-war responsibilities.

One of the chief items of business at its July meeting was the revision of its Terms of Reference and Constitution. These, in the old form, were felt to be not completely applicable at the present time. The new version adopted made it clear that the references to the League of Nations mean the enduring purposes of the League's Covenant and the fulfilment of Article 4 of the Moscow Declaration.

Miss K. D. Courtney, who presided, gave an informal talk on her recent visit to the U.S.A., which aroused interested discussion.

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Wednesday, August 16

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ON

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BOOKS OF THE MONTH

EUROPE'S PEASANT POPULATIONS

AGRARIAN PROBLEMS FROM THE BALTIC TO THE ÆGEAN. (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 10, St. James's Square, S.W.1. 96 pp. 3s. net.)

Really good books on the peasant problem and programme for Europe, key questions though these are for peace, have been scarce. This drought has been ended, thanks to Chatham House, who have published a Report by an expert Discussion Group (in close touch with able peasant representatives from the Continent) on a Peasant Programme for the seven countries, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece. Roughly the area involved is at its widest equivalent to the distance between London and the Faroes, and north to south is no deeper than the distance from London to the Shetlands and back.

Sir John Russell contributes an extraordinarily interesting introduction on peasant movements, and Professor Seton-Watson a masterly little guide to the politics of this zone of small nations which will live again through the Atlantic Charter. There is an expert review of the whole general background of the peasant problem—peasant life and labour, the co-operative system, agricultural technique, the intimate connection between agriculture and industrialisation planned and controlled in the interests of the peasants and, where it is needed, the peasants of the whole area. Finally, we have the text of a *Peasant Programme* or Charter, which appears to have a very genuine backing from peasant quarters which count all over Europe. It consists of an Introduction, outlining the aims of the peasants as a constructive alternative to Germany's destructive "New Order"; a Prologue on the essential partnership of peasants and townsmen; and twelve articles going to the heart of particular problems, such as co-operation, stability of prices, better agricultural education, vital improvements in agricultural methods, communications (especially roads) designed to help agriculture, and so on.

The over-riding purpose of all is to break away from exaggerated nationalism,

with the dynamic aim of reconstructing this area in the common interests of all. Nothing is more important than to get to grips with this great peasant problem in Europe.

This booklet is immensely helpful just because it shows simply what the facts are and points to remedies which have in them the stuff of wide experience and a saving common sense. Poverty dominates this great area. The Hot Springs long-range plans should be of value in helping to bring about a change. Undoubtedly immense opportunities exist for transforming the grim miseries of over-population with lowering of standards of life into the greatest wealth and stability that these battle-scarred countries have ever enjoyed.

GORDON DROMORE..

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1943. (League of Nations Union, 11, Maiden Lane, W.C.2. Price 3d.)

Sending the Union's *Annual Report* to Branch Secretaries Mr. Judd, the Secretary of the Union, comments:—"In years to come, when we look back to these times, I believe the present Branch Secretaries and other officers and workers of the League of Nations Union will have reason to be thankful that in the fourth year of the war they managed to keep our Union so strong and vigorous as a guardian of the principles that were proclaimed after the last war and which will have to be fully implemented this time when victory has again been won."

The Report is in the main a record of what has been done directly by the Union, in and through its own Branches, meetings and publications. But it is shown that the Union can rightly claim considerable credit for the work of the London International Assembly and of the Council for Education, in World Citizenship. The lesson running through all these pages is that all connected with the Union must make every possible effort to increase and extend the work in the present year.

"FALSE FRIENDS"

"False friends": That is how two French authors, a few years back, described those misleading English words which look as though they mean the same as certain French words but don't. The French words, of course, can be equally misleading to us. And so with other languages. Sometimes the only harm done is an amusing "howler" in translation. But occasionally the correct rendering of these is a matter of life or death.

That is the case in fighting disease. Medical science overflows all national boundaries and cannot afford to be handicapped by language obstacles. Yet, in the naming of diseases in different languages, there are dangerous pitfalls.

Thus "typhus" to a Frenchman means "typhus fever," but Swiss or Belgian physicians may mean by it "enteric fever." Again, in Germany the term is used to denote "typhoid fever."

Similarly, in France, "anthrax" is simply an outbreak of boils—not at all the dangerous disease that an Englishman or a Russian would deduce from the word. Examples of this kind could be multiplied.

An international institute, asked to supply drugs or sera for fighting an epidemic, may find itself in a quandary. Are they needed, say, for fighting enteric or typhus? The lives of thousands may hang on the answer.

The Health Organisation of the League of Nations has repeatedly come up against this problem. To help solve it, it has just published a POLYGLOT GLOSSARY OF COMMUNICABLE DISEASES, from which anybody can find out what any of these diseases is called in 24 different languages, as well as the exact meaning of a disease name in any of these languages.

This unique sort of medical dictionary is the work of Dr. Yves Biraud, Head of the League's Epidemiological Intelligence Service. It runs to 566 pages and the cost is 4s. (Allen and Unwin.) Just a part of the League's Health Service!

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HEADWAY

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CHRISTIANS AND JEWS. An Occasional Review. (Council of Christians and Jews, 21, Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1. 6d.)

Lord Cecil and many other leaders of the L.N.U. are associated with this Council in its efforts to combat religious and racial intolerance. Writing in the *Review*, the Archbishop of Canterbury stresses that it is the fundamental duty of all civilised people to keep in restraint the essentially barbaric urge which expresses itself in such evils as anti-semitism. Other features include articles by Commander Agar on the American Three-Faith Declaration and by Dr. Cecil Roth on "Pharaoh's Bondmen." On "the price of peace" and the failure of some to speak out plainly on the issues of peace and war, the Dean of St. Paul's comments that "perhaps only those who are prepared to fight ever dare to speak the whole truth."

THE RUSSIAN ARMY. By Walter Kerr. (Gollancz, Henrietta Street, W.C.2. 7s. 6d.)

This book is not one of those written by experts for experts, nor even by experts for laymen. It is written for ordinary intelligent people with inquiring minds, by one of themselves with special opportunities for exercising an acute gift of observation. Men, leaders, organisation and battles are its subject matter. From it the reader will learn all that he wants to know about the Red Army—and more than that he will understand better our Ally Russia, of which the Army is both a part and a symbol.

FOOD RATIONING AND SUPPLY, 1943-44. (League of Nations Publications, Allen and Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1. 101 pp. 4s. 6d.)

Heartily welcome is this further comprehensive study of the food situation throughout the world, which has been prepared by the Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League of Nations. It brings up to date and expands the previous study on WARTIME RATIONING AND CONSUMPTION, published by the League in 1942. Here will be found full information about the food rations in effect in the various countries, the conditions of health and mortality existing among the civilian populations, and the supplies of food available at the end of the fourth year of war.

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

Munich

Sir,—One wonders whether to deplore the occupation of space in your columns by letters such as that of Mr. W. A. Payne, resulting from a short memory for facts, or whether to agree that if such ideas as he expresses continue to exist it is just as well for them to have an occasional airing.

It should be common knowledge by now that, had Czechoslovakia rejected the "advice" of Britain and France and put up military opposition to the German advance, Russia, although relieved of her obligation by the inaction of France, would have gone to the help of Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Payne says "Mr. Chamberlain was faced with the fact that we and any allies we had were weak compared with Germany." The actual facts that faced Mr. Chamberlain were that the policy of his Government in Western Europe and the Mediterranean had reduced the weakness of France to impotence, had gone to almost desperate lengths to alienate Russia, and had convinced the smaller countries under the threat of Nazi aggression that they need not look in our direction for aid or even sympathy.

Right up to the outbreak of war this situation could have been saved at any moment by the establishment in this country of a Government determined to achieve collective security. It is a great thing for members of the League of Nations Union to look back and reflect that at every stage from Manchuria onwards in the development of the present world situation the Union criticised the weakness and futility of the Government policy and pointed out the way which we now realise would have been correct.

It is difficult to see the sense, if any, in the talk about our weakness. It is a weakness that would have persisted had we retained the attitude condoned by Lord Maugham and other apologists. How was that weakness lessened by handing over Czechoslovakia, the Skoda Works and Baltic ports to Germany; and, during the so-called "valuable time given to us for preparation," was Germany sitting still and giving us a sporting chance to decrease her handicap?

The fundamental mistake of the Chamberlain Government was the desertion of the principle of collective security. Once that mistake had been made it was only a matter of time before Europe was overwhelmed by a catastrophe. That was so obvious that it is difficult to understand why the apologists pretend that Mr. Chamberlain and his supporters did not see it. Why do some of them not come forward with the more plausible—and perhaps more praiseworthy—suggestion

that they were hoping that the catastrophe need not involve this country?

Hoylelake.

W. RAMSAY SIBBALD.

Sir,—In his defence of "Munich" and Mr. Chamberlain's action or lack of it, Mr. W. A. Payne says, "A responsible Prime Minister could hardly make a definite threat of war unless there was a reasonable chance of that war being successfully waged. Judging by what happened in 1941, that reasonable chance did not then exist." Did it exist a little later when Mr. Chamberlain guaranteed Polish independence, or when he declared war in 1939?" By Mr. Payne's standard it did not (I think he means 1940) because after the Nazis had added Czech armaments and potential to their own, the comparison between Anglo-French strength and Germany's was worse than at the time of "Munich." Therefore according to his champion, Mr. Chamberlain was hardly a responsible P.M. Mr. Payne makes an even more questionable statement when he says that Russia showed no inclination to join us in opposing the Fascist threat, completely ignoring her help to Spanish democracy and Litvinov's work to make collective security real.

Russia was deliberately and pointedly excluded from "Munich," but when Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia and Litvinov presumed that even Mr. Chamberlain could see the suicidal folly of appeasement he made a last attempt to establish collective security by proposing a conference of the threatened nations at Bucharest.

To this Lord Halifax as Mr. C.'s mouth-piece replied that the time for such a conference was not opportune. Surely the sublimest piece of ostrichism in history. To guarantee Polish independence and to spurn Russian help in such an undertaking was further proof of that lack of responsibility which Mr. Payne indicates.

Brandon, Suffolk. BERNARD LINGWOOD.

The Draft Pact

Sir,—It seems a pity that the L.N.U. should spend time on a Draft Pact that differs so little from the ill-fated Covenant. The Union is still suffering from public condemnation of the Covenant; it will suffer further from sponsoring a pact that will certainly not be honoured. It may be that the world is not yet ready to give up national sovereignty; but surely it is the business of the Union to repeat that the maintenance of national sovereignty must lead to disaster. We should leave to the statesmen who defend national sovereignty the responsibility of trying to preserve peace under their system.

North Harrow.

HENRY MEULEN.

The Atlantic Charter

Sir,—Many people's objections to territorial readjustments at Germany's expense are equally objections to adjustments at anyone's expense, if regarded as questions of "compensation." It is not Germany's loss which concerns us so much as the apparent attempt to make a good and lasting European settlement on such a basis, regardless of the wishes of the populations concerned, and in deference to the land claims of national sovereignty. As your contributor to the June HEADWAY points out later in his article, "If it (the Atlantic Charter) need not be applied to a Polish 'island' surrounded by Russians, equally it need not be applied to a German 'island' surrounded by Poles." If Russian claims to Eastern Poland have been conceded, then indeed the way is wide open to others of similar character. But let us not pretend that this is the principle of the Atlantic Charter applied with "judgment." In a body like the Union there still remains a vision to be translated by persistence into reality of a settlement on international lines of a genuine transfer of power and allegiance to an international authority. It may be that considerations of European security will demand the territorial changes suggested as "compensation;" and one may certainly grant that the great Powers must form the nucleus of such an authority. Nevertheless, there will still be a difference between agreements conducted within an international framework and those arrived at between two or three sovereign nations at the height of power and temptation.

Bury, Lancs.

B. H. ROBERTS.

Sir,—I trust that you will be able to permit me a little space to reply to Mr. Czeslaw Poznanski's letter accusing me of political immorality and outrage.

It would be possible for me to write in similar terms, but indulgence in righteous indignation does not make for progress, and I suggest that your correspondent should reread my previous letter to see what I really did say.

I did not mention any Polish province or support, either directly or by implication, any claim of Hitler's.

I did make certain broad proposals, but these were put forward as suggestions for investigation; their condemnation out of hand on the basis of other pre-conceived ideas does not assist the promotion of permanent peace, but does a disservice by obscuring the real issues.

In brief, the position I maintain is that in order to remove a cause of friction the Polish corridor must be eliminated, and to affect this by transferring a large area populated by

Germans to Polish rule would merely substitute one problem for another. I suggest, therefore, that consideration be given to a solution by exchange of populations and territory. (I do not attempt to specify how this might be done because I do not possess the detailed information which is necessary for a full discussion of the problem.)

There is a tendency to decry the Peace Treaties of the last war, but surely the attempts to settle frontiers as far as possible on an ethnological basis in order to minimise minorities was justified. In one case at least (Greece and Turkey) a successful exchange of populations was made as part of the post-war settlements, and it seems to me that further application of these methods after the present war might usefully be considered, particularly in relation to the matter under discussion.

Penketh, Warrington.

W. L. KENT.

Sir,—The article in your June number, "The German Frontier and the Atlantic Charter," gives very convincing reasons for Germany compensating Poland by territorial concessions. But is there any justification at all, in the face of the Atlantic Charter, for Russia annexing Polish territory?

Oxford.

HERBERT KEALY.

"Frank Avowal"

Sir,—I have just read June "Post-Bag" letter headed "A Frank Avowal," by the Rev. Edward Charles.

I worked for the L.N.U. from its inception till the outbreak of war, and the end of our hopes against hope. Then, convinced that we moved into a new era, I was so sure that the title "League of Nations" was a real disadvantage, looking back on a failure, and not forward to a new growth, that I dropped all connection; and yet I have found no new organisation to take its place, and help with real weight in the development of the international ideas on which we must build. The Union will often be rejected without a hearing because of its name.

Leeds, 6.

HELEN G. THOMPSON.

Essentials for Aggression

Sir,—I have read Viscount Cecil's article in the June "Headway" with much interest and admiration. It is, as one would expect, a careful and statesmanlike pronouncement. He mentions two causes for the non-success of the League. May I, greatly daring mention *the* one principally responsible and which will, if persisted in, cause any new International Organisation, no matter how cunningly devised and how much force it has behind it,

to be equally unsuccessful. It is fundamental to our present system and ideas during peacetime—uneasy as it usually is and not much wonder—for one country to be permitted to purchase from all or any of the others, all the essential for aggression—even while announcing from the house-tops that this is its purpose. That is the cause, in one sentence, of our present frightful tribulations. All the world works with tooth and nail to enable a potential aggressor country to become an actual one, and then all the world condemns the aggression which it has by its own insanity made possible. I see no evidence that this madness is not to be perpetuated. Surely there are some who are desirous of its discontinuance.

Dundee,

A. G. BLACKWOOD.

Lord Davies

Sir,—There must be many readers, like myself, grateful for those tributes to the late Lord Davies by Viscount Cecil and Gwilym Davies in the July HEADWAY.

In the swift development of the war crisis and day-to-day excitements, his immense work and sacrifice for the cause of international peace did not receive adequate attention in the national Press.

It is the more gratifying to see HEADWAY fill the gap.

Ditchling, Sussex.

DAVID PEAT.

[We regret that other letters received from readers have had to be held over until the next issue.—ED.]

FRESHWATER MEMORIAL FUND

We publish below a *Sixth List* of donations to the Freshwater Memorial Fund, received at Head Office up to July 20, 1944. As in previous lists, they are arranged according to Branches—the names of individuals will not be printed.

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