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LETTER TO LORD CECIL FROM FIELD-MARSHAL SMUTS

SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE, TRAFALGAR SQUARE, W.C.2.

10th November, 1942.

DEAR CECIL,

It was a great pleasure to meet you and Noel Baker once more and to exchange thoughts over the post-war future, and to thank you both once again for the devoted service you and the League of Nations Union have rendered to the cause of peace.

Whatever the future may hold in store for us the international humanitarian work which the League initiated and still carries on will surely stand as one of the great historic human advances. That aspect of its activities will remain an abiding possession of our future civilisation.

For reasons you have so ably set forth in your "Great Experiment" its work for world peace was in the end unsuccessful, and the failure points to the imperative necessity for new, more effective machinery to provide against the periodic recurrence of war. Such machinery it is now possible to create under more favourable conditions in the new organisation of the United Nations, and indeed must be created if the human race is to survive.

At the same time much more attention will also have to be given to the economic factors in international life which are more and more becoming of such fundamental importance for world co-operation and world peace. After the economic and trade disasters of the post-war time all this is now much more fully appreciated. And it should be possible after this war to rebuild an organisation on the foundations laid 22 years ago, which will no longer be merely experimental but be an assured and reliable defence for world peace.

The brilliant League experiment and the bitter experience of the last 25 years place us in a strong position to build better next time. Let us not despair of the future, where the human material has proved so good and the cause so great. The "Experiment" will yet be the success.

With all good wishes,

Ever yours sincerely,

J. C. SMUTS.

OUR COUNCIL IN BUOYANT MOOD

After three previous meetings held under the shadow of grave developments in the war situation, the General Council of the League of Nations Union, on November 19 and 20, found a new and welcome stimulus in the transforming victories so recently won by Allied arms. In consequence, no doubt, it was a good-humoured and hopeful Council. Cut and thrust were not lacking in the debates, but criticism never ruffled the even temper prevailing throughout in the Conway Hall. The agenda allowed plenty of time for adequate discussion. Once more, too, it was a representative gathering. Distant parts of the country reinforced the Home Counties, and there was a good attendance of Executive and co-opted members. As at the last meeting, the newcomers helped by bringing a fresh outlook.

Two messages were read at the outset by Lord Cecil. Miss K. D. Courtney, Vice-Chairman of the Executive, sent from the United States her greetings and good wishes to the Council. The second was the important message from Field-Marshal Smuts, printed on page 1 of this number of *Headway*. This was promptly broadcast by the B.B.C. in their lunch-hour news bulletin, besides getting good publicity in the Press.

Lord Cecil then handed over the chair to Dr. Gilbert Murray, Joint President of the L.N.U., who presided for the rest of the meeting.

Lord Cecil's Address

The "chief motive" of many in coming to the Council meetings, remarked Dr. Murray, was "to hear Lord Cecil." This time the many had to wait until the second morning of the Council: but, in the Presidential Address to which they then listened enthralled, Lord Cecil excelled even himself. Firm and vigorous in content and delivery, it furnished a superb commentary on the international situation. The applause which greeted Lord Cecil when he rose to speak was surpassed only by the spontaneous ovation from the Council at the end.

"We meet," began Lord Cecil, "in the full tide of the first great success since the Battle of Britain." That was the prelude

to the final victory which he had always been convinced we would obtain—and the prelude to any settlement which we might establish after the war. "Our work," declared Lord Cecil with impressive conviction, "will become increasingly urgent as we get nearer to final victory."

He was glad to note that people who had hitherto remained silent were beginning to speak of settlement after the war. As Mr. Law had explained the other day, European people were more and more asking what we were going to do with victory. That was profoundly true. It was not for him to say when victory would come; but whenever it came there would be a tremendous call to the people of this country, and particularly the Union, to exert themselves in establishing a settlement which would endure for some time to come—he hoped for ever.

At the outset of the war League advocates had had to put up with a good deal of discouragement. That was passing away. There was a regrowth of the idea of the League of Nations. It was seen that there must be some kind of organisation to maintain the peace of the world and, when people began to discuss what form it should take, they were driven to the conclusion that something along the lines of the League offered the best chance. That, in fact, represented the greatest common measure of agreement. Field-Marshal Smuts, when he spoke of "rebuilding on the foundations," was clearly of that opinion. Further, the whole of the argument and proposals coming from the Lord Privy Seal, in one of the most detailed speeches yet heard from Ministers, were along the same lines as the League. His "General World Council" seemed indistinguishable from the League Assembly, and his subsidiary organisations in other parts of the world could fit into the main organisation. A comparison with the Union's document on "World Settlement" suggested that there was little difference between Sir Stafford's views and ours. Similar pronouncements were coming from across the Atlantic and from foreign statesmen in this country.

On the remark of Sir Stafford Cripps that the smaller Powers would have to give

up some of their sovereignty, Lord Cecil went on to comment that some surrender of sovereignty was necessary, but it was not the small Powers which had brought the League to grief. It was the failure of the Great Powers to live up to their obligations. Further, in view of the great sacrifices which people everywhere were showing that they were prepared to make for their independence, he was convinced that the new organisation must be built without trying to abolish altogether the principle of nationality.

Recapitulating the League objects of promoting international co-operation and achieving international peace and security, Lord Cecil urged his hearers to keep a clear view of fundamental aims. It would be a mistake to turn the L.N.U. into an organisation for general reform. "Get rid of war," he said, "and there is every hope of success for such reforms as you can get the nations to agree to. Do not, I beg you, be betrayed by your anxiety for reform into forgetting that the first thing to do is to secure peace."

On disarmament Lord Cecil had two observations: Don't reduce until we are satisfied that the danger of aggression has been removed. And the countries responsible for so many aggressions must remain disarmed until they have been reformed.

Finally, Lord Cecil dwelt upon the immediate post-war problems and the frightful confusions which would result from the mad and wicked policy of the Axis Powers. Distress must be relieved, order restored, and that confidence created between man and man without which civilised government was impossible. The key to the position was not with the small Powers but with the great Powers. Had a more vigorous policy been pursued before, we should not now be enduring our present ordeal. We really must not let it happen again. We must redouble our efforts to bring to a successful conclusion the great cause we all had at heart.

War Criminals

The Council had the privilege of hearing General de Baer, Chief of the Belgian Courts of Justice in Great Britain, explain the resolution on the Trial and Punishment of War Criminals recently adopted by the

London International Assembly (see the last two issues of *Headway*). There would be a case for letting bygones be bygones, he said, if this would help to build up friendship with the Axis. But in fact we had tried appeasement without success and had to deal with unscrupulous people who would mistake humane feelings for weakness. Not revenge but punishment of those individuals who had been guilty was the object. This was necessary not only to satisfy public opinion but to re-establish law and morality. The certainty of punishment, too, tended to make crime appear less attractive. What was needed was a commission to study practical means for enforcing punishment. In the existing state of law on the subject, something needed to be done. The L.I.A. itself, being an unofficial body, had not proposed remedies or ways and means, but simply that the Governments of the United Nations should seriously tackle the matter.

In the discussion which followed Sir George Young (Kensington) expressed a preference for military tribunals, but General de Baer favoured civilian courts. Lord Cecil said that there were three kinds of crimes. Ordinary crimes, punishable in every civilised country, ought to be tried in ordinary courts. Those committed by central authorities, which could scarcely be brought within the jurisdiction of ordinary courts, ought to be dealt with by special international tribunals furnished with the necessary powers. Some purely political crimes, which could not be dealt with by a court of law, ought to be left to an "Act of State." Finally, with one dissentient, the Council "welcomed and endorsed" the statement of the L.I.A.

Social and Economic Reconstruction

Lord Lytton reported that, as a result of the resolution adopted at the last meeting of the Council, the Executive had considered the general bearing of social reform on international relations, and what was and what was not within the competence of the Union, but was not yet in a position to present a report to the Council. So soon as the Executive had reached agreement, a report would be circulated to branches for examination and study and would be brought up for consideration at the next meeting of the Council.

World Settlement

A motion on "World Settlement after the War," standing in the name of the Hull Branch, was moved by Canon E. A. Berry, who thought that the present Statement of Policy did not reflect all the study put into it. Hull wanted an assurance that in future the Executive would work in closer touch with the branches, hence the proposal for an *ad hoc* committee to consider suggestions sent in. Alderman C. H. Burden, seconding, said that such a committee, meeting and publishing in full its considered judgment on a matter, would help in the "export of wisdom" to the branches. Dr. Murray explained that, in principle, the Executive was in agreement with the proposal. It was further explained that it would be for an *ad hoc* or other committee to make recommendations to the Executive, who alone (subject to the General Council) could decide matters of policy. After some further discussion the Hull resolution, with slight verbal changes, was carried unanimously.

L.N.U. and F.U.

Lord Lytton intervened in the above mentioned discussion in order to report on the result of a meeting between representatives of the L.N.U. and of one other body, Federal Union. Although it was useless to try to find a formula implying that they were not different, when obviously there would be no point in having two societies if their aims were identical, the Executives of the two organisations had, however, agreed that the object of both was to establish a worldwide international order based on the supremacy of law and subordination of force to the maintenance of that law, and had decided that there should be:—

Concurrent advocacy of a clear definition by the Government of the peace aims of the United Nations for use as a political war weapon.

Concurrent advocacy of the immediate creation of an official international Reconstruction Commission (a) to organise immediate post-war measures of relief and reconstruction and (b) to prepare the ground for the ultimate establishment of the post-war International Authority.

Interchange of opinion between the Executives of the L.N.U. and F.U. in their

study of international measures needed for post-war relief.

Joint study groups for branches of L.N.U. and F.U. for discussion of the programmes of both organisations but not to pass resolutions.

And that the above should apply to other suitable organisations.

"This is as far as it is possible for the two organisations to go together," added Lord Lytton. "Whenever we have something in common, we agree to pursue it together."

Post-War Policy

Halifax's resolution on "Post-War International Policy," it was explained by Mr. C. H. Smithson who moved it, was the result of a study circle on post-war economic reconstruction. A detailed memorandum had been drawn up and sent to Headquarters, and the chief points were embodied in this resolution. Briefly it covered a wide field of subjects which should be transferred to the jurisdiction of the international authority. Mrs. E. M. White (co-opted) had some alternative measures, which she commended to the Council as more practical. This gave Mr. Leonard Behrens (Manchester) the opportunity to explain, with the disarming *bonhomie* of a friendly conjurer taking the audience into his confidence, some of the mysteries of foreign exchange. Mr. H. L. Bullock (T.U.C.) thought that the real value of the discussion lay in creating an informed public opinion, and he pointed out that the League and the I.L.O. had gone a long way towards levelling up standards. Mr. K. Zilliacus eloquently argued that the failure to deal with economic causes had led to the collapse of the first attempt to build a real League of Nations. Sir Ralph Wedgwood, while full of admiration for Halifax's enterprise, thought that they had "jumped several essential stages." With the consent of the mover, it was decided to refer the matter to the new sub-committee of the Executive.

Another thought-provoking discussion was initiated by Miss Gertrude M. Ward, who proposed the Hallam resolution on "Perversion of Truth for National Ends." Dr. Gilbert Murray gave examples of what his International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had tried to do to

grapple with this evil. His broad conclusion was that, given a better state of mind in the world, it would be possible to get a good deal done.

On the Jewish Problem the Executive reported that its sub-committee had not yet been able to reach a decision: it was purposed to circulate a report to branches in time for consideration at the next meeting of the Council.

Finance and Membership

Mr. H. S. Syrett, the Union's Treasurer, introduced the Budget for 1943. Although the Union still had a balance at the bank, there was one nasty snag about the whole business, and that was membership. He was well aware of war-time difficulties, but something had got to be done about it. Quite apart from questions of finance, membership would determine the Union's influence. One bright spot was that new members this year had exceeded in numbers those recruited in the corresponding period last year. It was good to get new members, but it was also important to keep the old. Another matter which Mr. Syrett stressed was the payment of subscriptions by deed. Next year most of the existing deeds were due to expire. To make up the deficiency and assure the Union a regular income, he appealed to those who could do so to pay their subscriptions, even sums as small as 10s., under deed and to get others to follow their example.

Lord Lytton, in his "few words of general comment," coupled with his congratulations a warning to the Council that the happy position could only continue if Mr. Syrett's appeal for members and deeds

were heeded. Touching upon a point raised by Mr. G. Green (Skipton) that expenditure and expansion so often go together, he mentioned some of the physical difficulties imposed upon the Union by the war—it was, for example, impossible to increase the staff even if we had the money to pay. He himself attached the greatest importance to our consultations and discussions with representatives of Allied countries now in London. Through the London International Assembly a vast amount of work was being done which would strengthen us and enable us to fulfil our part adequately when the time came.

Branch Workers Confer

Mr. Leonard Behrens (Manchester) presided over a Conference of Branch Secretaries and other Workers, which occupied the whole of the last afternoon. Mrs. G. M. Stevens (London) introduced a discussion on "Brains Trusts," to which members from many parts of the country contributed their own experience of this type of meeting. Mr. A. J. Howe (Bromley), raising the next subject on the agenda, stressed the importance of getting and maintaining the support of the Churches. Lastly there was a discussion, introduced by Mr. Nowell Smith (Oxford), on co-operation with other organisations having the same general objectives as the L.N.U. The general feeling was that the agreement between the Executives of L.N.U. and F.U. was the best way of achieving this.

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

"THE I.L.O. AT WORK"

With its series of illustrated brochures, "The I.L.O. at Work," the International Labour Office at Montreal is keeping the chronicle of its war-time activities up-to-date. No. 3 is packed as full of information as its predecessors. First comes a full and lively account of the Emergency Committee's meeting in London last April, when, following Mr. Bevin's reminder that a people's war must be followed by a people's peace, the delegates set about the task of planning ways and means to make

the I.L.O.'s contribution to post-war settlement. Next, under the heading "Seamen and the War," the story of the I.L.O.'s Joint Maritime Commission is told. Another important article shows how the I.L.O. played the leading part in organising the Inter-American Conference on Social Security at Santiago in September. Finally "The I.L.O. in China" describes how, amid falling bombs, the China Branch of the Office resumed its work at Chungking after its enforced move from Shanghai. Tributes to the I.L.O. from Lord Cranborne and others are also quoted.

THE COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

Budget for 1943

The General Council authorises the Executive Committee to continue expenditure at the present rate of some £12,000 a year for so long as it finds desirable or possible, and to make such alterations in the rate of expenditure as it may think necessary.

World Settlement After the War

That in view of the willingness expressed by the Union in "World Settlement after the War" to accept "any proposals which would achieve as well as, or better than, our own the objects we have in-view," the General Council suggests that the Executive should set up a sub-Committee to enquire and consider whether any proposals submitted by a branch are at any point equal or preferable to present Union policy, and that reasoned replies be given to every such branch.

Perversion of Truth for National Ends

That the General Council of the League of Nations Union believes it to be of vital importance to the peace of Europe that steps be taken at the time of post-war settlement to render ineffective the deliberate perversion of truth by Governments for national ends, and urges the Executive Committee to investigate how best this might be achieved.

Post-War International Policy

That the following motion submitted by the Halifax Branch be referred to the Executive Committee for consideration in the light of the detailed proposals contained in the memorandum prepared by the branch:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union, believing that it is essential to promote International Action to remove the causes of war, urges that the Sovereign Power of individual States should be subordinated to the interest of the Commonwealth of Nations—and to this end advocates the establishment of an International Authority (or of smaller

groups of Nations) to whom shall be transferred executive power of control:

- (i) Inter-state Treaties.
- (ii) Armed Forces.
- (iii) The manufacture of Armaments.
- (iv) Inter-state Trade relations.
- (v) Uniform Labour Conditions.
- (vi) Uniform International Currency.
- (vii) Aviation and Transport.
- (viii) The administration of Colonial Territories.
- (ix) The reparation of the damage caused by the War, and the direction and execution of Public Works of an international character.
- (x) International Taxation based on the value of Natural National Resources.

War Criminals

That the General Council welcomed and endorsed the resolution adopted by the London International Assembly on October 12, 1942.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF BRANCH WORKERS' CONFERENCE

"Brains Trust" Meetings

That the Executive Committee be asked to advise the branches on the desirability of using the "Brains Trust" method at meetings and give information about the arrangements for and conduct of such meetings.

Co-operation With Churches

That, in view of the assistance given to the Union by Churches of all denominations before the War, the Executive Committee be asked to urge on branches the necessity of getting into as close touch as possible with the Churches in their area.

COUNCIL SERVICE

Our General Council Meeting in the Conway Hall was preceded by a short service held at Holy Trinity Church, Kingsway. This was conducted jointly by the Dean of Chichester and Dr. J. H. Rushbrooke, President of the Baptist World Alliance.

BLUE PRINTS AND BLIND SPOTS

By GORDON DROMORE

Like the first swallow in spring, a blue print is now with us claiming to settle this business of making a better peace next time. It is *PLAN FOR PERMANENT PEACE* (Allen and Unwin, 16s.), written apparently for an American audience. The author is Dr. Hans Heymann, whose distinguished career in Germany included intimacy with Walter Rathenau, that tragic Weimar figure, and many prominent bankers of the last post-war period.

It may be granted that there are many stimulating ideas here for profitable reflection: the gradual change of the world centre of gravity from politics to economics; an underlying economic solidarity among nations; the need of wider social controls, of a more powerful I.L.O., and of methods of international control of investments and credit for the common benefit of nations; above all, the emergence of what the author calls "social capitalism," of which social conscience should be and can be the central inspiration.

Dangerous Deductions

But when it comes to the application of these ideas, to the blue print itself, and the judgments on recent history put forward as its basis, the result is not only divorced from reality, but dangerously misleading. The hands may be those of a peacemaking Esau, but the voice is like the voice of a very different kind of Jacob.

Banks, we are told, are the key to permanent peace. Bang in the centre stands a Bank of Nations. A whole number of co-ordinated institutions revolve round. They include a Federal World Authority (for politics apparently are quite distinct from the business of economics), a Hemisphere Bank for the Americas (which seems to have made some start already), a Europa Bank built on the ruins of the B.I.S. and excluding Russia, an Oriental Bank with China, a Siberia-centred Russia, India and Japan all on the ground-floor on equal terms, a new I.L.O., a World Brains Trust of some 20 men and women, a World Fort Knox, and so on. All very elaborate: a

paradise for diagramaniacs; though incidentally the barely concealed note of admiration for the tortuosities of Herr Schacht, which one hears in the early chapters, hardly makes for confidence in banking as a cure-all.

Factors Ignored

Nor is confidence restored by the background of these proposals. The central theory is that economics were the sole cause of the present war, which enables the author to say "all belligerents are more or less at fault." And this is illustrated by pathetic pictures of "unbearable burdens" laid on a "feeble blood-drained Germany," in a Europe composed of chaotic, impoverished and menacing small nations. This simply will not do. Try telling this story to Czechs, Scandinavians, Dutch, and many others on the Continent, who enjoyed a fine, vital civilisation of their own, and periods of the broadest-based prosperity—till Germany destroyed both. Pitch this story to Poles, Yugoslavs, Frenchmen and Greeks who have personal knowledge of the misery that militarism means when practised on others. For our author barely notes this—the dominant cause of the war—the militant and aggressive education of the German community which, economics or no economics, must leave a "German problem" after the war.

As for Reparations, no attempt is made to explain the hard facts that, to make good for the last war, Germany paid barely one-sixth of the maximum sum proposed—and this largely through foreign loans; but that in five short years she spent millions more than this very maximum on her own armaments, on preparing for a second war.

Finally, to put the matter to the acid test of reference to movements of vast significance going on before our eyes, what special right has any plan to sponsor "permanent peace" when it can so misunderstand the meaning of the Atlantic Charter, and be so dumb about the master Lease-Lend Agreements which stand for the common aim and hope of all the Allied nations?

CANADA HONOURS LORD CECIL

(HEADWAY in October described how the League of Nations Society in Canada had co-operated with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in celebrating Lord Cecil's birthday with a special wireless programme. The remarkable series of tributes to Lord Cecil included in that programme has now reached us from Canada, and we feel that the following extracts will interest all his admirers in this country.)

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (*Prime Minister of Canada*): "No man living has worked harder to secure the vindication of a law and a world order based upon reason and not upon force. It will be the wish of all that Lord Cecil may be long spared to aid the forces that are working for enduring peace and freedom throughout the world."

THANE A. CAMPBELL (*Premier of Prince Edward Island*): "In the midst of world conflict we confidently look forward to the re-establishment of peace on foundations more secure. The nations of the world must see to it that such security is based on the practical application of many ideals for which Lord Cecil and the League of Nations have so constantly striven."

HON. T. A. CRERAR (*Minister of Mines and Resources of Canada*): "In such a plan as Lord Cecil urges lies the only hope for world peace."

WARWICK CHIPMAN (*President of the League of Nations Society in Canada*): "I can imagine nothing nearer to the heart and the courage of Lord Cecil this evening than these reflections: That in the purposes to which we are now pledged lies the assurance of victory; that, after victory, we need never repeat the disasters of the past if we will remember its lessons; that, if we are willing to pay the price, we can have our good; that, if we will intend the means, the boundless riches of the four freedoms—and infinitely more—are our possession for ever."

FRANK G. BOUDREAU (*President, League of Nations Association of the United States*): "Common men and women throughout the world are struggling desperately for freedom, for the four freedoms so well defined by Franklin Roosevelt. They deserve spokesmen who can make articulate their aspirations and their ideals. Lord Robert Cecil is such a

spokesman, for he has laboured on behalf of every slave, of the oppressed in every land, of every victim of aggression, of all the suffering men and women who are the victims of war, of tyranny and oppression. Now, full of years and honours, he still presses on towards a world society which shall rest on the sure foundation of the four freedoms. In carrying on the fight for his ideals, we honour him in the way he would most value."

ARTHUR SWEETSER (*for many years senior citizen of the United States in the League Secretariat*): "The biggest part of Lord Cecil was the man himself; his sincerity, honesty, integrity and love-ability. Few indeed, even of the cynics in politics, who came near him were not impressed by his towering figure, his strong but kindly face, his grave yet smiling eyes, his tenacity and determination and, above all, a kind of spiritual fervour and purity which made of this most aristocratic of England's peers one of the simplest and humblest of human beings. Unheeded though he often was in high quarters, he is entitled, I believe, to the distinction of having been, even in a losing fight during those tragic years, the world's First Citizen. Let him who doubts suggest another with comparable claim. The world has never fittingly rewarded him; it could only do so by the deepest consecration that this time, after this war, it will really make effective and operative the principles of peace and co-operation which he so nobly pressed in the quarter century between World Wars."

EDWARD J. PHELAN (*Acting Director, International Labour Office*): "The work which Lord Cecil and so many others have done during this last quarter of a century has left an impact upon the thinking of our time which will continue to exercise a vital influence on human progress when the tyrants of to-day are but nightmares

of the past. It constitutes an essential part of the tradition, which inspires all the work of the International Labour Organisation."

Dr. BENES (*President of Czechoslovakia*): "I have always had great admiration for Viscount Cecil as a splendid man and a great British statesman. I am glad to say this publicly at the time of the present great world crisis, towards averting which he personally devoted such great exertions. In fact, his whole life work was directed to this, and I express the wish that Lord Cecil, despite his advancing age, should live in good health to see the time when mankind, instructed by the terrible lesson of the second World War, will put into practice the noble ideas which he taught us."

Dr. WELLINGTON KOO (*Ambassador of China at London*): "Lord Cecil's long and indefatigable efforts for the cause of international organisation have been an inspiration to all working actively for international peace. Above all, statesmanship with vision, courage and a full sense of responsibility is necessary for putting any international machinery to effective work."

Many Canadian newspapers joined in paying tribute to Lord Cecil's untiring energy and devotion. For example, the "Winnipeg Free Press" pointed out in a powerful article:—

"Lord Cecil stands virtually alone among public men of the first rank as one who never dodged or tried to explain away

the fact that collective security meant collective fighting in the event of some nation resorting to aggressive action in spite of the guarantee of the League Powers. His record on this point is unbroken.

Lord Cecil had to reaffirm this basic truth many times in succeeding years, particularly in the fatal thirties, when the delusion that a policy of collective security, on the lines of Cecil policy, would make for war was all but universally held. Even General Smuts, who was a co-partner in founding the League, momentarily subscribed to this view. . . . But Gen. Smuts' stay in the appeasement camp was very brief. There are no such blots on Lord Cecil's record. The phrase, 'peace is indivisible,' may be Litvinoff's, but the doctrine has been avowed and supported by Lord Cecil from the day the League came into being.

"Following the capture of power in Germany by the Nazis and the Italian aggression in Abyssinia, the view that the League would be a 'war-monger' if it sought to give weight and substance to the doctrine of collective security became an article of faith with the politicians and their supporters in the Press. Lord Cecil entered the lists against them. Over a period of years the correspondence columns of *The Times* and the official reports of the debates of the House of Lords supply the evidence that he waged unceasing war upon the heresy that had in it the seeds of the world conflict which is now upon us."

THE PRESS AND POST-WAR SETTLEMENT

Journalists of Allied and Free Countries, holding the first Congress of their newly formed International Federation in the Council Chamber of the County Hall, London, showed themselves fully alive to the part which the Press could play in post-war settlement. The I.F.J. has been sponsored by the National Union of Journalists in much the same way as the London International Assembly has grown with the support of the L.N.U. Mr. A. Kenyon, the President, set the tone of the discussions in his address when he asserted that the time had come "to give international

law a strong injection of morality." Not the least of the duties of journalists was to write and work for justice and liberty—justice allied to power, and liberty tempered with responsibility.

On the subject of traitor journalists who deliberately serve the Axis cause, the Congress recognised that their crimes must be dealt with by whatever judicial machinery is established by agreement of the United Nations, but nevertheless declared that they had forfeited the right to practice the profession of journalism. Another resolution cited promotion of international understanding and friendship as one of the ways in which a free Press could serve the people of each country and humanity at large.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

A verbatim report has reached us of the extremely useful Conference of Clergy recently held at the Town Hall, SHAFTESBURY, with the support of the Mayor and organised by Mr. Malcolm Leggett. The object was to provide some message in connection with the aims and work of the League, which those present could pass on to the people who were waiting for it at the present time. The Dean of Chichester, in an introductory address, explained the real meaning of collective security which was the basis of the League system, outlined present tendencies towards the re-establishment of an International Authority after the war, and warned his hearers of the possibility of a "swing back" just as we saw after the last war. At the end of a keen discussion the Mayor, Alderman R. Pearson, said that, after having heard the Dean, the Ministers could reach the people through their pulpits and at meetings, and "let them have it."

Dr. Gilbert Murray delivered a stimulating address on a topical theme at the Town Hall, HORSHAM, when he took as his subject "1919 and 1943—The Last Peace and the Next." Sir Ewart Greaves was in the chair.

With his talk, "A Dutch General Speaks of his Country," General J. W. van Oorschot, C.B.E., Head of the Royal Dutch Military Mission in London, fully maintained the high standard set at previous L.R.F. Buffet Luncheons. He was both witty and informative, and particularly stressed the deep attachment of the Dutch nation to the idea of collective security.

"Inside France To-day" is to be the subject of the next L.R.F. Luncheon Talk at the Y.W.C.A. on December 8 at 1 p.m. Mlle. Halphen, the speaker, recently arrived in this country.

The RUGBY BRANCH is holding a series of four meetings with speakers from Allied countries. On his visit Mr. Van

der Laan (Holland) also gave a talk to 600 workers on the night shift at the British Thomson-Houston Company. Other speakers in the series are to be asked to do likewise, and it is hoped to arrange a short talk for the senior boys and girls at the school.

"Yugoslavia, Yesterday and To-day" was the title of an address, illustrated by lantern slides, given by Miss Olive Lodge at HARTLEPOOL. Not only was £2 raised for the Yugoslav Red Cross by the sale of postcards and pamphlets, but some new members were enrolled for the local Branch of the L.N.U. During the same tour Miss Lodge addressed other meetings at DARLINGTON, MIDDLESBROUGH, and DONCASTER.

HIGHGATE BRANCH concluded an interesting series of drawing-room meetings at Oak Tree House, made possible by the continued hospitality of Mr. F. Kraft, with a talk on "American Views" from Mr. Robert Kull, a young American who is working at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in the department of Post-War Reconstruction. His explanation of American politics, life and thought was so clear and stimulating that every member of the audience took part in the discussion which continued for 2½ hours. Further meetings, starting in January, are in prospect.

ROTARY CLUBS maintain their demand for speakers from the L.N.U. The list for November included: TOOTING, Mr. Farstad (Norway); EDMONTON, Mr. A. Manuelides (Greece); GUILDFORD, Mr. E. W. Litvinne (Yugoslavia); WEST HAM and MAIDENHEAD, Dr. Slavik (Czechoslovakia); HERTFORD, Mr. Gustav Stern (Czechoslovakia) and Mr. Leslie Aldous; PUTNEY and WEMBLEY, Captain Brusgaard (Norway).

General de Baer (Belgium) addressed the last of a series of four meetings at CHICHESTER. General J. W. van Oorschot spoke on "The Freedom-Loving People of the Netherlands" at LEAMINGTON. ROWNTREE'S Factory at YORK heard two talks on the place of China and Russia in

the Post-War World. Mr. Jaya Deva spoke on "Japan's Kampf" at STROUD. PADDINGTON and ST. JOHN'S WOOD BRANCHES held another of their joint meetings with Miss Freda White as the speaker on "Colonial Partnership."

During November Mr. John T. Catterall made two tours in the North of England, addressing meetings at NELSON, RAWTENSALL, CHORLEY, ILKLEY, HUDDERSFIELD, PONTEFRAC, HARROGATE, DONCASTER, GOOLE, YORK, SUNDERLAND, BISHOP AUCKLAND, and ALTRINCHAM. His programme included addresses at Rotary Clubs, schools, etc., as well as public meetings organised by L.N.U. Branches.

Every seat in ROYDON (Essex) Congregational Church was occupied at the United Service on Remembrance Sunday when Mr. Leslie Aldous preached—this despite the fact that another united service had been held in the Parish Church that afternoon. Addresses on "The League's Work Now" were given by Mr. Aldous at DORKING and FOREST GATE. He also spoke at the SOUTHGATE FORUM, the EALING INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE and the WEMBLEY SISTERHOOD, and paid a return visit to the HARROW BAPTIST CHURCH Young People's Guild to open a discussion on "The Atlantic Charter."

Aid to China

SHEFFIELD'S total for the United Aid to China Fund, in the raising of which our Branch has been to the fore, has now reached £6,000. Our PORTISHEAD (Bristol) Branch also played an active part in the local Aid to China Week, which realised over £260.

OSSETT BRANCH held a meeting for the United Aid to China Fund and opened a subscription list. Nearly £40 was speedily raised, but the list was kept open a little longer in the hope of receiving further donations.

At the CLIFTON BRANCH'S discussion tea on "The Atlantic Charter and the League" a collection of over £4 helped to swell the Bristol Aid to China Fund.

We learn that KIRKBY STEPHEN'S effort on behalf of the United Aid to China Fund, sponsored by the local Branch of the L.N.U., has realised £26 10s. 6d.—an excellent result from a small community.

CHELTENHAM BRANCH had a successful meeting with Dr. Vaclav Benes as speaker.

The collection for the Aid to China Fund amounted to £20.

Captain J. Dugdale, M.P., formerly an attache at the British Legation, Peking, addressed a meeting of the TAUNTON BRANCH on "China, Our Ally." Despite the moderate attendance, a collection of £16 was taken for the Mayor's Aid to China Appeal.

A vivid account of "how China to-day is fighting the enemy with one hand and building a new nation with the other" was given to the OXTED BRANCH by Mr. H. D. Liem, London Chief of the Central News Agency of China. The Rev. F. A. Smalley presided, and a collection for the Fund realised £12 16s. 3d.

Mr. S. K. Chow (of the Chinese Embassy) addressed a meeting in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall at READING with the Mayor in the chair. The collection of £8 13s. 0d. was augmented by a cheque for £2 2s. 0d. sent by an L.N.U. member in a nursing home.

HUNGERFORD and STEEPLE CLAYDON are two of our Branches which obtained police permission to hold flag days for the United Aid to China Fund.

Overseas News

The annual report of the VICTORIAN BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION shows that our Sister Society "down under," working under great difficulties now that Australia has been caught in the maelstrom of war, has a core of very loyal members who are determined to keep active. During the past year, emphasis has been placed on thinking out their objective in the post-war world. "To the English League of Nations Union," says the report, "we are again indebted for HEADWAY, every number of which has arrived regularly and has been much appreciated."

Details of recent activities have reached us from the JOHANNESBURG LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION, including the text of an address delivered by Mr. Morris Kentridge, M.P., on "The Atlantic Charter and South Africa." A cutting from the *Johannesburg Star* shows that a cabled report of the June meeting of the L.N.U.'s General Council in London was splashed on the front page—appropriately enough under a photograph of the Prime Minister and President Roosevelt meeting in America.

THE NEW EUROPE

By MAURICE FANSHAWE

Public Interest No. 1 is winning the war. But No. 2, and running it close, is what kind of Europe it is to be after the war. So nothing could be more timely than Mr. Newman's review of the recent history, the policies, and the big problems for the future settlement—and no blinking of besetting obstacles—of all the European countries east of the Rhine and including France.* Mr. Newman has read and written widely; above all he has made a point of seeing the places and the peoples again and again. He tells us what they *do* think on the spot and how they *do* act—not necessarily as your "economic man" would or as the armchair critics clamour they should act. There is a wholesome absence of the "sandy and shifting lie" that "the old world is all gone and nothing will ever be the same again," but at the same time ardent advocacy of many wise principles governing inevitable changes. This New Europe is a beginning, not an end.

What, according to Mr. Newman, are the guiding, the life lines, for the creation of permanent peace?

In the forefront stands Germany's disarmament, complete and genuine this time. On this hang all the Law and the Profits for any peaceful, post-war Europe. Without security from invasion and all the militarist system of shining blackmail perfected by Germany, peace cannot start nor war end. Germany disarmed, the prospect at once brightens, and problems of defensive, strategic frontiers become more manageable.

For frontiers there will be. Even Federations own to them. This book, with its excellent maps, is largely about them. With some exceptions, such as Danzig, which must become part of Poland, post-war frontiers are unlikely to differ vastly from those of 1937. In spite of all the Charlie Macarthies created by German propagandists, the territorial clauses of Versailles were fair and just. There may be voluntary, commonsense rectifications—

* THE NEW EUROPE. By Bernard Newman. (Robert Hale. 18s.)

much will depend upon whether democratic Governments come to power. But for serious minority problems, where thousands live on the wrong side of lines, the most helpful remedy seems to be mass transference of populations—but it must be transference properly organised, financed (at the cost of one or two modern battleships) and "put over" by Governments frankly co-operating with one another. A guiding example is the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey after 1922 which, in spite of individual suffering, led to solid friendship between the two peoples.

Mr. Newman is profoundly aware of the two main economic needs of a New Europe—better distribution and increase of consumption power. What nonsense it is that thousands of bootmakers should have been idle in Northamptonshire when all Bessarabia went barefoot! Or that thousands of our families could have thriven on those extra loaves of bread while the grain in Balkan barns rotted! As a consumer, the Balkan peasant, with his £14 (less taxation) to spend a year, counted nil. The solution lies in a policy of Industrialisation—but it must be planned and not just indiscriminate competition. Here great responsibility for the welfare of Europe as a whole rests with the Allies, notably the Great Powers. They have pledged their word in the Atlantic Charter. They have machinery at hand in the Lease-Lend Agreements. Yet had only part of the millions madly lent to Germany after the last war been loaned on a far-seeing plan to Central European, to the little States, all history would have been changed.

The chapter on Germany is of absorbing interest (those on Poland and Finland, too, will be found most fruitful). This time the Germans must be made to realise that their system has failed, that they have lost the war, that their soldiers and armies have been beaten—every town must know and see the evidence thereof. It is probable that the early Government of Germany, a federated Germany, will have to be under Allied control. But the reasons for this, as

for example prevention of massacre and of starvation, must be simply and endlessly explained. Germans are highly susceptible to mass persuasion. Yet the key problem remains—what is to be done to re-educate Germany, above all the 20's and 30's, the millions whom Nazi education has cut off from the light? An enormous problem! But the Allies must and can help Germany; with men, selected in good time, who can guide and explain, teach and advise, so that Germany can understand why some international tuition is necessary if there is not

to be chaos and collapse. An instrument of undreamed-of power for the common benefit of Europe may be to hand in Broadcasting, used with patience and courage—especially courage.

A dozen reviews of Mr. Newman's book could be written, bringing out further constructive points, e.g., the need of experiments in Regional Federation. It is enough to say here that he gives us an ample background for forming reasonable judgments on matters of high import. We have got a guide to the Peace Conference.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN A. RATTENBURY

Although the object of this monthly survey is to present as impartially as an observer can the views of all sides on international questions as expressed in Parliament, it is impossible for an unashamed partisan for League principles to remain entirely objective on those occasions when the subject of the League of Nations is brought up. With some pleasure, therefore, I report a passage from Mr. J. R. Leslie's speech in the Debate on the Address. He said:—

"The Commission of the Churches has issued a valuable statement on social justice and economic reconstruction. The League of Nations Union and the Labour Party have also issued well-thought-out reports on the same subject. Nations cannot, any more than individuals, live to themselves alone. They are bound in an economic, political and cultural interdependence. Peace and prosperity are functions one of another, and therefore an orderly and expanding system of international co-operation is essential. The principles are recognised in the Atlantic Charter and in the reports of the bodies I have mentioned. In the work of the International Labour Office at Geneva I see the hope of the future in carrying out the main features of the Atlantic Charter. Acting on the principle that universal peace can be established only if based on social justice, the International Labour Office worked towards that end and accomplished a great deal. It established a network of labour treaties setting up a standard of life in many countries hitherto thought almost impossible. The nations must organise for peace no less earnestly than they organised for war. May I remind the House and those diehards who

sneer at planning of what the Foreign Secretary said at the Mansion House on May 29, 1941?

"We have declared that social security must be the first objective of our domestic policy after the war, and social security will be our policy abroad no less than at home. It will be our wish to work with others to prevent the starvation of the post-armistice period, the currency disorders throughout Europe, and the wide fluctuations of employment, markets and prices which were the cause of so much misery in the twenty years between the two wars."

Mr. Leslie then expressed the hope that those words of wisdom would be taken to heart by the whole House.

The B.I.S.

Perhaps they have some bearing on the policy of the Government regarding the Bank of International Settlements. At first sight it might appear that the fact that the shareholding in the Bank is something between 50 and 70 per cent. German or owned by countries now under German control would be detrimental to the interests of the Allied Nations. Indeed, suggestions were made in Parliament that the manager of the Bank was a German and the personnel of the directorate disquieting. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, replied that the conduct and control of the Bank had been and were to-day in the sole hands of the President, who was an American citizen. He, said Sir Kingsley, had all through adopted a policy of strict neutrality,

carrying it out honestly and faithfully. There had been no business relations between the Bank of England and the enemy country banks forming part of the institution. No transaction had taken place, or could take place under the present arrangements, which would confer any economic or financial advantage on one belligerent nation to the detriment of another. In his judgment, the Chancellor continued, nothing would be gained, and much might be lost, if we attempted to sever our connections with the Bank as at present controlled and constituted. If we were to withdraw our directors it would be possible, particularly if the American President should happen to go at the same time, for the other interests to call a meeting of directors and arrange for the assets to be dealt with very differently from the way in which they were being dealt with to-day. Then indeed there would be every prospect of the whole of the assets of the Bank falling directly into Axis hands. Further, smaller European allies of ours—particularly those whose territory was now occupied by Germany—might suffer loss in consequence of our withdrawal if it were to take place.

That is the position as at present known to the Chancellor. Obvious risks are entailed; against these must be weighed the likelihood of the Bank playing a considerable part during the post-armistice period.

The United Nations

In course of the debate on the Address Mr. Richard Law spoke on the conception of the United Nations, expressing his agreement with Field-Marshal Smuts. Whatever the future of the League of Nations might be, we had the United Nations functioning and becoming a more integral whole; they must be built up to continue to function with the same harmony when the immediate peril of war was over. He proceeded to talk of the Soviet Union, welcoming Stalin's speech and his references to the Anglo-Russian-American coalition. Our foreign policy between the two wars had failed largely because the League had never possessed the support or collaboration of the United States, the Soviet Union and this country. He had great hopes of continued co-operation in future, which would mean that we should not again find ourselves in diffi-

culties because of lack of co-operation between these three great Powers.

At this stage, said Mr. Law, it was impossible to foretell whether the United Nations would eventually adopt some kind of regional organisation for the East. China, it was certain, had a great part to play in the Far East and the Pacific. The negotiations for the abolition of extraterritorial rights in China were a sign that H.M. Government regarded China on terms of equality in the world that was to come. The association of the United States with us in these negotiations was a shining example of Anglo-American co-operation. Mr. Law might also have mentioned that this action was in line with that taken by the Soviet Union many years ago.

The difference between the moral currency of the Allied Powers and the debased currency of the Axis was strongly asserted by Mr. Law in his conclusion. For, in the latter case, an assurance of friendship was an almost certain prelude to some treacherous act of belligerency, whereas an assurance from the Allied Powers gave gratification and relief to the people to whom it was addressed.

Ethiopia

One of the sham Italian claims against Ethiopia, it will be remembered, was the pretence that Italy would free the slaves there. Grandiose Italian proclamations achieving this on paper, deceived many who should have been conversant with the Emperor's determination and attempts to rid his country of slavery. Mr. Harvey asked the Foreign Secretary whether the Italian decrees abolishing slavery and forced labour were now in force; to which Mr. Eden very significantly replied that the Ethiopian Government on August 26, had issued a proclamation abolishing slavery, *thus carrying into effect the previous decrees issued before the Italian occupation, to the logical conclusion of total abolition.*

In reply to Mr. Mander, Mr. Eden also informed the House that he had supplemented the Government's message of congratulation to the Emperor and Empress of Ethiopia on the reopening of the Ethiopian Parliament, by a message from the British people in the name of Parliament (then not sitting) conveying wishes for a happy and prosperous future.

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

Russian Foreign Policy

Sir,—Your correspondents in November issue appear to doubt Russia's sincerity in international affairs because of her attacks on Finland and Poland and her annexation of the Baltic States.

It is, perhaps, unfortunate that no definite explanation has come from Moscow. Nevertheless, the answer in my opinion is clear and in each case similar, viz., "*Russia's security.*" Your readers will remember that her rupture with Finland followed the refusal of the latter to lease certain strategic bases in the Gulf of Finland, which in German hands would constitute a grave menace to Russia's Baltic fleet. Subsequent events have amply justified this precaution. In the case of the Baltic countries and Poland, it was again a question of *Russia first or Germany first.* Obviously, Russia would wish the German war machine at a far distance from Leningrad and Moscow. Either in German occupation would be a danger to Russian defence.

So let us rather be grateful to Russia for seeing this in time. A thousand pities that Chamberlain and Co. refused to recognise the danger until events made it no longer possible to ignore it.

Newport, I.W.

T. B. PUNTER.

Sir,—In your November issue you print two letters somewhat critical, although appreciative, of the U.S.S.R. They both refer to Russian aggression against Poland, Finland, and other Baltic States. They both forgot to mention Bessarabia!

Finland. The U.S.S.R. was obviously apprehensive of German aggression via Finland and presented certain demands, which were not of a serious nature, and would probably have been withdrawn when the danger passed. The Finnish Government refused. Be it remembered that the Germans constructed the "Mannerheim Line," aimed at the heart of Leningrad. In retrospect, how right the U.S.S.R. was. But politically they made a serious mistake and went to war, thereby becoming technically an "aggressor" to the joy of reaction, and forfeiting temporarily the goodwill of many sincere friends of the Soviet Union. When peace came, the terms were generous, in the circumstances. The tragedy is that Czarist Russia created such anti-Russianism in Finland that it lived on despite the Revolution.

Poland. Had "Poland" any right to White Russia and the Western Ukraine except by force of arms in defiance of the League of Nations? Did not the Russian occupation of its old territory forestall Nazi occupation? But the point is: do the peasants in these

areas prefer to be under the U.S.S.R. or Poland? Let them decide.

Baltic States. Have these peoples not decided by plebiscite to enter the U.S.S.R.? Were the elections manipulated? If there is any doubt, let us have fresh elections with a guaranteed secret ballot.

London, W. 1.

A. HENRY.

Sir,—In view of the German invasion of Poland, Russia, Finland and the Baltic States, surely it is agreed that the Russian foreign policy has been the most far-seeing and forthright of all the European States.

But for Russia, where should we be to-day? Whitchurch.

J. C. HUGHES.

Re-education of Germany

Sir,—At the recent meeting of the Ealing branch of the International Friendship League, you were kind enough to offer space in HEADWAY to discussion of the following idea:—

The prisoner of war internment camps of the United Nations are becoming increasingly more full with young Nazis, who, when Hitler overthrew all hitherto reigning ideals of civilisation, and relegated same to oblivion 9 years ago, were mere children of 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 years of age. Some of these have distinguished themselves by signal acts of brutality undoubtedly, but considering that their only view of democratic institutions has been discoloured by their Nazi mentors, by their compulsory labour schools, and by their general mis-education, it is scarcely surprising.

There has been much talk in the general Press of the rehabilitation of the German people "after the war," yet surely here is one opportunity for this rehabilitation to start taking place *now.* Irrespective of the position under International Law, our Russian allies are already taking action under this heading; and should it be feared that "reprisals" of a reciprocal nature would be taken on our own boys, the fear of contamination should be substituted by the confidence in their good sense, the consciousness of their freedom which is a part of their heritage, these in combination with their natural loyalty and knowledge for what they are fighting *must* be a natural antidote to the poison. Or will it be preferred that when these Nazis are released, that they should return home believing that they were not beaten by superior spirituality but by better Spitfires, by a better blockade, by mere weight of material? Should they do this, it must also be feared that they will but use their liberty to inculcate the principles which forced this war on to the next generation.

Surely there are sufficient linguists left in our two Societies to undertake the necessary first steps in this relief of Europe's post-war problems, so that the formation of discussion groups on a democratic basis would be welcomed by our prisoners as a measure of relief to the tedium of their position, and would also be a cure for some brain-sick individuals. At the same time, it is not proposed that the willingness of the prisoner of war to take part in such discussion-groups, classes in world-citizenship and democratic principles, etc., should be regarded as evidence of guiltlessness in war-crimes.

Ealing, W. 5.

F. C. MIDAS.

Munch

Sir,—My plea for fairness to Mr. Chamberlain elicits replies which do not help me. My information or my memory may be faulty—I must own that I know little of Czechoslovakia or the Sudeten sector. We sent a very able business man not to arbitrate but to advise, and on the strength of his report advised the Czechs to accede to Germany's claim to re-draw the frontier, Lord Runciman—on the spot—with all the facts before him, had to choose between expediency and strict justice—there was no international tribunal. Hitler said he wanted nothing further in Europe; we thought war had been avoided; Hitler's duplicity in massing troops to protect the peace was not Chamberlain's "shame." We did not give the Czechs away. Chamberlain may not have been the man for the moment, but why make him a scapegoat? I remember that he gave us splendid service for years as Chancellor of the Exchequer: his whole life was service.

ARTHUR G. FARROW.

Wappenham, Towcester.

FROM THE WHITE COTTAGE. By Sydney Walton. (Epworth Press. 5s.)

This collection of letters in war-time, originally written by a member of the Harrow Branch of the L.N.U. to a young schoolmaster in South Africa, is more than a commentary on events. In the conviction that only in the thoughts and emotions of men, in the realm of ideas and ideals, can be discovered the impulses which give meaning to the fields of battle, the author looks below the surface for "that elusive Eternal which evades the Gestapo" Miniature sermons of rare beauty and essays with an equally captivating charm mirror a deep spiritual faith which shines from these pages. Mr. Walton, who himself writes sensitive prose, draws inspiration from a wide and catholic range of authors, from the golden-tongued music of Dr. Vaughan Williams, Beethoven and "Parsifal," from the living majesty of Mr. Churchill's and President Roosevelt's utterances—even from a cricket match between Eton and Harrow. One of many interesting pen pictures shows how London has become Geneva, and in one sense more than Geneva, through the Poles, Norwegians, Dutch and Czechoslovaks sharing London's tremendous hours. The test of statesmanship is this—can it give true horizons to the people? "The human soul must and shall have *Lebensraum*." From the confusions of the present a new wisdom may be born, and things that were our shame can become our glory.

L. R. A.

MAIN CONTENTS

	PAGE
Letter to Lord Cecil from Field-Marshal Smuts - - - -	1
Our Council in Buoyant Mood. <i>By Leslie R. Aldous</i> - - - -	2
The Council Resolutions - - - - -	6
Blue Prints and Blind Spots. <i>By Gordon Dromore</i> - - - -	7
Canada Honours Lord Cecil - - - - -	8
Up and Down the Country - - - - -	10
The New Europe. <i>By Maurice Fanshawe</i> - - - - -	12
World Affairs in Parliament. <i>By Owen A. Rattenbury</i> - - - -	13
From "Headway's" Post-Bag - - - - -	15