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IN WAR-TIME

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AN ENDURING PEACE

By VISCOUNT CECIL

(In his Welcome to the General Council of the League of Nations Union.)

During the last months we have seen tremendous events. The Germans, profiting by their immense preparations for war, swept away Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, and, with the help of French traitors, reduced France to impotence. To meet these disasters our pre-war preparations were quite inadequate. Much is said of the respite secured by the Munich policy. But it must be remembered that, during the year which intervened between Munich and September, 1939, the Germans were building aircraft faster than we could, so that it is doubtful if the respite did us any good, especially as we lost the help of the Czech armies and air-force and witnessed the transfer of the great Skoda works to Germany. *Nothing could have saved us but the superb skill and courage of our airmen and the devotion of all our fellow-citizens on land and sea to the great cause for which we are fighting. It is a splendid example of how a free people will unite in defence of Liberty and Justice.*

And now what is our duty? Clearly, to strain every nerve in support of those who are leading us in the fight, and

especially of our Honorary President, Mr. Winston Churchill, till victory is attained. But victory is not enough. We must see to it that victory shall be properly used.

The Government have declared that they have no statement to make about peace aims beyond the necessity for defeating our enemies. That may be right for them, in view of the tremendous tasks in which they are engaged. *But it makes it all the more necessary that we who are not so overwhelmed should concentrate our thoughts on the future.* For our enemies are not idle. They are busy drawing up a New Order, which is to consist of a Europe beaten into submission under the domination of Germany. True, there is a perfunctory mention of the servile Italy and the far-distant Japan, with a few insincere compliments to Russia. But the essence of Hitler's proposal is German tyranny, and we know by experience what cruelty and injustice that tyranny involves. What is to be our proposal? Hitler offers as the great attraction of his scheme that it will produce European Peace, enforced by German armed power. *We, too, like*

all mankind, desire peace. But we will not buy even peace by the destruction of Freedom and the prostitution of Justice. Our peace must be based on full recognition of the liberty and independence of all nations alike, subject only to this, that they must be ready to combine together in defence of that liberty.

Your Executive Committee have drawn up a statement of their proposals. We have not gone into any detail as to territorial arrangements, which must depend on the state of Europe at the end of the war. Nor have we discussed the measures of social and economic reform which will no doubt be necessary. Our Scheme is a proposal for the preservation of peace, for without that no reform can endure, no territorial arrangements can be maintained. And we believe that no peace is possible without justice, and that, in its turn, must be precarious without the reduction and limitation of armaments. Above all, there must be the abolition of air warfare. The present system is absolutely intolerable. As long as air attack is indulged in by one belligerent, all must follow suit. Nor is there any possibility of limiting it by rules of war. If it is permitted at all, it will

inevitably become more and more a system of ruthless destruction only controlled by the belligerent value of any given operation. Personally, I believe there is no possible way of getting rid of national air warfare except by the creation of an international air force as the only arm of that description.

All I want to do now is to insist that *we of the League of Nations Union are bound to think out the broad outlines of world settlement after the war, and promote its discussion and adoption all over the country.* No-one can tell when Peace will come. It may not be for years, and it may arrive much sooner. In any case, we—and our fellow-citizens—must be ready. *We must avoid, if we possibly can, that hysterical frame of mind—of which I see some signs already—which raged in 1919. That way madness lies.* We must remember our tremendous responsibilities, not only to our own people and the people of our Dominions and our Empire, but to the whole of mankind. Do not let us forget that Peace, to be lasting, must be based upon justice, upon that paramount morality which Grotius called the Law of Nature, and which we Christians may more simply and more truly call the Law of God.

THE COUNCIL AND "WORLD SETTLEMENT"

The General Council of the League of Nations Union met at the Conway Hall, in London, on December 6. That simple statement of fact covers a heartening story of exceptional difficulties boldly faced and successfully overcome. While the arrangements were being made, London was still bearing the brunt of Germany's aerial offensive. From other

parts of the country doubts and misgivings were freely communicated to Headquarters. Nobody, it was argued, would want to come to London. The meeting would be a "flop," a fiasco. And indeed, up to a week or so before the event, it did seem as though the Council might turn out to be mainly a London and Home Counties affair. But all the while our Districts and

Branches, as well as co-opted members of the Council, were studying the Executive's new Statement of Policy. A spurt of applications for tickets gave sudden promise, after all, of a lively and representative gathering.

A Good Attendance

All told, the attendance numbered close upon 150—a remarkably good muster under the difficult conditions of the present time. Scotland and the Midlands, Tyneside and Wales, Lancashire and Yorkshire, London and the South all had representatives. A special greeting was extended at the Roll Call to representatives of the League of Nations Societies of France, Czechoslovakia, and Poland now in this country—welcomed, as Dr. Murray said, "both as friends and fellow counselors."

After Lord Cecil's opening address, printed on Pages 1-2, the Council settled down right away to its main task—discussion of the Statement of Policy.

Dr. Murray on the Statement

DR. GILBERT MURRAY, moving the Executive's resolution, explained the Statement's relation to the previous documents drafted in consultation with our French friends. "We have got to continue those consultations," he declared, "not only with the French but with other Allies." For the time being the solid Anglo-French basis for a collective system in Europe had gone. There were symptoms pointing in the direction of Anglo-American co-operation as a nucleus. But, though we could not yet make many concrete proposals on that basis, "*our principles remain,*" said Dr. Murray in a stirring passage. "They are those principles of the Covenant which the British and

French Governments in December last at Geneva declared to be the only basis upon which civilisation was possible. It is worth while citing them again."

"We are waging war," Dr. Murray continued, "in order to set free the countries subjugated by Germany and Italy, and to prevent the subjugation of other countries. If we attain that end, we have won the war. But, beyond that, we want to make that freedom secure for the future. If we can do that, we shall also have won the peace."

"The Greeks have a Word for It"

The Greeks, who were fighting such a heroic struggle at the present day had a war-cry which we might adopt as our war-cry. They were fighting *for the victory of all men.* "It is the cause of all mankind for which we are striving."

The section on Reconstruction was "brief and tentative," because it would be out of place in such a document to go into elaborate schemes or elaborate analysis of post-war problems. Quoting M. Rene Cassin, one of the French authorities who had been collaborating with the Union, he said that the purpose of economic re-organisation should be "to render available to each man the whole productive capacity of the globe." There must also be formulated as a basis "some ethical principle, a spiritual driving force, an ideology capable of inspiring all men"—perhaps a re-affirmation of the absolute value of the individual human person whose rights are only limited by the equal rights of his fellow men.

On Machinery, Dr. Murray said that the essence of the Executive's proposal was that there should be an outer circle and an inner circle (or perhaps many

inner circles) in the League: the outer circle with the absolute duty of observing the law and not helping the aggressor; the inner circle definitely bound and willing and ready to use all means (diplomatic, economic, and military) to prevent aggression.

"Whether or not this is essentially a war for righteousness," Dr. Murray concluded, "no one can deny that it is a war against the domination of unrighteousness. Amid all the bitterness of our suffering, amid the noise of bombs and the sound of sinking ships, it is essential that still the eternal voice of righteousness shall not be forgotten."

Raw Material for Our Weapons

MR. L. F. BEHRENS (Manchester), who seconded the motion in a brief but admirably pointed speech, asked the Council to accept the Statement as "the raw material for the weapons with which we will fight a victorious fight."

The floodgates were now opened for a spirited debate, which had to be compressed into all too short a space. The discussion bore witness to the immense interest which the Statement had aroused throughout the country. Lieut. - Colonel Keen (Eastbourne) voiced the feelings of many when he said that the Union owed a great debt of gratitude to the Executive for its labours, which had given the Branches and members "something to chew on."

Every Editor knows that the critics are always more in evidence than the masses of readers who silently agree with a paper's policy. Something of the same sort happened at the Council. That the critics should have taken so much trouble to think out the problems which they raised was a healthy sign of the Union's vitality.

Some Criticisms

MR. F. N. KEEN, looking at the matter through a lawyer's eyes, thought that, failing a universal body with unchallengeable authority and genuine legislative power, we must go back to a body like the old Hague Conference, relying upon enquiry, persuasion, conciliation, and agreement. The Statement described a body that was neither one thing nor the other. MR. BRIAN GODDARD (New Commonwealth), because the Statement did not lay more stress on "centralised force," considered it not only tentative but also apologetic. An amendment in a similar sense was moved by MRS. E. M. WHITE. MR. LEONARD STEIN, though he did not wish the Statement to be rejected, thought it a little like the work of an architect without regard to the material which would be available to the builder.

MR. H. H. ELVIN (former President of the T.U.C.) asserted the need to-day for a moral offensive. To proclaim it, he added, must not be taken as an indication that those who proclaimed it desired capitulation to evil forces.

When the general discussion gave place to an examination of the document section by section, it was clear that a good many of the criticisms (e.g., some of those submitted by the Bury and Leamington Branches) were merely questions of drafting. Other speakers wished the Executive to devote further study to certain sections of the Statement, e.g., those on Reconstruction and Machinery, with a view to clarification. Opposing regional or partial economic sanctions, MR. NOEL BAKER, M.P., asked for a re-drafting so that economic action would be general.

DR. MAXWELL GARNETT, supported by MR. NOWELL SMITH, moved an amend-

ment directing the Executive to add a section on Education for World Citizenship. The Statement, in Dr. Garnett's opinion, admitted of improvement because it left out of account the psychological and spiritual aspect of world planning. Nothing was done in 1919 to create a true international community *from inside*, in the thoughts of men that precede their actions. It was a reflection on our Statement that it would do nothing to prevent that mistake from happening again. The President, expressing sympathy with the object which Dr. Garnett had in mind, undertook that the Executive would take account of his views and consider issuing a separate report.

The Council provisionally approved the Statement in the terms of the resolution printed on Page 10, and asked the Executive to reconsider the drafting of certain clauses in the light of the amendments submitted to the Council.

Lord Lytton on Internees

Recent speeches of the Home Secretary (Mr. Morrison) "have made it quite clear that he recognises the desirability of releasing friendly aliens," said LORD LYTTON, moving the Executive's motion on Internees and Refugees. "But I am bound to say that the machinery by which he proposes to do it seems to be extremely cumbersome. I think it will be a long time before those friendly aliens who are now interned actually obtain their release. I cannot say that a door has been opened to them, but I do admit that a long passage has been set before them with an opening at the end. What we want is that that machinery should be speeded up."

The test, Lord Lytton submitted, should not be on selfish or snobbish grounds, that is whether the alien was

useful to us or distinguished. "If he desires our victory, he ought to be released, however humble he may be; but if he desires Germany's victory, he ought to remain interned, however distinguished and however useful."

"All that we have ever asked the Government is to find out who are their friends and who are not, and to release the former and keep the latter in internment," continued Lord Lytton. "We ask that, not on grounds of humanity, not on grounds of compassion, but only on grounds of sanity, because that is the only ground which is consistent with the true interests of security."

Standing the Test

Resolutions on the Far East and the Joint Allied Council having been adopted, MR. H. S. SYRETT, in view of the late hour, cut short his presentation of the Budget for 1941, and made a special appeal to members to keep up their subscriptions and to the Branches to collect them. "It is they," he said, "who really keep an organisation like this going. . . . There are lots of things about which we can be optimistic. Generally speaking, the finance is standing up very well to the test. If members of the Union only stand up to their principles as our finance is standing up, I have every belief in the future of our organisation."

"It was wonderful stepping out of this unpleasant world into a hall where our leaders sat as before, pouring out words of help," wrote one Branch Secretary after the meeting. "It was almost unbelievable and so refreshing. I felt like living again."

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR

(The present statement contains certain alterations, chiefly of a drafting character, and never contrary to the sense of the original Statement. The revision has been made by the Executive in order to meet wishes expressed by the General Council on December 6th, 1940, when it gave provisional approval to the Statement.)

INTRODUCTORY

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has already issued two statements of policy on the subject of an international settlement after the war and the policy outlined in them has been endorsed by the General Council. Recent events, however, especially the collapse of France, have rendered necessary a review of the situation and a restatement of the policy of the L.N.U., though the main principles on which previous statements were based are still applicable.

Britain entered the war not to obtain any territorial or other national gains, but to check the attempt of Nazi Germany to dominate Europe, and impose on other countries the tyranny by which her own people have been enslaved. As the Prime Minister said: "We do not covet anything from any nation except their respect." The British people desire that international relations should be governed not by Force but by Freedom, Truth and Justice, in the benefits of which all nations should equally share. To attain these objects, the League of Nations Union believes that the settlement after the war should be on the following lines:

PRINCIPLES OF WAR SETTLEMENT

Preliminary

1. Hostilities will actually be brought to an end by an Armistice, the terms of which will necessarily be decided between the Military authorities of the belligerent Powers.

2. As soon as possible after the Armistice, a Treaty of Peace should be negotiated by the belligerents, dealing with the

special issues raised by the war, such as financial measures concerned with war damage and provisional measures to prevent the renewal of hostilities by Germany, Italy, and their Allies. This Treaty should provide for the restoration of the territories over-run by the enemy, but the final boundaries of these States should, wherever controversial issues are involved, be reserved for the larger international Congress to follow.

3. After sufficient time has been given for the provisions of the Peace Treaty to be carried out, invitations should be issued to an International Congress, consisting not only of the late belligerents, but also of neutral States. This International Congress will determine the boundaries of the States that have been affected by the late war, and decide on the terms of a world settlement, including such financial and territorial arrangements—as may be desirable for the establishment of good relations between nations.

4. Whatever territorial or financial arrangements are made, the two vital problems to be solved will be the Maintenance of Future Peace, and Economic and Social Reconstruction to secure freedom and social security for every citizen. These problems are closely related. Peace is essential to Reconstruction; Reconstruction is vital to Peace. Both depend on the Supremacy of Law.

5. In insisting that nations should respect the Supremacy of Law, we mean not only that they must obey certain rules, but that they will recognise certain underlying moral obligations towards each other. Their right of action must be limited by certain fundamental principles, such as good faith and justice, and the

rejection of force as the arbiter of international rights.

Peace-Keeping

6. If international good faith and justice are to be observed, some authority must be brought into existence which can declare in any particular case what good faith and justice require. Similarly, if mere force is not to be allowed to determine international controversy, in other words, if aggression is to be prevented, some international authority must be entrusted with the duty and given the power to prevent it.

7. It is on the question of what is to be that authority that the fundamental international controversy arises. The German thesis is that there can be no limit to the sovereignty of a State except its power to enforce its will. The Nazis, therefore, claim that, as they have the supreme military power in Europe, they have the right to do whatever the interests of Germany require on that Continent.

8. The contrary thesis for which Britain now stands is that no nation can be trusted to be judge in its own cause. Recent events in the Far East, in Abyssinia, in Austria, in Albania, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland before the war, and in other cases since the war began, show what injustice and cruelty are produced by the German theory.

9. It seems clear that if no country is to be trusted to be the sole judge of its own actions, or the sole arbiter of the actions of others, we must look to a combination of Powers for the moral authority to declare what justice and good faith require, and for the strength to enforce that authority.

10. That was the main idea underlying the League of Nations. It failed because its members were not prepared to run the risks inevitable if powerful aggressors were to be coerced into abandoning aggression.

In other words, the League Powers did not take their Covenant obligations

seriously. A change of attitude on this point is essential if peace is to be preserved by international co-operation.

(a) If, for instance, the British and French Governments with the other Members of the League had been prepared forcibly to prevent the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935 we should probably not have witnessed the renewed attack on China and the attacks on Austria, Czechoslovakia and Albania, nor would Britain have been driven in circumstances of much greater difficulty to take up arms on behalf of Poland in 1939.

(b) That seems obvious now, and, indeed, the danger was clear enough to many people at the time. Why, then, did Britain and others act as they did five years ago?

(c) The answer is, in the first place, because we were still thinking in terms of "British interests"—that is, the British Government believed that the chief, if not the only, object of British Foreign Policy should be the protection of British commercial and territorial rights and the personal safety of British subjects from direct attack. It was said, for instance, that we were not interested in Abyssinia, forgetting that we were deeply interested in the maintenance of peace and in the support of the machinery which had been constructed to maintain it.

(d) Secondly, it was said that other members of the League would not back us up. The allegation was in the main unfounded; but whether true or false, it created an atmosphere of hesitation.

(e) Thirdly, there was the view that if, in defiance of our obligations under the Covenant, we allowed Italy to conquer Abyssinia, she would be more likely to help us against Germany. The folly of this condonation of evil is now evident enough.

(f) Further, difficulties were caused by the wide extent and consequent vagueness of the League obligations. Each of the fifty-odd members of the League was in form bound to carry out against an aggressor in any part of the globe the onerous duties imposed by Article 16. And it was not quite certain what those duties were.

(g) It was partly due to this vagueness of League obligations that the members of the League were lacking in esprit de corps and were inclined more and more to look at aggression from a rigidly national stand-

point—an inclination very much increased by the world-wide nationalist movement exemplified by Fascism and Nazi-ism.

(h) There was in consequence a tendency to minimise by explanation the meaning of Article 16, and to fall back on condemnation of the aggressor and appeals against him to the public opinion of the world. Many people, indeed, contended that this was a better way to keep peace than by imposing sanctions. The experience of the Manchurian and Abyssinian cases ought to have convinced all impartial people that this was a mistaken view.

11. It is impossible to say what will be the economic condition of the world at the end of the war. But all are agreed that it is likely to be extremely serious, and may be catastrophic. To meet these conditions there will have to be emergency provisions designed to mitigate starvation, to check the spread of disease, to arrange for the repatriation of prisoners of war and refugees, and to set going again the machinery of credit and exchange.

12. But temporary measures will not be enough. The economic needs and interests of human communities do not coincide with the artificial political frontiers in which they happen to be confined. A determined effort must be made to break down economic nationalism, and establish in its place a system of World Planning in the spirit already indicated by certain activities of the League, such as the Health Section, the Committee on Nutrition, and the Economic Section itself, so as to render available to human needs the whole productive capacity of the globe.

13. The work done in the last twenty years by the I.L.O. and the non-political sections of the League must be speeded up and expanded with a much-increased budget. This is true of the economic and industrial, and also of the social, humanitarian and intellectual work. It may well be that far-reaching changes will have to be made in the conception of State co-operation in, control of, and assistance to finance, trade and industry. If so, such changes may be

international in character, and will have to be dealt with by the international authority.*

14. Two other subjects will require courageous action: the racial, religious and linguistic minorities, and the administration of colonial territories. A great deal of experience has been gained in both subjects by the work of the League. It is not possible to go into details at present, but we would say that the following principles should be kept in view:—

- (1) No legal discrimination against any person on the ground that he is a member of a racial, religious or linguistic minority; and
- (2) Colonial Administration as a trust in the interests of all the inhabitants, and affording to all nations equal opportunity for their trade and commerce.

Machinery

15. To carry out the policy advocated in this Memorandum, the existence of an International Authority as nearly representative of the civilised world as possible is essential.

16. In the opinion of the L.N.U. the most appropriate International Authority would be the League of Nations, though some modification of the Covenant will have to be made to make it conform with the experience gained in the last 20 years.

17. Whether, therefore, the International Authority, the first bulwark for the prevention of war, be the League of Nations reconstituted and modified, or some new organisation with a different name, its two main functions of maintaining peace and improving the economic and social life of the world should be kept distinct with separate procedures.

All its humanitarian activities and its arbitral or judicial functions, should be performed by the whole League, but responsibility for the exercise of force in preventing aggression or suppressing war should be entrusted by the whole League

* A more detailed report on Social Reconstruction is under consideration.

to a selected group of Powers willing and able to discharge it.

18. Let us consider first the operation of the League as a whole. The relevant sections of the Covenant should be retained, and the administrative machinery of the League, the International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice, continued. But the procedure for securing peaceful change must be improved.

19. If any member submits to the International Authority that the provisions of any treaty or other international conditions have become dangerous or inapplicable, the Authority should examine the matter and recommend such steps as may be desirable. The crucial problem of securing that such changes as are found desirable in the general interest shall be carried into effect in due time and without violence, is still under consideration by the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. A further statement will be issued on this subject.

20. As part of the whole International Authority, one or more groups should be formed consisting of States accepting special obligations in particular regions, whether situated in such regions or not. Europe should constitute one such region. Machinery in the nature of a Confederation of the States belonging to each Group should be formed and should include at least a Regional General Staff. There would thus be an Outer, and one or more Inner, Rings of the International Authority.

21. All the members of the International Authority belonging both to the Outer and Inner Rings should agree that aggression is an international crime, and that they ought to take all reasonable steps to prevent or stop it, and in no case to do anything to assist the aggressor, or to assert neutrality. But a State forming part of the Outer Ring should only be bound to take such coercive action, political, economic or military, as in all the circumstances of the case, and after consultation with the other members of the International Authority, it should think desirable.

22. The States forming a Regional Confederation, in addition to the obligations assumed under the previous article, should be bound to use their whole strength, political, economic and military, to suppress any aggression taking place in the Region covered by the Confederation. Subject to the provisions of this and the preceding article, Articles 10 to 17 of the Covenant should apply to all the States Members of the International Authority.

23. Apart from special measures to prevent Germany and Italy from renewing the war, there should be, as part of the permanent organisation of peace, a general reduction and limitation of armaments carried out by international agreement, and providing for the strictest supervision by the International Authority. In view of the urgent importance of putting a stop to air warfare, and in order to give to the Regional Confederations adequate power to prevent aggression, all national armaments specially suitable for aggression, including particularly national air forces, should be abolished. There should also be created, as part of the permanent world settlement, an International Air Force under the control of the International Authority and available for the defence of any State which the International Authority may recognise as the victim of aggression. Civil aviation should be put under international control.

24. Where possible, any economic and social questions specially affecting particular regions might be transferred to the Regional Confederations, as also similar questions dealing with Minorities or Refugees.

25. In conclusion, we desire to insist that neither the system for keeping the peace which we have suggested here, nor any other, can succeed unless the nations genuinely accept the view that Peace is the greatest of national interests, and are consequently ready to co-operate with all their strength in the maintenance of a Peace founded on Freedom, Truth and Justice.

(See Note by Lord Lytton on p. 16.)

THE COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

1. POST-WAR SETTLEMENT.

The General Council provisionally approves the Statement entitled **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR** submitted by the Executive Committee, and calls upon all Councils, Branches, Youth Groups and other local organisations of the Union to give the Statement their careful consideration and, as far as possible, support its proposals.

It further resolves that the Statement be sent for study to the League of Nations Societies in the U.S.A. and the Dominions, and to other organisations likely to be interested.

The General Council welcomes the fact that the Cabinet is making a study of the subject of Peace Aims, and hopes that the Government will, as soon as possible, make a public declaration of the Peace Aims which it is prepared to advocate as the foundation of a new World Order.

2. REFUGEES AND INTERNEES.

The General Council gratefully acknowledges the sympathetic spirit of Mr. Morrison's recent speeches in the House of Commons on the subject of interned aliens, and urges H.M. Government to give effect to that spirit by speeding up the procedure for the release of interned aliens who can satisfy a Tribunal that "they are so friendly towards this country and so sympathetic towards the Allied cause that they can safely be released without prejudice to the national interest."

3. THE FAR EAST.

The General Council welcomes the decision of H.M. Government to re-open the Burma Road. It urges that all practicable assistance should be given to China in her heroic struggle against Japanese aggression and that, in doing this, H.M. Government should maintain the closest co-operation with the U.S.A.

4. JOINT ALLIED COUNCIL.

The General Council invites H.M. Government to consider whether the time has not come for the formation of a Joint Allied Council, consisting of representatives of the British Empire and the countries actively associated with it in the conduct of the war, as a symbol of the international character of this struggle for the preservation of civilisation.

5. BUDGET FOR 1941.

The General Council authorises the Executive Committee to continue expenditure at the present rate of some £11,500 a year for so long as it finds it desirable and possible, and to make such alterations in the rate of expenditure as it may deem necessary.

THE WAR ON THE LEAGUE

By Dr. B. G. M. BASKETT

What ails the world that the League is not once more being thrust into the foreground? No candid man can deny that war is being made on it. That of itself is testimony to its having proved a barrier against international wrong. The three renegade States have formed a League of their own, and are trying to intimidate others into joining it. They had repudiated the moral law and a comity founded on it. This is no war of nationalities; Germans, Austrians, Italians are fighting on our side, together with volunteers from almost every other country, to free humanity, Germany and Italy included. The Axis League confesses by its actions that the principle of collective security is sound; it goes further, and with incredible effrontery adopts League watchwords; and men who had been nearly, and are soon to be wholly, drowned in the blood of their own nationals, as well as of foreigners, prate of "peace, prosperity and order in a new world."

The League's prestige began to decay on the day when the crime of Japan was extenuated, giving Mussolini the power to quote that as a reason why his even worse crime should be condoned. Now at last politicians have seen that acquiescence in wrong is not merely bad morality, but bad policy; they have been driven to do what, if pledges had been kept, would have averted this catastrophe, and put the League on permanent basis; the shrinking from a smaller risk has landed us in the most appalling risk in history.

We have lately had to stand, sit, or lie in helpless rage, while barbarians, tutored only in savagery, have rained death and destruction on us from the skies. Even those who have forgotten the lesson of 1914-18 should learn from this indignity that it is time to prevent a few moral degenerates from inflicting such misery on mankind. While it was supported, the League succeeded; by 1930 every considerable State was a member except the U.S.A., which yet worked in cordial collaboration; which, moreover, has recently extended her successful Monroe Doctrine into the Eastern Hemisphere, and removed the logical objection to the wide demand of its peace movement that she should join the League. Nor is there any other resource than the League. As Mr. Roosevelt has said, pacifism is but giving another weapon to the aggressor. Federation can only come about after long (and instinctive) preparation, as the example of France has lately shown. It may well come through the League; it cannot come if the loose confederation of the League is allowed to fail. Personally, I would almost go so far as to claim that we need no other statement of war aims than this—to restore the League to its prestige of 1930.

The L.N.U. is more than ever needed to preach this ideal, and so to strengthen itself that never again shall a British Government condone a crime simply because it is committed by a government and not by an individual.

The great and greatly merited distinction which the King has conferred upon Dr. GILBERT MURRAY in the New Year Honours List will delight all members of the Union. Few men can have coveted honours less than Dr. Murray; but we know that the place in the ORDER OF MERIT which he now so worthily fills brings our Joint President special pleasure and satisfaction.

THE BRANCH FRONT

Every week fresh evidence reaches Headquarters of the fine spirit of Union workers in areas which have suffered from enemy action. "Bombed, but still busy" is the slogan coined in Birmingham. Southampton and Bristol, victims of some of the most vindictive raids, are carrying on with equal courage, as is shown by their sending in membership counterfoils immediately after recent heavy bombing.

To be bombed out of one's house while still recovering from a serious illness would be enough to damp anybody's enthusiasm; but not that of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Christ Church (Cockfosters) Branch. His first thought in convalescence has been to tackle the collection of subscriptions, and with each reminder he sends out he is enclosing a copy of the new leaflet, "The League Carries On."

The Edinburgh Branch is keeping the Union's flag flying in Scotland, and has just completed an impressive series of Luncheon and Tea Meetings, with a long list of speakers whose names "draw." When Dr. V. Benes went to speak on "Czechoslovakia and its Future" many had to be refused admittance! Dr. Benes generously undertook a tour of the East of Scotland District, where large audiences welcomed him at Comrie, Perth, Dundee, and Falkirk. Four meetings in Glasgow and two more in Edinburgh were also arranged for him. At the most recent luncheons talks by eminent authorities have been given on "Italy To-day," "Victory by a Lead to Europe," "Greece To-day," and "Poland." Plans for the near future include Egyptian, Bulgarian, and Turkish speakers, an authority on Spain, and a speaker who returned from Prague in 1939.

Whist parties, hospitality to men of the Forces, and canteen work are other activities of the Edinburgh Branch. "We are definitely more than holding our

own," writes the Office Secretary. "We have had comparatively few resignations since the outbreak of war. People are realising that, if the League had been more strongly supported, we shouldn't be in the mess we are in to-day."

The Dundee Branch is running a series of Discussion Group Meetings on the general subject of "War Aims and Peace Aims," under the leadership of Professor Wynne-Jones. Despite the black-out and air raids more than fifty people are attending. The syllabus may be of interest to other Branches, and Head Office will gladly send a copy on application.

Miss K. D. Courtney travelled to Yorkshire to address a meeting of the Tees and Cleveland District Council, at which representatives from Saltburn, Middlesbrough, West Hartlepool, Darlington, Stockton, and Thornaby were present. A useful discussion took place on Union organisation, including the collection of subscriptions, and the future policy of the League.

Eleven Branches took part in the Winter Meeting of the Tyne District Council, at which difficulties with regard to arranging meetings and other activities were frankly discussed. A deep impression was made by the Jesmond Branch's scheme for a series of Drawing Room Meetings, to be held on Sunday afternoons in the winter and early evenings during the spring.

Three Youth Group members addressed the Church Stretton Branch on "The Britain of My Hopes." Such keen interest was aroused among the audience of seventy that the subject is to be further pursued at another meeting this month. Four groups are being set up to consider respectively Religious, International, Social and Economic, and Educational Hopes.

"Here interest in the L.N.U. is being stimulated rather than otherwise by the war," the Secretary of the Cromer Branch reports. Two new collectors were re-

cently invited to tell the committee about their visits. Their experience was that the members, when approached, were willing almost without exception to subscribe again.

"A strong revival of interest locally, both in the League and the Union" is the Plymouth Branch's cheering discovery. With the aid of a keen band of helpers, the work of collecting subscriptions has been reorganised, and very few members have resigned.

"I will tell you what I am doing," writes the Secretary of one of our smaller London Branches. "I am going to see that every member gets the NEWS SHEET monthly, and I have started a Study Circle on War Aims and Peace Aims. Also I am trying to visit every member, taking a road at a time. *My Branch is not a dead Branch any more.*"

War casualties continue to remove stalwarts from the Union's ranks. In Essex, not long ago, we had to record the death of the Mayor and Mayoress of Chelmsford. Now Mr. H. D. Sharpe, for so many years Registrar of the Ilford Branch, has lost his life by enemy action. He, his wife and their two children were killed by a direct hit. Mr. Sharpe was responsible more than anybody else for the high percentage of "paid-up" membership which Ilford has always enjoyed. Our deepest sympathy goes out to the brother, Mr. C. P. Sharpe, who is Chairman of the Branch.

Miss Jane Dodgeon, who, at the age of 75, has passed on to higher service, was well known throughout the Burnley and East Lancs. district as a devoted worker for the Union. Her influence led to many of her former pupils at the Burnley Grammar School becoming Branch Secretaries and helpers in our cause.

A NEW YEAR MESSAGE

The Hon. HAROLD NICOLSON, M.P., President of our London Regional Federation, has sent the following message of good wishes and encouragement for the year 1941:—

"This year may well prove the most vital year in the history of the British peoples, and we well know that we shall have to face great privations and fierce ordeals. The heroism of our men and women has already astonished the world, and killed for ever that legend spread silently by the propaganda agencies of Germany, that something had gone wrong in the heart of the British people, and that we were no longer worthy to inherit the magnitude and renown which our ancestors have bequeathed to us.

"However justified we may be in feeling proud of this moment, pride is not enough; we must also have faith and hope. There is no one in Great Britain who is not at this moment fired by faith in the justice of our cause or fortified by hope in our eventual victory. Yet hope, if it is to be a constant inspiration, must cast its eyes beyond victory, and into the happier and safer world which that victory will bring.

"We of the League of Nations Union must feel that, however great have been the disappointments of the past, the spirit and principles of the League Covenant are eternal. It is not *they* that failed, but the will of man to enforce them.

"Let us retain our pride and confidence in those great principles, and work together to ensure that, when Peace comes, we shall have a greater Covenant, and a more united will, resolute in enforcing those great precepts of conciliation and peace."

WHY NOT ORGANISE A MEETING OR DISCUSSION GROUP on the Union's policy, "*World Settlement after the War*"?

If you can't manage evening meetings, try Saturday or Sunday afternoons.

Headquarters will gladly help in securing a competent speaker or in providing suggestions.

WHERE STANDS THE LEAGUE?

(From Our League Correspondent)

At the outset of a New Year, the appropriate occasion for stocktaking, where stands the League of Nations? The Palace of Nations at Geneva is not derelict, neither is it occupied merely by a caretaking staff. Mr. Sean Lester, formerly Deputy Secretary-General, is now directing the activities of the Secretariat. Although the staff has been drastically reduced from about 700 to just over a hundred persons, all the departments and services are still functioning. In addition, of course, the Economic and Financial Department has its new centre in Princeton, New Jersey.

The League

In the budget for 1941, which amounts to about ten and a half million Swiss francs, appropriations (though much reduced) are made for all branches of League work. Few meetings of the larger League bodies are expected to take place; and those that are held will not be in Geneva. Research and the collection and distribution of information are continuing. All the various problems of economics and finance, health, nutrition, child welfare, drug traffic, and refugees are rendered even more important by war-time conditions. In addition, the functions of the League respecting the registration of treaties, mandates, minorities, and armaments have by no means completely terminated, particularly as regards the collection and distribution of information.

League publications, in the interests of economy, are fewer. But those which are still appearing (e.g., *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, *Weekly Epidemiological Record*, the *Treaty Series*, *Annual Review of Money and Bank-*

ing, *Armaments Year Book*, and *Statistical Year Book*) fully maintain their previous standards. Other annual reports are being got ready for publication.

The League Library, with M. Vallery-Radot in charge, is still open, though the smaller staff has made it necessary to impose stricter conditions upon its use. Its collections of books and documents are intact, and are constantly being expanded by gift, exchange, and purchase. The League Library, in fact, is better situated, even under present handicaps, than the other great international libraries located in countries more seriously affected by the war.

The I.L.O.

The International Labour Office, like the Secretariat, has had to cut down the scale of its activities, for its share of the League budget will be only three and a quarter million Swiss francs this year. No meetings of the International Labour Conference or of the Governing Body are at present contemplated, but efforts will be made to get together some of the technical committees. The group of some thirty officials, who have been temporarily transferred to the branch at Montreal, Canada, will play an increasingly important part in serving the needs of the nations of the Western hemisphere, now that difficulties of trans-Atlantic communications are so great. A similar number of their colleagues are left in Geneva, which remains the centre for archives, documentation, and much of the correspondence.

Recent publications of the International Labour Office include the *I.L.O.*

(Continued on Page 15, Col. 1.)

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

READERS ON "WORLD SETTLEMENT"

SIR,—I was most interested to read the revised peace aims in HEADWAY. This was very necessary in the light of recent events. Many of us, since the beginning of the war, have regarded this subject as of paramount importance, and have felt that the function of educating the public in these matters is one which the Union is specially competent to perform. Let us not forget the lessons of the last war, when very few had any clear ideas of our aims, and even those who made the settlement were hopelessly divided, in spite of the lead given by President Wilson.

We must make it clear that we do not

wish for a peace of revenge, even if that became possible. We need a settlement that really settles things, and one which will spare future generations a repetition of these horrors. Apart from the essential preliminaries that must precede a cessation of hostilities, it seems obvious that many questions can be satisfactorily settled only by world arbitration. Boundaries, minorities, key positions on trade routes, the whole colonial problem—these cannot be determined by any belligerent, if we are to expect their ultimate (not immediate) acceptance. The Union seems to have accepted this idea.

It therefore behoves us to decide what contributions we are prepared to make towards the social and international reconstruction of Europe and of the world. This may mean sacrifices; the new conception of the British Commonwealth must be amplified, and there must be no return to the old Imperialism.

In this matter the claims of humanity are transcendent. Are we to see Wells's prophecies about civilisation destroying itself come true? Or have we the vision to prepare for a peace of justice, soon or hereafter? Justice to every man and every country! It matters not whether the dictators would now reject it; we have to proclaim it to the world, including the German people.

Harrow.

F. D. MOTT.

WHERE STANDS THE LEAGUE?

(Continued from Page 14.)

Year Book, the *Year Book of Labour Statistics*, a study on *Compensation of War Victims*, and special studies on the minimum wage, on the impact of foreign trade on employment and wages, and on methods of studying family budgets and living standards. The *International Labour Review* is published regularly every month.

The Court

The one big "wing" of the League which has virtually closed down as a result of the war is the Permanent Court of International Justice, which is located not in Geneva, but at The Hague. As conditions have made it impossible for the Court to function, the judges have dispersed. The Registry is being maintained, however; and the President of the Court and the Registrar have temporarily moved from The Hague to Geneva.

MR. ANTHONY EDEN and VISCOUNT CRANBORNE, in reply to messages of congratulation on their return to Foreign Affairs, have sent good wishes to the Union for its work in the coming year.

"Sacrifices Needed"

SIR,—Mr. N. Hargreave's letter in your October issue would carry more conviction if he would state reasons for his assertion that "Britain must make sacrifices at the end of this war if it is to have been worth while." It might be retorted that we are surely making enough sacrifices now; but this would be no answer to Mr. Hargreaves, as he proceeds to explain that the sacrifices he contemplates are not to be at our own expense (he does not propose paying an indemnity to Germany, or even offering her the Isle of Wight), but at that of our dependencies.

I think Mr. Hargreaves has been deceived by the incorrect use of the word "possession." If there was a time when our dependencies were possessions, it has long since passed. His talk of our "retaining all those riches" bears no sort of relation to actuality. Our dependencies are not assets, but liabilities. It is because the nations which he names want our dependencies as assets that we cannot for one moment entertain the idea of surrendering them. I have never seen evidence that our rule over backward peoples has caused jealousy except among those nations. If and when such peoples wish their land to be "owned by an international body," as suggested by Mr. Hargreaves, instead of by themselves under our rule and guidance, it will be time to consider altering their status.

I do not think that our Colonial history is one of which we have cause to be ashamed. I know from long personal experience that in East Africa, in particular, our record, take it for all in all, shines like a good deed in a naughty world. It is true that in handing what is now Tanganyika to Germany in 1885 we treated its lawful

suzerain the Sultan of Zanzibar exactly as we treated the Czechs in 1938. History never repeated itself with more sickening fidelity. But we had the same excuse for that as for Munich. I have been a keen member of the Union for twice the time claimed by Mr. Hargreaves, and am more than ever convinced that the only hope for the world lies in its main policy of collective security; but if it were to agree to his or any other brand of the appeasement programme I, and I am sure many other of its most earnest supporters, would be unable to continue to belong to it.

J. ARTHUR WATSON,

Hon. Sec., Hants Federation.

Lymington.

SUPPORT FOR OUR POLICY

By LORD LYTTON

You have read "*World Settlement After the War*," on pages 6 to 9 of this issue of HEADWAY.

To advocate and obtain public support for this revised policy is the task before the Union. We must do everything we can to bring about the right kind of peace. I am convinced that our work is more important now than ever it was, and that it would be a crime to let it be crippled for lack of funds.

I therefore appeal to all members to give us all the support—financial and otherwise—which lies in their power.